

MODERN EUROPE,

FROM THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE,

A.D. 1453—1871.

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(SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND CONTINUED.)

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. II. FROM 1521 TO 1598.

LONDON.

GEORGE BELL AND SONS,

YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1877.

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CHISWICK PRESS : CHARLES WHITTINGHAM, TOOKS COURT,
CHANCERY LANE.

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Ferdinand I. . . 1564	Henry II. . . 1559	Edward VI. . . 1553	Selim II. . . 1574	(<i>The Emperor</i>
Maximilian II. . . 1576	Francis II. . . 1560	Mary . . . 1558	Amurath III. . . 1595	<i>Charles I.</i>)
Rodolf II. . . 1612	Charles IX. . . 1574	Elizabeth . . . 1603	Mahomet III. . . 1603	Philip II. . . 1598
	Henry III. . . 1589			
	Henry IV. . . 1610			
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Leo X. . . . 1522	Christian II. . . 1522	James V. . . . 1542	Sigismund I. . . 1548	Emanuel the Grt. 1521
Adrian VI. . . 1523	Frederick I. . . 1534	Mary (<i>abd.</i>) . . 1567	Sigismund II. . . 1572	John III. . . . 1567
Clement VII. . . 1534	Christian III. . . 1559	James VI. . . . —	Henry of Valois 1575	Sebastian . . . 1578
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Julius III. . . . 1555	Christian IV. . . 1648	<i>of England and</i>	Sigismund III. . . 1632	(<i>To Spain till 1640.</i>)
Marcellus II. . . —		<i>Scotland.)</i>		
Paul IV. . . . 1560				
Pius IV. . . . 1566				
Pius V. . . . 1572				
Gregory XIII. . . 1585				
Sixtus V. . . . 1590				
Urban VII. . . . —				
Gregory XIV. . . 1591				
Innocent IX. . . 1592				
Clement VIII. . . 1605				

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE.

CHAPTER XIII.

SEVERAL concurring causes had assisted the German Reformation. After the Diet of Worms the Emperor proceeded into the Netherlands, and thence, as we have seen, to Spain, where he remained seven years, and seemed to have forgotten Church affairs, nay, almost indeed, those of the Empire itself. His brother Ferdinand, whom he had left at the head of the Imperial government, was very young, and the influence which the Elector Frederick of Saxony naturally possessed in the Council of Regency, as well from his having been one of its original founders, as from his wisdom and experience, invested him in a great degree with the government of the Empire. The majority of the Council, including, as it afterwards appeared, the Elector Palatine, who was associated with Ferdinand in the administration, were in favour of Luther; and thus the body which represented the Imperial power protected the very person against whom the Emperor himself had issued his ban. The election of Adrian of Utrecht to the Papal chair, who declared himself favourable to some reform in the Church, was calculated to support Luther's cause, although Adrian was hostile to that reformer and his doctrines; and under all these circumstances no great result could be anticipated from the ban. Luther's success was, indeed, more endangered by the indiscreet zeal of his followers than by the hostility of his adversaries. In his retreat at the Wartburg, which he called his "Patmos," he spent ten months under the name of Junker, or Squire, George. His solitude, however, was not passed in idleness. Besides writing several tracts, he applied himself assiduously to the study of Greek and Hebrew, and translated the New Testament into German: till at

length some disturbances at Wittenberg determined him, at whatever risk, to return to that town.

In spite of the length to which he had carried his speculative opinions, Luther had as yet made no alterations in the forms and observances of religion, when, towards the end of 1521, the Augustinian friars of Meissen and Thuringia formally abolished the saying of Mass, and dissolved their convents; a proceeding which alarmed great part of the clergy, and created much anxiety at the Court of Elector Frederick. Carlstadt, who officiated at Wittenberg during Luther's absence, pushed these innovations still further, and Melancthon had not courage to oppose him. Dislike of celibacy was one of the chief causes which favoured the advance of the Reformation among German ecclesiastics. Two priests of the Wittenberg school, Jacob Seidler, of Glashütten, and Bartholomew Bernhardt, of Kempen, had this year set the German clergy the first example of marriage. Seidler, who lived in the dominions of Duke George of Saxony, was thrown into prison, where he died; while of Bernhardt, who was under the rule of Elector Frederick, no notice was taken. Although the lawfulness of a priest's marriage was a question that had only just begun to be mooted, and though Luther himself had not made up his mind on the subject, Carlstadt, after publishing a treatise against celibacy, took a wife, and even made a great parade of his wedding, by inviting all the Saxon princes and gentry to be present at it. Wishing to distinguish himself as a reformer, he incited the students to break down the altars and images in the churches, began to administer the sacrament in both kinds, to abolish the elevation of the Host, to admit communicants without confession, and to make other innovations. He repaired to the stalls of cobblers for instruction in Scripture, denounced all profane learning, and recommended the students to betake themselves to manual labour, so that the University began to break up. In short, he had joined a band of fanatics, founded by one Klaus Storch, a clothier of Zwickau, who made their appearance at this time in Wittenberg. Another leader of Storch's band was Thomas Münzer, of whom we shall hear again. These men, who pretended to supernatural visions and revelations, and insisted specially on the necessity of adult baptism, obtained the name of the Zwickau prophets. From them sprang the sect of Anabaptists.

These outbreaks of fanaticism, the unavoidable accompaniments of the Reformation, have been made one of its standing

reproaches; though it would be as reasonable to complain of the summer weather, because whilst it brings the fruits of the earth to maturity, it also produces the thunderstorm. In all great revolutions are to be found men whose vanity or rashness prompts them to overstep the bounds of reason and moderation, or whose enthusiasm, when once released from the fetters of authority, can no longer be controlled. But Luther, who was distinguished by the cautiousness with which he adopted his conclusions, as much as by the uncompromising boldness with which, when once formed, he carried them out, viewed these excesses with alarm, as likely to alienate the minds of the wise and prudent from his cause; and he resolved to put a stop to them, by returning immediately to Wittenberg. The Elector Frederick admonished him that the Imperial edict stood in the way, and that if called upon to enforce it, he knew not how he could decline; but Luther, conscious of his power, determined to leave the Wartburg. His letter to the Elector, from Borna, March 5th, 1522, when on his way back to Wittenberg, in which he talks in a high tone of protecting Frederick, rather than the Elector him, seems to reverse the relations of lord and subject.¹

Luther arrived safely in Wittenberg, March 7th. The Elector made him draw up a sort of apology, in which he acknowledged that he had taken this step of his own accord; and this letter, after its wording had been made a little more civil, was forwarded by Frederick to the Imperial Council at Nuremberg. Luther, after his return, preached eight consecutive days, inculcating the need of moderation and caution. These discourses are among the best he ever delivered. Like those of Savonarola, they are truly appeals to the people, but with the view of calming instead of rousing their passions.² By degrees his influence and authority allayed the storm. He did not indeed absolutely disapprove of all the changes which had been made at Wittenberg; his chief objection to them was that they were premature; he even retained some of the most essential ones, and left others, as things indifferent, to the option of the people. In the course of the year he published the German Testament which he had been preparing at the Wartburg; a book which, together with Luther's other literary works, eventually made the High-German dialect

¹ "Ich hab's auch nicht im Sinn, von E. K. F. G. Schutz zu begehren. Ja, ich halt, ich wolle E. K. F. G. mehr schützen, denn sie mich schützen könnte," u. s. w. — Luther's *Brüfe*, De Wette, B. ii. S. 137.

² *Sieben Predigten D. M. L., so er von dem Sontage invocavit bis auf den andern Sontag gethan, als er aus seiner Pathmos zu Wittenberg wieder ankommen.* . . .

the literary and polite language of all Germany, to the exclusion of the Low-German of the north and west.¹ Luther examined the Zwickau prophets, and soon dismissed them as altogether contemptible—a treatment more galling to these fanatics than the bitterest persecution. Enraged at Luther's cool contempt, Carlstadt, Storch, and Münzer and their followers, withdrew from Wittenberg, loading him with all the opprobrious epithets which rage could suggest, calling him liar, courtly fool, flattering rascal, &c.² These symptoms caused Luther much anxiety. He foresaw that the agitation of his doctrines must produce a period of disturbance before the Reformation could be established; and he expressed these feelings in some letters which he wrote at this period. A silent movement had, indeed, begun among the people, who applied Luther's method to politics, and had he been so inclined, he might have easily kindled a rebellion in Germany. He was conscious of this power himself, and says in one of his writings, "Had I wished to proceed with violence, I might have made Germany a scene of blood; nay, I might have played such a game at Worms that the Emperor himself would not have been safe. But what would it have been?—a fool's game."³

Although, however, Lutheranism was spreading through the greater part of Germany, there were some States in which it was successfully repressed by the government. Duke George of Saxony forbade attendance on the evangelical worship, under pain of banishment, while the preaching or propagating of the new doctrines was punished capitally; he recalled all his subjects who were studying at Lutheran places, and prohibited the reading and sale of the German Bible; a proceeding for which he was branded by Luther as an apostle of the devil. In Bavaria the Reformation had at first made as much progress as in any other part of Germany; no attention had been paid to Leo's bulls, nor had the Edict of Worms been put into execution. The Dukes of Bavaria seemed as much opposed as other German Princes to the meddling of clergy in temporal affairs; but towards the end of 1521 they began to draw towards the Papal Court, and on the

¹ A modern German historian has remarked, that nobody since Luther has possessed his mastery over the language of the people, except Lessing. Göthe wrote for the higher classes. Schlosser, *Weltgeschichte*, B. xi. S. 333.

² Luther's *Werke*, B. xv. S. 2367 ff.

³ "Wenn ich hätte wollen mit Unge-

mach fahren, ich wollte Deutschland in ein grosses Blutvergiessen gebracht haben; ja, ich wollte zu Worms ein Spiel angereicht haben, dass der Kaiser nicht sicher wäre gewesen. Aber was wäre es? Narrenspiel wäre es gewesen."—Ap. Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. i. S. 69.

5th. of March, 1522, they issued a mandate commanding their subjects to abide by the ancient doctrines, and prescribing severe penalties against those who disobeyed. They seem to have been determined to this course chiefly by the disturbances created at Wittenberg by Carlstadt and the Zwickau prophets. Dr. Eck, the well-known opponent of Luther, was the principal agent in effecting this union between the Bavarian Dukes and the Court of Rome, in which the former found their temporal advantage. Pope Adrian granted them the fifth of all ecclesiastical incomes within their dominions; a concession which was renewed from time to time, and continued to form one of the chief bases of the Bavarian system of finance. Thus, by a union with Rome, the Dukes of Bavaria obtained, although at the cost of their independence, what other Princes seized by separating from her. About the same time Bavaria and Austria entered into a compact against the Lutherans.¹

Luther's prophetic vision of future civil disturbances was probably suggested, not only by the fanaticism of the Zwickau prophets, but also by the spirit which he saw fermenting among the *Ritterschaft*, or knighthood, of Germany. The *Landfriede*, or public peace, was set at naught by this order. Nuremberg itself, though the seat of the Council of Regency and of the Imperial Chamber, was surrounded with the wildest feuds. In 1522 the most reckless of the knights, under the leadership of Hans Thomas von Absberg, scoured all the roads: no merchant or caravan was safe. They still retained the barbarous custom of cutting off the right hand of those whom they made prisoners.² The rising of the Rhenish knights under Franz von Sickingen the same year, assumed the proportions of regular warfare; and though its object was political, it was partly connected with religious motives. Sickingen was then the richest and most powerful knight in the Rhenish country; his reputation had been increased by the part which he played in the Imperial election, and he was, moreover, an Imperial counsellor, chamberlain, and general. In the spring of 1522 Sickingen became the head of a league, formed at Landau by the knights of the Upper Rhine, with the view of defending their order against the Princes of the Empire. The knights were discontented with the new institutions; with the Suabian League, at once complainant, judge, and executioner, with the Imperial Chamber, with the Council of Regency; in short, with everything which threatened to curtail

¹ Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 151 foll.

² *Ibid.* S. 102.

their lawless and irresponsible power. They made religion the pretext of their violence, and their hatred of the clergy drew many to their standard. These noble robbers professed themselves friends of the Gospel; and in Sickingen's castle of Ebernburg and its neighbourhood the purity of evangelical worship had made greater progress even than at Wittenberg itself! He claimed the support of Luther, to whom he had often tendered his protection, and the adherence of the monk of Wittenberg would have given wonderful strength to his cause; but Luther had always declared against the employment of force, and Sickingen received from him nothing but exhortations to peace.

On the 27th of August, 1522, Sickingen, although the custom, as we have seen, had been legally abolished, declared a feud, or private war, against Richard von Greiffenklau, Archbishop and Elector of Treves, "for the things which he had done against God and the Emperor's Majesty;" and in his manifesto he promised the subjects of the Archbishop, "that he would release them from the heavy anti-christian law of the priests, and help them to Gospel freedom." The immediate cause of the war, however, originated in one of those deeds of violence which the German-knights regarded themselves as privileged to commit. Two knights belonging to the League of Landau having demands on two vassals of the Archbishop, broke into the Electorate of Treves, and carried off two of the richest inhabitants, one of whom was the suffragan's father, in order to extort an exorbitant ransom. For this Sickingen made himself responsible, and the two captives were dismissed; but on their return they obtained from their superior lord, the Archbishop, a release from their engagement. This act was the pretext of Sickingen's foray, who appears to have reckoned, though without foundation, on the support of the Emperor himself.¹ An army of knights and mercenaries, consisting of 5,000 foot and 1,500 horse, assembled at the Castle of Ebernburg, near Kreuznach, where Sickingen occasionally resided, and with these forces he appeared before Treves. He was assisted in his enterprise by Albert, Elector of Mentz; but Philip, the young Landgrave of Hesse and friend of Luther, was against Sickingen, as well as the Palsgrave Frederick, who had formerly supported him. By the vigilance of Philip and the Palsgrave, Sickingen was deprived of the help which he had expected from the other knights of Germany, and after remaining a week before Treves, was compelled to abandon the siege. On the 8th of

¹ Letter of Planitz, ap. Ranke, *ibid.* S. 109, Ann. note. Cf. Pfeffel, t. ii. p. 125.

October he was put under the ban of the Empire, and soon after his castles of Drachenfels, Ebernburg, Kallenfels, Neustuhl, Hohenburg, and Linzenburg, being either captured or threatened, he caused Landstuhl, near Kaiserslautern, to be fortified anew, where he hoped to defend himself till the knights should come to his assistance. But this was prevented by the allied Princes. In April, 1523, Philip of Hesse, the Elector of Treves, and the Palgrave, appeared before Landstuhl with a formidable artillery; the castle walls, twenty-four feet thick, were breached and reduced almost to a heap of ruins; yet Sickingen defended himself like a hero till the 7th of May, when having been severely wounded, he was forced to capitulate. When the Princes entered the castle, they found him lying in a vaulted chamber at the point of death. "What have I done," exclaimed the Archbishop, "that you should attack me and my poor people?" "Or I," added the Landgrave, "that you should overrun my land in my minority?" Sickingen replied, "I must now answer to a greater Lord." Then his chaplain, Nicholas, asked him if he would confess? and Sickingen said, "I have already in my heart confessed to God." Hereupon the chaplain addressed to him the last words of consolation; and as he lifted up the Host on high, while the Princes bowed their heads and kneeled, Sickingen expired. The Princes said a pater-noster for his soul.¹

The fall of Landstuhl was the death knell of feudal violence in Germany. The harnessed knights and their strong castles yielded at length to the progress of modern ideas and improvements in the art of war. All the strongholds of Sickingen and his friends, twenty-seven in number, now fell into the hands of the Princes. Ebernburg was the only castle that made any prolonged defence, and here a rich booty was taken. At the same time the Suabian League, whose army of 16,000 or 17,000 men had assembled at Nördlingen, under command of George Truchsess, of Waldburg, destroyed the greater part of the castles of the Franconian knights. The German knighthood never rose again.²

It was fortunate for Luther and his cause that he had not joined the party of the knights. The religious disputes now began gradually to assume a political aspect. The conference at Jüterbog, in 1523, where the Elector of Saxony, the Dukes of Brunswick, and the Princes of Anhalt, all partisans of Luther, discussed the

¹ Münch, *Franz von Sickingens Thaten*, B. iii. S. 222.

² For this feud, as well as for the whole history of these German knights, see

Münch, *Franz von Sickingens Thaten*; Meiner, *Leben Huttens*; Freher, *Rer. Germ. SS.* t. iii. No. 23 (*Historiola de Francisci à Sickingen rebus gestis, &c.*).

means of securing themselves against the effects of the Edict of Worms, laid the foundation of the subsequent Lutheran League at Torgau. The terrible insurrection of the German peasants, which broke out in 1524, was, like the war of the knights, partly political, partly religious ; but before we relate that event, we must briefly advert to the relations between Germany and Rome.

In November, 1522, Pope Adrian had complained to the Diet assembled at Nuremberg that the Edict of Worms remained unexecuted, nay, that Luther was encouraged by many distinguished persons, and particularly by the Saxon-Elector ; and he required that the arch-heretic should be destroyed with fire, as a gangrened and incurable member, unless he immediately retracted his errors. At the same time Adrian instructed his Legate, Chiericato, to admit that many abuses prevailed in the Church, for which these heresies might be regarded as a divine visitation, and to notify his resolution to reform the Court of Rome. These confessions, as had been foretold by the more worldly-minded prelates, were eagerly seized upon by the States ; who, after adverting to them, required the abolition of annates, and the calling of a General Council within a year in some German city. They declined to resort to any violent measures for fear of creating disturbances ; but they engaged to use their influence with the Saxon Elector, to prevent Luther from publishing anything further ; and they took the opportunity again to present their *Centum Gravamina*, or list of a hundred abuses in the Church. Before the termination of the Diet, the Legate Chiericato pressed once more for the punishment of Luther, and for a restriction of the liberty of the press ; but the States dismissed his application with a short answer, that they were busy with other matters, and could do nothing till their list of grievances had been handed to the Pope, and some prospect of redress afforded.

Diets were also held at Nuremberg, then the seat of government, in 1523 and 1524. When Cardinal Campeggio attended the latter Diet as Legate of Clement VII., he found the state of religious feeling completely altered since his previous visit to Germany. He had then seen that country full of submission to Papal authority ; now, on passing through Augsburg, and, after the traditional fashion, giving his benediction with uplifted hand, he was only received with ridicule. In consequence of this reception, as well as of a hint from the Council of Regency, he laid aside his Cardinal's hat, and omitted all the usual ceremonies on entering Nuremberg ; and instead of going to St. Sebald's Church, where

the clergy were waiting to receive him, he proceeded at once to his lodgings. Clement VII., with his usual crooked policy, instructed Campeggio to act as if the *Centum Gravamina* had never reached the Court of Rome in a formal shape; and, treating them merely as a document drawn up by private individuals, to point out the assumed perversity and exaggeration of the complaints. This palpable stratagem gave great offence, and the reforms proposed by Campeggio were regarded as ridiculously inadequate. The recess of the Diet (April 18th, 1524) ordered that the Edict of Worms should be executed "as far as possible"—a vague expression, which left every one to act as he chose—that a General Council should be summoned, and that meanwhile the list of *Gravamina* should be drawn up afresh, and discussed in a new Diet to be held at Spire in the following November.

Campeggio at once saw the danger of such an assembly, and determined to prevent it. With this view he convoked at Ratisbon, towards the end of June, a meeting of those princes and prelates who were zealous supporters of the Court of Rome, as the Archduke Ferdinand, the Dukes of Bavaria, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and others; and he persuaded them to make such representations to the Emperor as induced him to prohibit the intended Diet at Spire. Charles addressed, from Burgos, a letter to the States, in which the views of the Papal party were supported in the warmest terms. He complained that the Edict of Worms remained a dead letter, and that a General Council was insisted on without even asking his opinion; he declared that he would never consent to a meeting like that appointed at Spire, in which the German States were to enter upon a subject which not all Europe, with the Pope himself at its head, was competent to settle; he denounced Luther, whom, after his tutor Adrian, he compared to Mahomet, as the promulgator of inhuman opinions; and he concluded by forbidding the appointed Diet under pain of incurring the penalty of high treason and the ban of the Empire. The States yielded to the Emperor's commands so far as concerned the calling of the Diet; but they took no steps to enforce the Edict of Worms, although the Kings of England and Portugal, at the instance of Clement, seconded the exhortations of the Emperor.¹

It was evident that the government was unable to repress the movement. Luther, however, ill content with the resolutions of the Diet of Nuremberg, published a treatise, in which he pointed

¹ Luther's *Werke*, B. xv. S. 2705 ff; Sleidan, lib. iv. p. 99 (ed. Frankf. 1610).

out and ridiculed in the boldest language the contradictions between them and the Edict of Worms. He was every day growing bolder in his reforms. He had published, in 1523, directions to the clergy respecting the Church service; and he expected municipal magistrates to put their hands to the work, without consulting the Elector Frederick, whom he represented as acquiescing in what was done by others, though unwilling to do anything himself. Frederick appears to have felt some compunction at abolishing the saying of Mass, and was filled with alarm at the riots which accompanied these innovations. The Chapter of Wittenberg also resisted Luther's views, and it was not till Christmas eve, 1524, that he succeeded in establishing his new liturgy. He had just before taken the final step which severed him from the Roman communion. On the 9th of October he quitted the Augustinian convent at Wittenberg, laid aside his monk's habit, and entered the church in the dress of a secular priest.

On the other hand, the Catholics were uniting to uphold the Church. In spite of the jealousy between the Houses of Bavaria and Austria, Campeggio, the Papal Legato, persuaded Dukes William and Louis of Bavaria to unite with the Archduke Ferdinand in defence of the Church. An agreement was entered into at Ratisbon, July 6th, 1524, between these three Princes, the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Bishops of Trent, Ratisbon, Bamberg, Spiers, Strasbùrg, Augsburg, Constance, Basle, Freising, Passau and Brixen, to enforce in their territories the Edict of Worms, and the recesses of the last two Diets of Nuremberg; also, not to alter the Church service, not to permit the marriage of the clergy, and, in general, to use their best endeavours to extirpate heresy. At the same time several reforms in the Church were adopted. In short, it was the first attempt to restore Catholicism by improving it, and thus to blunt the weapons of the reformers. It shows, however, a great change in public opinion, that neither the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, nor Duke George of Saxony, the two most decided opponents of Luther, joined this combination; nor any of the Imperial cities, nor of the spiritual Electors. The alliance of Bavaria and Austria alone secured the Roman Church in Germany. The enemies of the Reformation were beginning to imbrue their hands in the blood of the reformers. In 1524 a crazy Dominican in Suabia, named Reichler, caused all the Lutherans he could lay hands on to be hanged on the next tree. Henry of Zutphen, whose martyrdom

has been described by Luther,¹ was put to death at Dietmar. Similar executions took place at Buda and Prague, as well as at Vienna; and two Augustinian friars were burnt at Brussels.

An insurrection of the peasantry at this period threatened, however, more danger to the Lutheran cause than any measures which the Roman party might adopt. The peasants, as well as the inhabitants of the smaller towns in Upper Germany, had long been discontented with their condition, the villein services exacted from them, the wasting and plundering of their lands during private wars, and other grievances, particularly the increased taxes on their favourite drinks; and they were animated to resistance by the example of the Swiss, who had fought for and won their freedom. Insurrections had repeatedly taken place, of which two are especially remarkable: that called the *Bundschuh*, in 1502, and the League of Poor Conrad, in Würtemberg, in 1514, to which we have already adverted. The religious revolution set on foot by Luther was undoubtedly fitted to stir up these elements of discontent: and it cannot be denied that his address to the people on the recess of the Diet of Nuremberg, in which he denounces, as tyrants and persecutors of the Gospel, the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire, and in the words of Scripture threatens them with a fall, was calculated to foment these commotions, which, however, were originally little connected with any religious question. Symptoms of insurrection began to manifest themselves in June, 1524, but it was not till the following year that they attained any importance. The revolt began in Suabia and the Thurgau, where the Abbot of Reichenau had forbidden his subjects to listen to evangelical preachers. The Suabian League succeeded in temporarily restoring order; the leaders of the malcontents were put to death or outlawed: but nothing was done to alleviate the grievances complained of. In the beginning of 1525 the insurrection broke out afresh, with more violence. The peasants of Suabia, Franconia, Lorraine, Alsace and the Palatinate now rose in open revolt, and published a manifesto containing their demands in twelve articles, which very much resembled those previously urged by the *Bundschuh*. The principal were, that the peasants should be allowed to choose their own pastors; that tithes should be paid in kind only, and should be appropriated to the clergy, the poor, and purposes of public improvement; that serfdom should be abolished; that the right of hunting and

¹ *Werke*, B. xxi. S. 94.

fishing, and the use of forests should be free: together with other articles respecting taxes and penal laws. This manifesto, and another writing, the peasants submitted to the judgment of Luther, a proceeding which very much embarrassed him.* In the Exhortation which he published in reply, he told the spiritual and temporal Princes who had opposed his doctrines, some home truths respecting their government; and he ascribed the disturbances to the repression of the Gospel: then, addressing himself in friendly language to the rebels, he inculcated the duty of submission, by which he incurred the charge of hypocrisy.*

In February, 1525, Ulrich, the expelled Duke of Würtemberg (vol. i. p. 372), broke into Suabia with 10,000 Swiss mercenaries; when the peasants, who had formerly complained of his tyranny, flocked to his standard, and talked of the good days they had once enjoyed under his sway. He pushed on as far as Stuttgart; but the Swiss being recalled by their government after the battle of Pavia, he was obliged to make a hasty retreat. Truchsess, of Waldburg, head of the Suabian League, who had taken the field against the peasants, refused to make any concessions. Whilst he was in the Allgau, and on the Lake of Constance, the peasants, led by one Metzler, penetrated into Franconia, plundering and burning down monasteries and castles. Hearing that Truchsess had caused some of their comrades to be put to death, they retaliated by killing Count Ludwig von Helfenstein and sixty of his followers, whom they had captured when they surprised the town of Weinsberg: and they turned a deaf ear to the supplications of his wife, a natural daughter of the Emperor Maximilian. This deed, which, however, had been provoked by the cruelties of Count Ludwig, enraged the nobles against them. It also spoilt their cause in the eyes of Luther, who denounced them all as murderers; called upon the princes and nobles to show no forbearance or pity, and urged them to the work of death in harsh and even bloodthirsty language.¹

Some of the knights and nobles joined the revolt, either from fear or the hope of obtaining a share in the plunder, and among them the renowned Götz von Berlichingen, who became one of the leaders of the peasants, but, as he protested, by compulsion. He stood in an equivocal light with both parties.² The peasants

¹ Erasmus has reproached him for it in his *Hyperaspistes*, ap. Menzel, B. i. S. 101. Erasmus and Luther were now at variance. As the Reformation proceeded, the former clung closer to the old

Church, and in 1524 he had attacked Luther's doctrine respecting the servitude of the will.

² Pistorius, *Götzens von Berlichingen Lebensbeschreibung*, S. 207.

were at first successful, and besieged and occupied Würzburg. Truchsess, who was aided by George Frunsberg, advancing from the Lake of Constance with the army of the Suabian League, overthrew a body of them on the 2nd of May, and speedily reduced the whole of Würtemberg to obedience to Archduke Ferdinand. At Fünfeld, Truchsess united his army with that of the Elector Palatine, and marched against another body of the peasants; they could not withstand the cannon and cavalry of their opponents; and after a bloody defeat at Königshofen, early in June, could offer little further resistance. Innumerable prisoners were taken and hanged on the high roads, or otherwise put to death, sometimes with dreadful tortures. About the same time Duke Anthony of Lorraine and his brother Claude, Count of Guise, overthrew the insurgent boors in Lorraine and Alsace, with great slaughter. It is reckoned that about 100,000 persons perished in this rebellion, which reduced the most populous and fertile districts to solitudes filled with corpses and smoking ruins. Götz von Berlichingen was captured, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment in his own castle, where he remained eleven years: but after the dissolution of the Suabian League, he was pardoned by the Emperor, and subsequently served some campaigns in Hungary and France.

The revolt would have sooner come to an end had not its dying embers been fanned and kept alive by the fanaticism of Thomas Münzer, whose expulsion from Wittenberg has been already recorded. From that place Münzer proceeded to Altstedt in Thuringia, where, inspired, as he pretended, by the Holy Ghost, he set about restoring the Church as it existed under the Apostles, till he was banished at the instance of Duke George of Saxony. A like fate attended him at Nuremberg; but at the Imperial city of Mühlhausen he was favourably received by the populace, with whose aid he deposed the magistrates and drove the monks from their convents. Münzer, however, though a wild and extravagant fanatic, was a man of moral habits, and did not indulge in those violences and excesses which afterwards characterized the Anabaptists of Münster. His aim was to establish a theocratic government, and he instituted at Mühlhausen a body called the "Perpetual Council," of which he was himself the president.¹ He now proclaimed liberty, equality, and community of goods: doctrines which drew to Mühlhausen

¹ Melancthon's account that Münzer lived luxuriously on the property of the expelled monks, appears, like many other

of his assertions on this subject, to be without foundation. See Schlosser, *Weltgesch.* B. xii. S. 35.

crowds of the idle, the disaffected, and the knavish. As frequently happens in such cases, Münzer soon lost the control of the movement which he had excited. One Pfeiffer, a renegade monk of Reiffenstein, a still greater and more dangerous fanatic than himself, insisted on extending the sect beyond the walls of Mühlhausen. The insurrection of the peasants encouraged the design; inroads were made on the surrounding districts; churches, convents, and castles were plundered, and the assertors of community of goods returned home richly laden with those of other people. Pfeiffer made a devastating expedition into the Eichsfeld, and Erfurt was sacked by a body of many thousand boors. All the country was at that time in arms, from the Lake of Constance to Northern Germany. Münzer thought the moment had arrived for raising the standard against the Princes; and he proceeded, with this design, to Frankenhäusen, where he found a great body of Mansfeld miners, who had fled thither to escape the arms of their lord, Count Albert. The Landgrave Philip of Hesse, having quelled the insurrection in his own dominions, now allied himself with Duke Henry of Brunswick, Duke George of Saxony, and some neighbouring Princes, in order to put down the Anabaptists. Having marched on Frankenhäusen, and being willing to avoid an unnecessary shedding of blood, they despatched a young nobleman to treat of peace, whom Münzer barbarously caused to be put to death. Battle was now the only alternative. On the 15th of May, 1525, Münzer led forth his defenceless herd, without discipline or arms, promising them the miraculous protection of God, and invoking the Holy Ghost with hymns and prayers. Their trust was soon converted into despair. They were defeated and slaughtered almost without resistance, and Münzer, who had attempted to hide himself, was captured and examined under torture.

In the midst of these disturbances, died the Elector Frederick the Wise (May 5th, 1525). He was succeeded by his brother, John of Saxony, who joined the allied Princes, and proceeded with them to Mühlhausen. Pfeiffer was inclined to defend the place, but the inhabitants were of a different opinion, and Pfeiffer fled in the night with about four hundred followers. He was captured at Eisenach, where he and some of the older prisoners were beheaded. Münzer, who was also brought to the camp for execution, returned, when on the point of death, to the Catholic faith.¹

¹ The chief sources for this insurrection, are Criniti, *Belii Rusticani Historia*, in Ephemer, t. iii.; Hub. Thomæ Leodii, *de Epidem Bello*, *ibid.*; Melancthon's

John, surnamed the Steadfast, the new Elector of Saxony, was a much more zealous supporter of the Reformation than his brother had been. Frederick had merely tolerated Luther; John became his declared adherent. Encouraged by his support, Luther abolished the remnants of Papistry still retained in the Castle Church at Wittenberg, announced the abolition of episcopal jurisdiction, and ordained the first evangelical minister in that city (May 14th). These innovations were also adopted by the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Dukes of Brunswick, Cello, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania. In the following month Luther took to wife Catharine of Bora, who, like himself, had been the inmate of a cloister. This act gave his enemies an excellent opportunity for slander and abuse. Luther, it was said, had brought two carriage-loads of nuns from a convent, and selected the abbess as the handsomest, and that a child had been baptized four weeks after the marriage. Others said that Catharine had lived two years at Wittenberg in a house of ill fame.¹

The Suabian League, in which the confederates of Ratisbon had the chief influence,² followed up their victory by persecution. Many who had taken no part in the insurrection were put to death merely on account of their evangelical principles; amongst them nine of the richest citizens of Bamberg. A provost, named Aichili, proceeded through Suabia and Franconia with a body of horsemen to superintend the executions, and it is reckoned that in a very narrow circuit he hanged about forty evangelical preachers on trees by the road-side. Luther denounced these proceedings as strongly as he had condemned the insurrection of the peasants. It was the first violent restoration of Catholicism in High Germany. Nevertheless, some of the towns belonging to the League itself, as Nuremberg and Augsburg, adopted the evangelical forms; and though Würtemberg had been conquered by the League, its States declared that evangelism was necessary to the peace of that country.

One of the most remarkable revolutions in the neighbourhood of Germany this year was the secularization of the Polish territory belonging to the Teutonic Order, its erection into an hereditary duchy, and the establishment thereof of Lutheranism. We have already related that by the peace of Thorn in 1446, the Teutonic Order made over West Prussia to Poland, and consented to hold

Historie Thomä Münzers, in *Luther's Werke*, Th. xvi.; Sleidan, lib. v. The best modern history of the Peasant War of Germany is Zimmermann's *Gesch. des*

grossen Bauernkrieges.

¹ Raynald. an. 1523, t. xii. pp. 424, 428, 430.

² Above, p. 12.

East Prussia under the Polish King and Republic. The Grand-Masters of the Teutonic Order soon attempted to shirk the feudal homage due to Poland, and even to recover Western Prussia. At the period at which we are arrived, Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, of the Franconian branch,¹ filled the office of Grand-Master, having been chosen in 1511, in the hope that by means of his family connections he would be able to restore the Order's independence. This, however, he was unable to do; and in April, 1521, after an unfortunate war, he was glad to conclude, through the mediation of the Emperor, a four years' truce with Poland. The Order had now fallen into poverty and contempt, and the immoral lives of several of the Knights had rendered it so hateful to the people, that none dared show himself in the mantle of his Order;² while, on the other hand, many of them had become converts to Lutheranism, and, in spite of their vows, had contracted marriage. During the truce, Albert travelled into Germany, and attended the Diet of Nuremberg, in the vain hope of obtaining help of the Empire. On his way back he had an interview with Luther, whose principles he had himself partly adopted; when Luther advised him to dissolve the Order, take a wife, and convert Prussia into an hereditary principality. Albert answered only with a smile; but it soon appeared that the hint had not been thrown away. Early in 1524 he brought the Church service more into conformity with the Lutheran worship; and at the expiration of the truce in April, 1525, instead of renewing the war, he repaired to Cracow, and concluded a peace with King Sigismund I., by virtue of which he received East Prussia as a secular duchy, with succession to his heirs, or in their default to his brother George of Anspach, but still in feudal subjection to Poland. Duke Eric of Brunswick, Commander at Memel, the only member of the Order who refused his consent to this arrangement, was at length persuaded to retire into Germany with an annual pension. The new religion was now thoroughly established in East Prussia; and in the following year Albert married Dorothea, daughter of King Frederick I. of Denmark. Such was the origin of the Duchy of Prussia. The Pope declared Albert an apostate, and called upon the Emperor to punish his crime;³ who subsequently placed him under the ban of the

¹ After the death of Albert Achilles, Elector of Brandenburg, the Hohenzollern House became divided into two branches, one of which possessed Brandenburg, the other the Franconian principalities of

Anspach and Baireuth.

² Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. i. S. 118.

³ Raynaldus, an. 1526, t. xii. p. 604.

Empire. Albert, however, found security in his remote situation, and in the protection of the King of Poland; for, though Sigismund was a zealous Catholic, the interest of his Kingdom required the suppression of the Teutonic Order. Luther also endeavoured to persuade Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop and Elector of Mentz, to follow the example of his namesake and cousin, and convert his Electorate into a secular principality; a proceeding which probably he would not have been averse to adopt, had not the putting down of the insurrection of the peasants relieved him from his fears that the spiritual principalities were coming to an end.

All these events greatly altered Luther's situation, and determined the political character of the German Reformation. Instead of the man of the people, Luther became the man of the Princes; the mutual confidence between him and the masses, which had supported the first faltering steps of the movement, was broken; the democratic element was supplanted by the aristocratic; and the Reformation, which at first had promised to lead to a great national democracy, ended in establishing the territorial supremacy of the German Princes. The bold knights to whom Luther had formerly appealed, had vanished from his view: Götz von Berlichingen was in prison; Franz von Sickingen had died in defence of his last stronghold; and Ulrich von Hutten had ended his eventful life in exile and poverty on a small island in the Lake of Zürich. The Reformation was gradually assuming a more secular character, and leading to great political combinations. We have already adverted to the Catholic assembly at Ratisbon in 1524; which, though its measures were purely defensive, and its views did not extend beyond the territories of the lay and ecclesiastical Princes who had joined it, had nevertheless set the first example of party union. Both Catholics and Reformers had indeed for a while united to put down the insurrection of the peasants, in which they had succeeded without any help from the Imperial government; but after this had been effected, the old antipathies returned more strongly than ever. The evangelical party, who regarded the Ratisbon assembly as a hostile league, had acquired great power and importance since the Elector John of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, whose dominions extended from Cassel to the Rhine, had openly separated from the Romish Church. Besides these Princes, the new Duke of Prussia, the Counts of Hanau and of Oldenburg, the Imperial cities of Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Strasburg, and several others, compre-

hending great part of Germany, had abolished the Catholic worship. None of these States heeded the commands of the Council of Regency, nor allowed the decisions of the Imperial Chamber to be executed : so that the question was no longer merely one of religious faith, but also of civil government.

In July, 1525, some of the most zealous opponents of the Reformation, Duke George of Saxony, the Elector Joachim I. of Brandenburg, Albert Elector of Mentz, Duke Henry the younger of Wolfenbüttel, and Duke Eric of Calenberg, met together at Dessau, to consult how the continued attacks upon Church and State might be best arrested ; and although there are no authentic records of this meeting, it cannot be doubted that resolutions inimical to the reformers were adopted. Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, supposing that a formal league had been entered into by the Catholics, proposed to the Elector John of Saxony to form on their side a league of mutual security.

These negotiations were brought to a conclusion at Gotha, in February, 1526, and were ratified at Torgau on the 4th of March ; whence this alliance has generally obtained the name of the LEAGUE OF TORGAU. It was disapproved of by Luther ; he thought that all such earthly means implied a distrust of God, who would without them protect and foster true Christianity, as he had done in the centuries of persecution. On the other hand, Duke Henry of Brunswick procured from the Emperor a rescript or exhortation, dated at Seville, March 23rd, 1526, and couched in the strongest terms, in which Charles applauded the anti-Lutheran league, exhorted all Catholic Princes, both lay and ecclesiastical, strenuously to oppose the new doctrines, and promised that, after visiting Rome, he would himself come into Germany and aid in putting down the heretics by force of arms. The hopes of the Catholic party were excited to a high pitch by this letter, and Duke George openly asserted that it was in his power to become Elector of Saxony at any moment he pleased. The evangelical Princes bestirred themselves on their side. The Landgrave of Hesse undertook to canvass the States and Princes of Upper Germany in favour of the League of Torgau ; but met with little success. The Elector Palatine, indeed, was favourable to the cause, but was not prepared openly to join the League. In Lower Germany the Elector of Saxony was more successful in his canvass, chiefly through his family connections ; and at his invitation Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, and Counts Albert and Gebhard of Mansfeld, assembled

at Magdeburg. The Emperor's letter from Seville, now first made known to these Princes, struck them with alarm, and on the 12th of June they subscribed the League of Torgau, to which the town of Magdeburg, at the instance of its magistrates, was subsequently admitted. The confederates declared that as their adversaries had contracted leagues and collected money in order to maintain the old abuses and to make war upon those who allowed God's word to be preached in their dominions; so they had confederated themselves to defend their subjects from unjust aggression, and to assist one another with all their power in case any attack should be made on their religion. Thus a strong and compact evangelical alliance was established, and both parties were fully organized when the Diet of Spire met on the 25th of June.

The Elector John of Saxony appeared at Spire with the greatest splendour. He was attended by a larger number of mounted followers than any other Prince, and had daily to provide for seven hundred mouths. He also distinguished himself by the magnificence of his banquets. The young Landgrave of Hesse was chiefly remarkable for the religious knowledge which he displayed, and is said to have shown himself better versed in Scripture than the Prelates. Both he and the Elector John had adopted as their motto, *Verbum Dei manet in æternum*, which encircled the armorial shields affixed to their lodgings; and, in conformity with their religious pretensions, they had instructed their followers to observe the most decorous behaviour. When the proceedings were opened, the Archduke Ferdinand, who presided, and the commissioners by whom he was attended, at first insisted on the strict observance of the Edict of Worms. But since the date of Charles's letter from Seville, Pope Clement having organized against the Emperor the Holy League,¹ the relations between them were become completely altered, and they were now at open hostility with each other. In consequence of this change, Charles addressed a letter to his brother Ferdinand, July 27th, in which he instructed him to suspend the penalties enjoined by the Edict of Worms, to refer the religious question to the decision of a council, and to use his endeavours to obtain, with the help of the Lutheran Princes, a vote for a large army to serve against the Turks, whose inroads were now become in the highest degree alarming. Under these circumstances, the recess of the Diet was conceived in the most moderate tone (August 27th).

¹ Vol. i. p. 473.

The Emperor was requested to cause a General, or, at all events, a National Council, to be assembled within a year in Germany, and to visit that country himself; and it was resolved that till the Council assembled, every member of the Empire should so conduct himself with regard to the Edict of Worms as he should answer for it towards God and the Emperor; in other words, was to act as he should deem advisable. On the 17th of September the Emperor addressed a violent manifesto to the Pope, in which he accused him of shedding Christian blood to gratify his arrogance and ambition, and called on him to convoke a General Council.¹ A memorable point in the history of Germany and the Reformation! Catholicism probably could not have subsisted in Germany had the Edict of Worms been formally withdrawn; while, on the other hand, if its execution had been insisted on, the evangelical party would not have been able to establish itself by legitimate and peaceful methods. The recess was immediately adopted in Saxony, Hesse, and the neighbouring States, and during the two following years, in which Charles was more engaged with politics than religion, matters took their natural and unimpeded course, so that the Reformation soon gained a wonderful accession of strength.

Before the Diet of Spiers was dissolved, alarming news had arrived of the march of Sultan Solymán towards Hungary with an enormous host; the fall of Peterwardein was already announced; yet the Diet, in its recess dated only the day before the fatal battle of Mohács, contented itself with voting that an embassy should be sent to ascertain how matters really stood! Not a hand was stretched forth to avert the fate of Hungary, which, like Venice previously, was abandoned to its own resources.

We have brought down the affairs of Hungary and the Turks to the capture of Belgrade in 1521.² It was during this war that Ferdinand of Austria celebrated his marriage with Anne, sister of Louis II., King of Hungary and Bohemia. Louis himself, after the Turks had retreated, solemnized his wedding with Mary, sister of Charles and Ferdinand, in the winter of 1521, and took upon himself the conduct of the government.³ That youthful King, then only in his sixteenth year, was unable to control the turbulent nobles of Hungary, who declined all military service, or, if they appeared when summoned, came in their coaches instead of armed and on horseback;⁴ and they imposed impolitic taxes on

¹ Goldasti, *Polit. Imperial*, p. 990, sqq.

² Vol. i. p. 433.

³ Engel, B. iii. S. 229, f.

⁴ *Ibid.* S. 236.

commerce and manufactures in order to raise mercenary troops. Bohemia was in little better plight, and was moreover shaken by religious dissensions. Germany itself, like both those countries, was, as we have seen, ruled practically by a turbulent oligarchy; and it is not therefore surprising that no advantage was taken of the respite afforded by Solymán's expedition to Rhodes in order to prepare against any future attacks of the Turks.

Fortunately for the Hungarians the Sultan was too much engaged during the next two or three years with the affairs of the Crimea and of Egypt to attack them, though a border warfare had continued to rage on the frontier of Hungary since the capture of Belgrade. Solymán had purposely abstained from making peace, and he observed the same policy with regard to Persia, whose Shah, Thamasp, successor of Ismael, the founder of the Sofi dynasty, had formed an alliance with the Emperor Charles V., and with King Louis of Hungary. By the year 1525, Achmet Pasha, the rebellious Governor of Egypt, had been reduced to obedience, Asia Minor had been tranquillized, the power of Persia had been shaken, the revolts of the Janissaries had been quelled; the Osmanli army, wasted by the terrible siege of Rhodes, had been recruited to its pristine strength, and Solymán was at leisure to turn his attention towards the north. These results had been achieved principally through the vigilance and talents of the Sultan's Grand Vizier and favourite, Ibrahim Pasha, the son of a Greek sailor of Parga. Captured when a child by Turkish corsairs, and bought by a Magnesian widow, who caused him to be instructed in several European and Asiatic languages, Ibrahim had early displayed considerable talent, and was fond of studying history; but it was his engaging countenance and a talent for playing the violin that introduced him into the Seraglio, where he soon became Solymán's chief favourite. Appointed Grand Vizier in 1523, he held that office till his fall and death in 1536; and much of the splendour and importance of Solymán's reign must be attributed to the influence of this remarkable man. His character formed a strange compound of cunning, audacity, and grandeur. Born himself a subject of Venice, his government was swayed by Venetian influence, the man whom he chiefly consulted being Alóysio Gritti, an illegitimate son of Andrea Gritti, who was Doge of Venice from 1523 to 1538.

In 1525 Solymán began his preparations for invading Hungary; and he made a truce for seven years with Sigismund of

Poland, so that Louis could hope for no help from that quarter. An alliance had been also contracted between France and the Porte.¹ A French embassy to the Sultan was intercepted by the Sandjak of Bosnia; the ambassador, whose name does not appear, was murdered, together with his twelve attendants, and robbed of all the valuable presents which he was conveying to the Sultan; among them a ruby of great price, which Francis had worn on his finger at the battle of Pavia. This ring was subsequently recovered, and came into the possession of Ibrahim. There is a lurking suspicion that this deed of violence was committed with the privity of Ferdinand, who appears to have known that negotiations were carrying on between Francis and the Sultan; and the Turks have, indeed, often expressed their horror at the assassinations committed by the House of Austria.² After this failure, Francis, while still a prisoner at Madrid, contrived to send a member of the Frangipani family as ambassador to Constantinople, who succeeded in effecting an alliance between the French King and the Sultan. Francis pressed Solyman to invade Hungary, whilst the French attacked Spain, to which arrangement the Sultan in general terms assented; for it was indeed a foregone conclusion in his mind.

Early in 1526 the most alarming tidings reached Hungary of Solyman's vast preparations for invading that Kingdom. The Hungarian magnates, at continual feud with one another, were totally unprepared to resist; the lower classes, who had in great numbers imbibed the doctrines of Luther, justified themselves for not taking up arms, by appealing to one of his propositions, which had been condemned by Leo X. in his bull of excommunication, viz., "That to fight against the Turks is equivalent to struggling against God, who has prepared such rods for the chastisement of our sins."³ Above all, the treasury, ever since the reign of Wladislaus, had been in a state of absolute exhaustion. So complete was this poverty, that the capture of Belgrade, five years before, was attributed to the want of fifty florins to defray the

¹ On this alliance see Gevay, *Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Gesch. der Verhältnisse zwischen Oestreich, Ungarn und der Pforte, im xvi. und xvii. Jahrhunderte*, 3 Lieferung, p. 21.

² See a letter addressed by Ferdinand to his brother, the Emperor, from Innsbruck, March 14th, 1525, in Lanz, *Correspondenz des Kaisers, Karl V.*, B. i. S. 155; Cf. Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 311. The murder of the French ambassador is mentioned in a *Relazione* of Pierro Braga-

dino, the Venetian envoy at Constantinople, Dec. 6th, 1525, ap. Hammer, *Mém. sur les premières Relations diplomatiques entre la France et la Porte*, in the *Journal Asiat.* (1827), t. x. p. 23.

³ This proposition, originally directed against Papal rapacity in levying money under pretence of a Turkish war, which was afterwards applied to other purposes, Luther subsequently tried to explain and justify in his treatise *Vom Krieg wider den Türken*, published in 1528.

expense of conveying to that place the ammunition which was lying ready at Buda! The only resource was to borrow of the Fuggers, who lent their money on the security of the Hungarian mines, as they did to Charles V. on the mines of Tyrol, Spain, and America. At length a Diet was appointed to assemble on the 24th of April. Solyman, after visiting the graves of his forefathers, and of the old Moslem martyrs, had set out the day before from Constantinople with a force of 100,000 men. The Hungarian nobles, instead of adopting energetic measures, did nothing but wrangle with their King, or rather with the Queen, who acted for him; for the disposition of Louis was idle and careless, and his slumbers were often protracted till noon. Towards the end of June not a gun nor a vessel was ready at Buda. Louis now revived an ancient custom, and sent round a bloody sabre, as a signal of the most imminent danger. With consent of the Pope, church plate was sent to the mint to be coined; and it was indeed time, for the Papal Legate had been obliged to advance money to defray the expenses of couriers.¹

Fortunately, Solyman's march had been retarded by bad weather, and he did not reach Belgrade before the 9th of July. A flotilla of 800 vessels had conveyed up the Danube a large body of light-armed Janissaries. Peterwardein was taken on the 15th, the citadel on the 27th. A Hungarian council of war was still disputing at Tolna about the mode of operations, when the flames which arose from the town of Eszék announced that the Turks had crossed the Drave, and were in full march upon the capital. The Chancellor, Broderith, who accompanied this expedition, and afterwards wrote an account of it,² in a letter from Tolna to the Queen (August 6th), told her that he did not expect there would be a force sufficient to meet the enemy within twenty or thirty days. A twelvemonth, however, would scarcely have sufficed; for Solyman's army had swollen as it advanced, and after his junction with Ibrahim, was said to number 300,000 men. Yet the young King of Hungary was compelled by his nobles to throw himself in Solyman's way, although he had not yet been joined by his two chief vassals, the Ban of Croatia, and John Zapolya, Voyvode of Transylvania, who was still at Szegedin with his forces. With an army of little more than 20,000 men, whose command was intrusted to the brave but inexperienced Archbishop Tomory and George Zapolya, in the absence of his brother John, Louis awaited, in the swampy plain of Mohács, the approach of Solyman's

¹ Engel, B. iii. S. 289. f.

² In Katona. t. xix. p. 616 sqq.

innumerable host. The King shared the opinion of Broderith, that it would be advisable to retreat to Tolna, and await the arrival of the large forces under John Zapolya. The Palatine and Tomory were, however, for an immediate combat, and infected the army with their rash enthusiasm. On the afternoon of the 29th of August, the Turks began to descend from the hills which the Hungarian generals had left unoccupied. The Hungarians immediately attacked them; but their onslaught was conducted after the ancient fashion. They trusted to their cavalry, and their steel cuirasses; infantry and artillery they had little, in comparison with the Turks; while Solyman, though regarded as a barbarian, had adopted all the appliances of the new art of war. His Janissaries were familiar with the use of fire-arms, and 300 pieces of ordnance bristled in his entrenched camp behind the hills. The leading Turkish squadrons were easily repulsed; their retreat, which was a mere *ruse*, was mistaken for a general flight; the Hungarian cavalry pursued them over the rising ground, and, undeterred by the prospect which now burst upon their view, of the immense extent and impenetrable strength of the Osmanli camp, charged up to the very tent of Solyman himself. They soon paid the penalty of their rashness. Mowed down by the fire of the Janissaries and of the Turkish artillery, they were thrown into disorder, and fled in turn. The young King, led by a Silesian nobleman, had crossed in his flight the muddy stream which traverses the plain of Mohács, when his horse, in attempting to mount the opposite bank, fell backwards, and buried himself and his rider in the morass. The body of Louis was found some time after the battle. The flower of the Hungarian nobility perished on that fatal day, among them the brave Paul Tomory, and many other prelates who had exchanged the crosier for the sword. The Turks committed the most horrible slaughter, to build up their accustomed pyramid of skulls, and burnt down the surrounding towns and villages. There was now nothing to arrest Solyman's march to Buda, the keys of which were presented to him at Földvár; for the Bohemian forces, which, under Adam von Neuhaus and George of Brandenburg, had advanced as far as Raab, retreated when they heard of the overthrow at Mohács. Solyman entered Buda September 10th. According to the Turkish historian,¹ Solaksade, he told the nobles who humbled themselves before his throne at Pesth, that he should be willing to recognize and protect as their King, John Zapolya, the

¹ In Hammer, B. iii. S. 62.

Voyvode of Transylvania, an announcement which doubtless had great effect on the ensuing election. Solyman might probably have subjugated all Hungary, but he was called away by disturbances in Caramania; and after spending a fortnight in Buda, where he celebrated the feast of Bairam, he began his homeward march. He could not prevent a considerable part of the town from being burnt. He or his Vizier Ibrahim carried off the famous library collected by Matthias Corvinus, together with three bronze statues of Hercules, Apollo and Diana, which Ibrahim, who was at no pains to conceal his contempt for the Koran, boldly erected before his palace on the Hippodrome at Constantinople.¹ It is said that more than 200,000 Hungarians were either killed or made slaves during this invasion.²

The battle of Mohács was one of those events which decide the fate of nations. By the death of Louis two Crowns became vacant, the succession to which was a subject of vital importance to the future welfare of Europe; and as Solyman was detained the next two years (1527 and 1528) in Constantinople by other affairs, and especially by the disturbances in Asia Minor, the Hungarians were left at leisure to settle the question among themselves. Ferdinand of Austria, who considered himself entitled to Hungary and Bohemia, both by the treaty of Presburg and by his marriage with Anne, the sister of the deceased King,³ was employed, at the time of the battle of Mohács, in quelling a peasant insurrection which had broken out at Salzburg contemporaneously with that in Suabia and Franconia. He was not therefore in a condition to assert his pretensions by force of arms, and deemed it prudent to submit to the right of election claimed both by the Bohemians and the Hungarians. In both countries he was opposed by a rival candidate. The Bavarian Duke, William I., who competed with him for the throne of Bohemia, was, however, from his intimate connection with the Court of Rome, with which the House of Austria was then at variance, regarded with an evil eye by the Bohemians, who were for the most part inclined to the doctrines of the Reformation; and in October, 1526, Ferdinand was elected by a large majority of the three estates, that is, the nobles, knights, and citizens, and proclaimed King in full assembly. A solemn embassy was sent to Vienna to tender him the Crown; and on the 24th of February, 1527, the

¹ Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 338.

² For this campaign, besides Broderith, in Katona, *loc. cit.*, see the Journal kept by Solyman himself, a translation of which

will be found in Hammer, B. iii. S. 639, foll.

³ Vol. i. p. 353.

anniversary of his brother's birthday, he celebrated his coronation at Prague. The Bohemian States, however, made Ferdinand sign a deed called a *Reverse*, by which he acknowledged that he had obtained the Crown by their free choice, and not from any previous right. On the 11th of May he received at Breslau—for Silesia as well as Lusatia was then subject to the Kingdom of Bohemia—the homage of the Silesians, and of those German Princes who held Bohemian fiefs.

In Hungary Ferdinand had to contend with a more formidable rival in John Zapolya. After the death of his brother George, who was killed at the battle of Mohács, John Zapolya was the richest and most powerful of the magnates, and possessed seventy-two castles in Hungary, of which the finest was Trentschin, situated on a high cliff overhanging the river Waag. Notwithstanding his power, however, Zapolya was no Magyar, but a Slavonian by origin, without much education, and destitute of talent either for the cabinet or the field. The Crown of Hungary is said to have been foretold to him at a very early age; and when, after the death of Wladislaus, the Emperor Maximilian's policy deprived him of the hand of the deceased King's daughter, Anne, as well as of all share in the government, he fell into the bitterest discontent. The results of the battle of Mohács enabled him to assert his pretensions to the Hungarian Crown. He was supported, as we have seen, by the recommendation of Sultan Solymán, as well as by the intrigues and money of Francis I. and of the Pope; above all he was at the head of a large force,¹ which, not having appeared at the battle of Mohács, was still untouched, and was necessary for the protection of the capital. Soon after Solymán's departure, John Zapolya was saluted King at Tokay; and on November 11th, 1526, he was crowned at Alba Regia, or Stuhlweissenburg, by the Archbishop of Gran, with the sacred crown of St. Stephen.² A considerable party, however, devoted to the House of Jagellon, now represented by Ferdinand's consort, Anne, met in the same month at Presburg, and elected the Austrian Archduke for their Sovereign. The possession of Bohemia enabled Ferdinand to raise forces to assert his claim. In vain did Sigismund, King of Poland, at a congress held in April,

¹ Said to have been 40,000 horse. Wolsey's Letter to Henry VIII., Oct., 1526. *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 184.

² The history of this crown, supposed to have been made by angels, and presented by Pope Silvester II. to St. Stephen, sixth Duke and first King of Hungary

(ann. 1000), has been compiled by Peter of Reva, Count of Turocz, keeper of the regalia in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and is published in Schwandtner, *Rer. Hungar. Scripp.* t. ii. p. 435 sqq. The possession of the crown was reputed to confer the rights of sovereignty.

1527, at Olmütz in Moravia, endeavour to mediate between the rivals ; in vain did Pope Clement VII., now the Emperor's prisoner, excommunicate Zapolya at his dictation ;¹ nothing could decide this dispute but the arbitrament of the sword. In the latter part of July, Ferdinand marched towards Hungary with an army of German troops under command of Casimir, Margrave of Brandenburg, Nicholas of Salm, and Count Mansfeld. On the 31st, Ferdinand reached the half-ruined tower on the high road from Vienna to Buda, which marked the boundary between Austria and Hungary ; and no sooner was he on Hungarian soil than he dismounted from his horse, and in presence of the Palatine Bathory, who, with 200 mounted nobles, had come to welcome him, he swore to observe the laws of the Kingdom, and the privileges of the different orders.

The frontier fortresses of Hungary were speedily reduced. As Ferdinand advanced, Zapolya, or King John, was deserted by many of his adherents, and being finally overthrown by Salm at the battle of Tokay, Ferdinand entered Buda on August 20th, St. Stephen's day. That very day he published an edict against the printing of Lutheran and Zwinglian books.² King John, being now almost completely deserted, fled into Transylvania, and Ferdinand, having assembled the greater part of the nobility at Buda, caused himself to be again elected King, and received the Crown at Stuhlweissenburg November 3rd. His consort, Anne, was crowned on the following day. Meanwhile Zapolya had been employing himself in seeking for allies. He had despatched a Pole named Jerome Lasczy, or A Lasco, to the Courts of France and England ; where, though he met with a favourable reception, he does not appear to have obtained any available help. Wolsey advised his master to acknowledge the Voyvode's title as King of Hungary, and to encourage him as a *bogge*, or bugbear, in order to depress the power of Ferdinand ; but to excuse himself from sending any aid, by reason of the great distance between the countries and the cruel war then raging in Christendom. Towards the end of the year Zapolya sent Lasczy to Constantinople, where, with the assistance of the Venetian Gritti, who pretended to follow the trade of a jeweller, he succeeded in February, 1528, in forming an alliance between Solyman and John Zapolya, or as the Turks called him King Janusch ; by the terms of which the Sultan not only engaged to supply guns and ammunition, but also to undertake a fresh expedition into Hungary. King

¹ Katona, t. xx. p. 56 sqq.² Engel, B. iv. S. 2.

Ferdinand also sent ambassadors to the Porte to treat of peace, but as they ventured to ask back the places which the Turks still held in Hungary, they incurred from Ibrahim the bitterest scorn and anger, and were thrown into prison. When at last they were dismissed in March, 1529, after a captivity of several months, Solyman bade them tell their Sovereign that he was coming to visit him in person; and on the 10th of May he again quitted Constantinople for Hungary with a large army. It was a pretension of the Turks, that wherever the horse of the Grand Signor had once trod, and he himself had rested for the night, the Osmanli power was irrevocably established. Solyman had slept in the palace of Buda, and had only refrained from burning it because he intended to return thither: all Hungary, therefore, belonged to the Sultan.¹ As a last resource, Ferdinand despatched another ambassador, provided with letters for Solyman and his Vizier Ibrahim couched in the most humble terms, and with instructions to offer a considerable sum under the name of a yearly pension, for that of *tribute* was too degrading. To such a point was Ferdinand content to humble himself! But it was now too late. Before the ambassador could reach Möttling on the Kulpa, towards the end of August, Solyman was again encamped with an innumerable host on the blood-stained plain of Mohács. Here, where the pith of his countrymen had been destroyed, King John, at the head of a large body of Hungarian magnates, met the Sultan, and did him homage. He was received with great ceremony, and admitted to kiss the Sultan's hand; but the Crown of St. Stephen, the palladium of Hungary, which had adorned the heads of both competitors, was surrendered into Solyman's possession. Since the battle of Mohács, the Turks had greatly extended their dominion in Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia; Jaicza, the last Hungarian bulwark in Bosnia, had fallen in 1528, and its surrender was followed by that of several smaller places in that and the adjoining provinces. There was nothing, therefore, to oppose the advance of the Turks; for southern Hungary was in the hands of King John's party. On September 3rd, 1529, Solyman again appeared under the walls of Buda, which capitulated after a resistance of five days: but in spite of his engagement, the Sultan was unable to save the garrison from the hands of his Janissaries. Here Zapolya, or King John, was again crowned by the hands of one of the Turkish generals.

¹ Engel, B. iv. §. 14.

Solyman in person now marched to Vienna, and invested that capital, while Ferdinand was anxiously waiting at Linz till the German Princes should assemble round him with their promised succours. Even the Protestants—for the German reformers had now acquired that name by their celebrated protest at Spire in the spring of this year—had not withheld their aid from King Ferdinand, and the Elector John of Saxony himself had sent 2,000 men under command of his son. The defence of Vienna against an army of 300,000 Turks with 300 guns, besides a strong flotilla on the Danube, is one of the most brilliant feats in the military history of Germany during the sixteenth century. The van of the Osmanli cavalry appeared before Vienna September 21st, and in a few days the city was surrounded. A small number of Hungarians accompanied the Turkish army, but King John, who is said to have possessed neither military talents nor even personal courage, remained at Buda with a garrison of 3,000 Osmanlis. From the top of St. Stephen's tower the Turkish tents might be discerned scattered over hill and dale for miles, while the white sails of their fleet gleamed on the distant Danube. Solyman pitched his tent at the village of Simmering, on a spot now occupied by a powder magazine. Ibrahim Pasha, recently appointed Seraskier, conducted the operations of the siege. The walls of Vienna were weak and out of repair, and had no bastions on which guns could be planted. The garrison, commanded by Philip of Bavaria, consisted of 20,000 foot and 2,000 cavalry, picked troops from various parts of Germany, including a few Spaniards. They had only seventy-two guns, but these were skilfully disposed. The citizens vied with the troops in valour. The heads of most of the noble Austrian families, the Schwarzenbergs, Stahrenbergs, Auersbergs, Lichtensteins, and others, took part in the sallies: among them the veteran Nicholas of Salm particularly distinguished himself. Solyman sent in a message that if the garrison would surrender, he would not even enter the town, but press on in search of Ferdinand; if they resisted, he should dine in Vienna on the third day: and then he would not spare even the child in the womb. No answer was made; but the preparations for defence were urged on with a dogged resolution, though without much hope of success. The Osmanlis, however, had no well-concerted plan of operations. Their army, according to traditional usage, was divided into sixteen different bodies, to each of which a separate place and a definite object were assigned; and although they had made several breaches

and mined a portion of the walls, all their assaults were repulsed. The last was delivered October 14th, and in the night they began to retreat. They had several reasons for this course. So large an army could not be provided for during any long-continued siege or blockade, although their flour was conveyed to them by 22,000 camels; already at Michaelmas the Janissaries had begun to complain of the cold; and the forces of the Empire and of Bohemia were beginning to arrive. The Turks in this invasion committed their usual barbarities, and wasted the country up to the very gates of Linz. They suffered much in turn in their retreat, as well from the weapons of their foes as from hunger and bad weather, and did not reach Belgrade till November 10th. Solyman got back to Constantinople, December 16th.¹

The peace of Barcelona and that of Cambray having liberated the Emperor's forces in Italy for action in Germany, Solyman deemed it prudent to treat John Zapolya with liberality; as he passed through Buda in his retreat, he restored to that Prince the crown of St. Stephen and other regalia, and exhorted the Hungarian nobles to be faithful and obedient to their new King, whom he charged with the defence of Hungary, promising him assistance in case of need. After the departure of the Turks, Ferdinand, who still retained Presburg, gained some successes over Zapolya, but was prevented from following them up with effect by want of money, and by Charles V.'s zeal against the Reformation, which engrossed all his attention, and the struggle thus degenerated into a petty civil war. Towards the end of 1530, Zapolya was besieged in Buda by Ferdinand's captain Rogendorf, but without success. Ferdinand, who had been elected King of the Romans, and wished to devote his attention to the affairs of the Empire, was now inclined for peace, and on the 31st January, 1531, a truce of three months, afterwards prolonged for a year, was concluded. Solyman, after his retreat from Vienna, did not again appear in Hungary till 1532; but the further history of that Kingdom must now give place awhile to that of Charles V. and the Empire.

¹ All the sources for this short but famous siege of Vienna, are collected together in one view by Von Hammer;

Wiens erste aufgehobene türkische Belagerung. Mit 30 Beilagen. Pesth, 1829.

CHAPTER XIV.

WHILE the negotiations were still pending at Cambray,¹ Charles left Spain for Italy, where he wished to carry out a general pacification on the basis laid down in the treaty of Barcelona, as well as to receive the Imperial Crown from the hands of the Pope. At the head of 8,000 Spanish troops, and accompanied by most of the great nobility of Spain, he landed at Genoa, August 12th, 1529, which Republic was now under his protection.

With this voyage to Italy a new epoch begins in the life of Charles. During the last seven or eight years he had resided quietly in Spain, conducting everything through his ministers or captains, and though his armies had been gaining splendid victories, taking little or no personal share in affairs. Hence he had been accounted dull, and fit only to be governed; but in Italy, to the surprise of all, he began to show himself in quite different colours.² His backward nature had at length developed itself. He now began to conduct his own negotiations, to lead his own armies, to appear in those parts of Europe where his presence was required. Yet though he had adopted as his device the words *plus ultra*³ (still further), he continued to the last to be slow and cautious. All his deliberations were conducted with the greatest circumspection, and his first answers were generally ambiguous, in order that he might have an opportunity for reconsideration. Every resolution gave him a great deal of pains: couriers were often kept waiting a couple of days; but when once he had arrived at a decision, he pursued it with a firmness which, as he himself allowed, often degenerated into obstinacy. He consulted nobody but Gattinara, and after his death in 1530, Perrenot de Granvelle. A like character might be observed in Charles's physical constitution. Whilst arming himself, he would tremble all over; once armed, he was all courage—it was a

¹ See vol. i. p. 500.

² See the *Relazione* of Micheli, ap. Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 104.

³ In allusion to the columns of Hercules, the *ne plus ultra* of the ancient world.

thing unknown that an Emperor had been shot.¹ A change was even remarked in his personal appearance. He had cut off the long flowing locks which had been the characteristic of his family, under pretext of a vow for a safe passage, but in reality on account of a pain in his head.

While Charles was still at Genoa, ambassadors arrived from the Florentines, who were not aware that the Pope and Emperor had bargained away their freedom, and now applied to be put on the same footing as the Genoese, and to remain a Republic under Charles's protection. But he repulsed them harshly, reproached them with their attachment to the French and their animosity towards himself, and, agreeably to his engagement with Pope Clement, insisted upon their recalling the Medici. Upon their refusal, the Prince of Orange was instructed to lay siege to Florence, which he accordingly invested, October 14th. •

Florence did not fall without a struggle worthy of its ancient glories, and such as could have been inspired only by the love of freedom.² The populace and the clergy, especially the friars of San Marco, displayed a remarkable energy. To facilitate the defence of the city, the beautiful suburbs, gardens, and villas for a mile around it were destroyed. Savonarola's Republic was revived, the Kingdom of Christ proclaimed. The superintendence of the fortifications was intrusted to Michael Angelo, the sculptor and painter, who exhibited in them a skill which attracted the attention of Vauban a century and a half later; though in other respects the great artist did not display the qualities of a soldier, and, with many other citizens, fled on the approach of the enemy. The Florentine army was commanded by the celebrated condottiere, Malatesta Baglioni, and by Francesco Ferrucci, a Florentine, who, though not bred a soldier, displayed great military genius in the defence of Empoli. We shall here pursue the fortunes of Florence to their bitter end. Ferrucci and Baglioni not only long defended the city, but even maintained themselves against the Prince of Orange in the field. At length, August 3rd, 1530, they were defeated in the battle of Gavinana, in which Ferrucci was slain, or rather captured and murdered. The Prince of Orange³ also fell in this engagement, and was succeeded in command by Ferdinand Gonzaga, brother of the Duke of Mantua. After this defeat, Baglioni, now the

¹ Micheli, ap. Ranke, *ubi supra*, p. 109.

² For this siege see Capponi, lib. vi. cap. 9 and 10; Villari, *Vita del Savonarola*, t. ii. p. 219 sq.

³ As he died without issue, his rights and titles passed to the House of Nassau, into which his sister had married.

sole Florentine general, who had formerly been Lord of Perugia, entered into secret negotiations with the Pope—not, indeed, to regain his rule at Perugia, but to recover his lands in that neighbourhood—and on the 12th of August, Florence surrendered by capitulation. The city was condemned to pay 80,000 gold crowns, to give hostages, to admit a garrison, and to accept such a constitution as might be agreed upon between the Pope and the Emperor. Although the Florentines were Guelfs, and had never admitted the jurisdiction of the Emperor, the constitution was published in an Imperial decree, October 28th. The forms of a Republic were preserved, but Alessandro de' Medici was declared its head, with the title of Duke, and with succession to his male heirs;¹ in other respects the ancient rights of the Florentines were confirmed, if such a confirmation could be of any value under a despotism. Alessandro, a young man abandoned to every vice, subsequently married Charles's daughter Margaret, whom he had had by a Flemish mistress, named Margaret van Ghceest. Thus ended the great Florentine Republic, which had been neither a pure commonwealth nor an absolute principality. King Francis had secretly encouraged the Florentines in their resistance, but lent no aid to those old and faithful allies. The Pope violated the capitulation to which he had agreed. The foremost citizens of Florence either died on the scaffold or were compelled to fly; an obnoxious preacher, named Foiano, was imprisoned by Clement in the dungeon of St. Angelo, where he was suffered to die of hunger. The genius of Michael Angelo procured him an amnesty: he was wanted to complete the frescoes of the Sixtine chapel.

From Genoa Charles had proceeded by easy journeys to Bologna, which he entered in state, November 5th, 1529. The Pope was waiting there to receive him, and at their first meeting, Charles, according to ancient custom, sunk on his knees before him, and kissed his foot and hand. Clement made a sort of apology for accepting this ceremony, kissed the Emperor thrice, and thanked him for his favours. They lived several months in adjoining houses connected by a door, to which each had a key; and it was here that the pacification of Italy was arranged, from which only the Florentines were excluded.

The advance of Sultan Solyman upon Vienna this summer

¹ Lunig, *Cod. Ital. Dipl.* t. i. p. 1163. The title of Duke, hitherto borne by Alessandro de' Medici, was derived from the

Duchy of Penna, in the Kingdom of Naples, which the Emperor had conferred on him.

had, indeed, awakened hopes among the northern Italians that they should find in the Turks a counterpoise to the power of the House of Austria. Venice and Milan had entered into a closer league, and the war had been partially renewed in Lombardy; but after Solymán's speedy retreat, it was deemed prudent to abandon an opposition, which at best would end only in trifling advantages.¹ The Venetians had, indeed, gradually become convinced that the period of their conquests was gone for ever; and from this time a new era opens in their history, whose character is determined by their relations to Spain. They accepted the terms kept open for them by the treaty of Barcelona—namely, to restore Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope, to Charles all the ports in Apulia which they had taken during Lautrec's invasion of Naples, besides paying a considerable sum of money.² Francesco Maria Sforza was cited to Bologna, and a treaty was concluded with him also, December 23rd, by which he was allowed to retain Milan, in consideration of a large payment, for the security of which the citadels of Milan and Como were retained. The Emperor, to insure Sforza's fidelity, gave him the hand of his niece Christina, daughter of King Christian II. of Denmark. Pavia was erected into a county in favour of Antonio de Leyva for life. The Duke of Ferrara was admitted into the peace on his returning some of the towns which he had seized. Even the Duke of Savoy and the Marquis of Montferrat came to Bologna to swell the retinue of Princes that waited on the Emperor; and Charles, in order to retain the former in his alliance, presented him with the County of Asti, the spoil of the King of France. The above-mentioned Powers, together with King Ferdinand, formed with the Emperor what was called a perpetual peace, which was published January 1st, 1530.³

For centuries no Emperor had exercised such power in Italy as Charles at this juncture; all the Italian States seemed to exist only by his sufferance. Nothing was wanting to his dignity but the outward symbol, which was soon afterwards added. It had been his first intention to celebrate his coronation at Rome, and then to proceed to Naples; but he was induced to alter it at the pressing solicitation of his brother Ferdinand, who represented to him the necessity for his immediate presence in Germany. Charles's Imperial coronation seemed rather that of a Spanish

¹ Jacopo Pitti. *Apologia de Capucci*, MS. ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iii. S. 214.

² *Tractatus pacis ligæ et perpetuæ confederationis*, in Dumont, *Corps. Dipl.* t. iv. p. ii. p. 53.

King than of a Roman Emperor. The only German Prince present at it was Philip of Bavaria, who had indeed acquired a name by the defence of Vienna, but held no official post. In fact, this Bolognese coronation may be regarded as the symbol of the real dissolution of the close connection between the Holy Roman Church and Holy Roman Empire, which had lasted so many centuries. None of the Electors had been invited to Bologna, and their functions were performed by Italian Princes. The sceptre was borne by the Marquis of Montferrat, the sword by the Duke of Urbino, the crown by the Duke of Savoy. The procession was headed by noble Spanish youths, followed by the principal grandees of Spain, who vied with one another in magnificence of apparel; then came the heralds, and even these were not German, but of the various Spanish realms. Charles received the Imperial Crown from the hands of the Pope on the 24th of February, the anniversary of his birthday. He was invested with the sandals and the Imperial mantle, rigid with jewels, which had been adopted from the Byzantine Court. He had been crowned two days before with the Iron Crown of Italy. According to precedent he should have received the Lombard Crown in the church of St. Ambrose at Milan, and that of the Empire in the Vatican Basilica; but he persuaded the Pope to give him both crowns at Bologna. This was the last Imperial coronation performed by a Pope in Italy, nor had any such taken place for eighty years before. While Charles was at Bologna he bestowed, as King of Naples, the islands of Malta and Gozzo on the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who, since their expulsion from Rhodes, had had no proper place of abode, and had become a burden on the Pope.

Having thus effected the settlement of the Italian peninsula, which seemed wholly obedient to his power, Charles, about the beginning of April, 1530, set out for Germany, where his presence was required at the Diet which had been summoned to meet at Augsburg. Since the Diet of Spires in 1526, till that in the same place in 1529, the Reformers had gained considerable accession of strength: but they were now to be made the peace-offerings of the reconciliation between the Emperor and the Pope; the extirpation of the Lutheran heresy being, as we have said, one of the conditions of the treaty of November, 1527. Charles's severities towards the Reformers in the Netherlands had occasioned the worst anticipations. On the 1st of August, 1528, had appeared an Imperial decree for the assembling of a Diet the

following year at Spire, couched in terms in the highest degree arbitrary and violent. The Emperor complained that the religious disputes in Germany prevented him from offering any adequate resistance to the Turks; he announced that, as the foremost Prince of Christendom, he would no longer permit his commands to be disregarded, in allusion, of course, to the Edict of Worms; he forbade all innovations in religion, and formally annulled in that regard the recess of the Diet of Spire of 1526.¹ This arbitrary cassation of such an act, worthy of a Spanish cabinet, excited the greatest alarm and discontent among the adherents of the Reformation. There was, indeed, nothing very pointed in the recess in question; yet its very indefiniteness had given satisfaction, as betokening moderation and affording hopes of an ultimate adjustment. But this decree was calculated to bring matters to a violent issue. Some of the timid Reformers began to waver; the bold only put on a more determined front. John of Saxony and Philip of Hesse appeared at Spire, accompanied by their preachers and a large retinue of well-armed knights; and when, on the following Sunday, they caused the Evangelical service to be performed at their hotels, it was attended by more than 8,000 persons.²

The Diet was opened March 15th, 1529, by King Ferdinand, Frederick Count Palatine, Duke William of Bavaria, Duke Eric of Brunswick, and Bernhard, Bishop of Trent, as Imperial commissioners. Pico, Count of Mirandola, was the Papal Legate. The affairs of religion were referred to a committee, in which the Catholics predominated. Their decision was, that a General Council should be held in some German town within a year, or at most a year and a half, or failing that, a general assembly of all the German States for the settlement of all religious disputes; and as the articles of the last Diet of Spire had been much misunderstood, and occasioned great mischief, it was resolved that where the Edict of Worms had been admitted, it should continue to be obeyed, and that in places where it had been rejected, and where there might be much danger in absolutely abolishing the new tenets, all further changes should be arrested till the General Council referred to assembled; that in particular the doctrine against the real presence should not be accepted by any State of the Holy Roman Empire, nor allowed to be openly preached;

¹ The document is in Müller, *Historie von der evangelischen Stände Protestation*, Jena, 1705, S. 14 f.

² Marheineke, *Gesch. der deutschen Ref.* B. ii. S. 396.

that the saying of Mass should not be done away with in any church, and that in places where the new doctrines were predominant, nobody should be prevented from hearing or performing Mass.¹ There were other articles, but these were the principal.

The Lutheran Princes and States, on the other hand, objected, that such resolutions could not be made and enforced by a mere majority; that it was not the fault of the dissentients, if the General Council had been so long delayed; that the resolution authorizing the new doctrines to subsist only where they could not be abolished without disturbance, showed that they were regarded as only fit to be rejected, and that their abolition would be sought wherever disturbances were not anticipated to follow; it was not satisfactory that all further propagation of the truth was forbidden, and that Mass, which had been proved to be ungodly, was to subsist together with the reformed worship, whilst, on the other hand, the reformed worship was not allowed to subsist along with Mass; that the restoration of priests and Church property would cause the greatest confusion; that the expression, God's word was to be preached according to the exposition of the doctors of the Church, was ambiguous, as it left undetermined who expounded it rightly; and that to accept these resolutions would be altogether detrimental to their party.

The Diet treated these objections with the greatest contempt. The Lutherans were ordered to conform to the opinion of the majority; and when they retired awhile to consult among themselves, King Ferdinand and the other Imperial commissioners suddenly left the assembly and could not be induced to return. The Lutherans then drew up (April 19th) that celebrated protest, embracing the grounds of objection just specified, which procured for them the name of PROTESTANTS—an appellation first applied at a later period by the Papal Nuncio Contarini to the whole body of the Reformers, and accepted by them as a title of honour. The protest was signed by John, Elector of Saxony, the Margraves of Brandenburg and Anspach, the Dukes Ernest and Francis of Lüneburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Prince of Anhalt, and fourteen Imperial cities. The subscribers required that this protest should be inserted among the acts of the Diet; and they sent a copy of it to King Ferdinand, who refused to accept it. On the 22nd of April the Lutherans were again required by George Truchsess to submit to the majority; and it was intimated

¹ The whole of the proceedings of this Diet are in Luther's *Werke*, t. xvi. (ed. Walch). Cf. Sleidan, lib. vi.

that, in case of refusal, their names could not be appended to the recess. They were likewise requested not to publish the protest, as it would occasion great difficulty ; but permission was given to insert it in the acts of the Diet, and to forward it to the Emperor. The Reformers, however, subsequently published it, with a solemn appeal to the Emperor and a future General Council.

Charles had expressed his disapprobation of the protest while he was still in Spain, and the Protestants therefore sent a deputation to him in Italy to justify the step which they had taken. The envoys found him at Piacenza, on his road to Bologna ; when he expressed to them his former disapprobation, refused to receive the protest, and manifested great displeasure when they placed it on the table at which his secretary sat. He and his Spanish courtiers were so highly offended when Michael Kaden, one of the deputation, handed in to the orthodox Emperor, the temporal head of Christendom, a treatise of Lutheran tendency intrusted to him by the Landgrave of Hesse, that the envoys were kept for a time in durance, till at last they contrived to make their escape.¹

By his subsequent coronation oath the Emperor bound himself to be the constant defender of the Papal supremacy and of the Roman Catholic Church ; at the same time, however, he pressed upon the Pontiff the necessity for calling a General Council in conformity with the recess of the Diet of Spire. Clement did not meet this proposition with a direct negative. He contented himself with insinuating a variety of doubts and objections ; intimated that some of the questions raised by the Protestants had already been decided by General Councils ; that others were perverse and incapable of solution ; that the See of Rome, indeed, had nothing to fear from a Council, since its authority was founded on Scripture, and had been confirmed and augmented by every successive assembly of the Church ; but that the Emperor should consider whether such a proceeding might not prove derogatory to his own power and dignity, and whether some more convenient method might not be discovered for settling these disputes. Charles replied, that important questions could not surely be insoluble ; that the strength or weakness of each opinion would be discovered by discussion ; and that an end might thus at last be put to controversy by the drawing up of some well-considered articles of faith. The Court of Rome,

¹ Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* iii. 178.

however, evaded any further agitation of the question, and, as a last resource, the Emperor resolved to summon another Diet at Augsburg. One serious objection to a Council Clement had omitted to state in his arguments. At the first report of such a measure, all saleable offices in the Roman Court fell considerably in price, and with difficulty found purchasers.¹

Meanwhile, since the Diet of Spires, the greatest diversity of opinion had prevailed among the Protestants respecting their future course. The Landgrave Philip and the more zealous Reformers were for supporting the new doctrines by force of arms; and with this view Philip, who was inclined to the tenets of Zwingli, was desirous of bringing about an alliance of the Protestant towns of Switzerland and Suabia with himself and the Elector of Saxony.* Some of the Suabian and other South German towns, as Ulm, Strasburg, and others, although they had joined the Lutherans in signing the protest, were more inclined to the teaching of Zwingli than to Luther's doctrines. It was through Bucer and Capito, ministers at Strasburg, that the Landgrave Philip chiefly hoped to effect a union between the German and Swiss Reformers. But Luther's bitter hatred of the Zwinglians left but little hope of such a result. He and Zwingli had attacked each other with the keenest personal animosity in their writings; nevertheless, Philip, with the view of effecting a union, and thus strengthening the Protestant cause, invited them both, with other doctors on each side, to a conference at Marburg. After much reluctance, and not before he had obtained a safe conduct, Luther at length consented to this meeting, which took place on the first three days of October, 1529. Zwingli here displayed a much more liberal spirit and larger political views than Luther. On fourteen out of fifteen points of discussion he was ready to make concessions; and although on the fifteenth, which concerned the Lord's Supper, he could not yield his opinions, still he was anxious that it should not stand in the way of any political alliance. Luther, however, who regarded the "Sacramentaries," as he called Zwingli's followers, with loathing and horror, would listen to no accommodation: the meeting was broken up by the sweating sickness, and, like most such religious conferences, the members parted only with feelings more embittered. With all his merits, it must be allowed that Luther's reading of Scripture

¹ "Gli ufficii, solo con la fama del concilio sono invilliti tanto, che non se ne trovano danari."—*Lett. anon.* al. archiv.

Pimpinello, *Lettere di Principi*, t. iii. p. 121. Cf. Pallavicini, lib. iij. c. 7.

was somewhat narrow and sectarian. He would abide only by the *literal* sense, even where it forced him to adopt a jargon not easily intelligible, as in his doctrine of the Eucharist. The Elector John, who was of a phlegmatic temperament, which he sometimes stimulated with a little drink, submitted himself implicitly in these matters to his theologians, and would connect himself with none who would not accept the doctrines of Wittenberg in every point: a bigotry which was a source of weakness to the Protestant cause.

The Diet appointed to be held at Augsburg was now approaching. The invitations to it, drawn up while the Emperor was at Bologna, were couched in the mildest terms; they breathed nothing but benevolence, and offered a complete contrast to the mandate of 1528, annulling the recess of the Diet of Spire; since the issuing of which, the Turks had appeared before Vienna. But for Solyman and his Janissaries, the Reformation would probably have been crushed in its infancy; and the Turks must undoubtedly be regarded as having contributed to the purification of Christianity. It was now deemed expedient by the Emperor to try conciliation; all threats were consequently omitted which would have marred the intended effect; counsels which appear to have been instilled into the Emperor by his confessor, Garcia de Loaysa, Cardinal-Bishop of Osma and Sigüenza, who had accompanied him into Italy, and in whose advice he put the greatest confidence.¹ In case, however, this method should fail, it had long been determined to resort to force on the first favourable opportunity. The death of Charles's chancellor, Gattinara, who expired at Innsbruck while accompanying him to Augsburg, was an unfortunate event for the Protestants. He had long been an opponent of the Papal policy, and would probably have modified the Emperor's views.

Charles descended into Germany from the Tyrolese Alps like a foreigner—almost like an enemy. He had not, as we have seen, invited the Electors to his coronation, nor had they been consulted in the treaties effected with the Italian powers; on which account they afterwards made a formal protest, that if there should be anything in those treaties that now or hereafter should be to the disadvantage of the Holy Roman Empire, they would not have consented to it. Still more offensive to the Protestant Princes was the manner in which Charles had treated their ambassadors at

¹ *Briefe an Kaiser Karl V. geschrieben von seinem Beichtvater in den Jahren, 1530—1532*, p. 34. These letters, found

in the Spanish archives at Simancas, have been published by Dr. Heine.

Piacenza. It could hardly but be plain to them that the Emperor, in spite of his assumed mildness, would act as despotically in Germany as in Spain or Italy, if he had but the power. The opening of the Diet had been fixed for May 1st, and towards the end of April those who had been summoned to it began to assemble at Augsburg. The Landgrave Philip came attended by 120 horse. The Lutheran clergy were represented by Melancthon. Luther still lay under the ban of the Empire, and it was therefore thought advisable, in order to avoid all possible offence and danger, that he should remain behind at Coburg, on the border of the Saxon Elector's dominions, where he would be near at hand in case his advice should be required. Here he was lodged in the upper story of the castle, and constantly guarded by twelve troopers. The Emperor having lingered in Lombardy, Tyrol, and Bavaria, did not enter Augsburg till the 15th of June. He wore a Spanish costume: his appearance was splendid, his bearing affable, yet dignified. At his side rode King Ferdinand and Cardinal Campeggio, the Papal Legate. When he had approached within fifty paces, the assembled Electors and Princes dismounted from their horses, but the Legate and other princes kept their mules. It was observed, however, that when the Legate gave the blessing the Protestant Princes remained standing, although the Emperor fell on his knees.

Before the proceedings of the Diet began, the Emperor summoned the Elector of Saxony, the Margrave George of Brandenburg, Duke Francis of Lüneburg, and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, to a private apartment, where they were required, through King Ferdinand, to silence their preachers. The elder Princes were shocked at this demand, yet held their peace. The young Landgrave, whose blood was warmer, defended the preachers, affirming that they taught nothing but the pure word of God as understood by St. Augustine. At this reply the colour mantled on the Emperor's cheeks, and he caused his demand to be repeated still more emphatically. But he was dealing with men of sterner stuff than the Italian Princes. Margrave George now came forward. "Sire," he exclaimed, "rather than swerve from God's word, I would kneel down here and submit to have my head cut off." Charles, who had for a moment forgotten his assumed policy of mildness, was reminded of it by these words, and answered in his broken German, "*Lieber Fürst, nit Kopf ab, nit Kopf ab.*" ("Dear Prince, not head off, not head off!") The Protestant Princes, however, at

last consented to the Emperor's demand, but not before Charles had ordered his own party to do the same. On a later occasion he endeavoured to alarm the Elector of Saxony by threatening that he would not grant him investiture of the Electorate to which he had succeeded, nor sanction the marriage of his son with Sibylla of Cleves, if he opposed the Edict of Worms and deserted the orthodox Church. But John steadfastly replied, that by the constitution of the Empire his investiture could not be refused, and that, even before the attempt was made, it must be shown that his creed was not that of true Christianity.

The Diet was opened on the 20th of June by a solemn procession and Mass. The Emperor, under a hot sun, in a heavy purple mantle, his head uncovered, and a wax taper in his hand, piously followed the Host, which was borne by the Archbishop of Mentz. None of the Protestant Princes attended this ceremony except the Elector of Saxony, whose office it was, as High Marshal of the Empire, to carry the sword of state before the Emperor; but he took care to show that he was present at Mass only by virtue of this function. The Lutheran question formed, of course, the chief business of the assembly, though that respecting the Turks was put first. The Protestants had thought it advisable, in order that their real tenets might be known, to draw up a Confession of their faith, to be presented to the Diet by way of manifesto. This was the celebrated CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG, the symbol of the Lutheran faith. The preparation of this document had been intrusted to Melancthon, who not only possessed a more ready and elegant pen than Luther, but also a temper more flexible and conciliating. It was drawn up with the undeniable design of approaching as nearly as possible the Roman Catholic faith. The aim of it is purely defensive; the Lutheran doctrines are justified, but those of Rome are not attacked. The line of separation from the Zwinglians is drawn quite as strongly as that from the Papists. The former body were multiplying very fast in Germany, and were regarded with some jealousy. Most of the citizens of Augsburg were Zwinglians.¹

After Melancthon's Confession had been examined by several theologians and approved by Luther, it was subscribed by the Saxon Elector, the Margrave George of Brandenburg, Duke Ernest of Lüneburg, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, and the Deputies of Nuremberg and Reutlingen. It was read on the afternoon of Saturday, June 25th,

¹ Chyträus, *Saxonia*, p. 318 sqq.

1530, in the chapel of the Bishop of Augsburg's palace, where the Emperor was residing. Charles wished it to be read only in Latin, but the Princes reminded him that in Germany the German language might be allowed. None, however, were admitted into the chapel but Princes or deputies. The Electoral Chancellors, Bruck and Bayer, stood forth in the middle of the chamber one with a German, the other with a Latin, copy. The reading of the former, which occupied nearly two hours, was listened to with deep attention, and was performed in so loud a voice that many in the court below could hear. The documents were then handed to the Emperor's secretary, but Charles himself stretched out his hand for both, keeping the Latin copy himself, and handing the German one to the Imperial Arch-chancellor. Before the close of the Diet, the Confession was also translated into Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, as many foreign Princes were anxious to know the real tenets of the Protestants. The towns of Strasburg, Memmingen, Constance, and Lindau handed in a separate Confession, called the *Confessio Tetrapolitana*,¹ which differed from that of Augsburg only in the matter of the Lord's Supper.

After the Lutheran Confession had been read, the Emperor inquired whether the Protestants had anything further to advance. To answer such a question unconditionally, either in the negative or affirmative, would have been dangerous, and the Protestants, therefore, contented themselves with saying that they could admit nothing that was at variance with their Confession; that the document just read contained all their principal tenets; and that they did not wish to render the examination of it more difficult, nor to incur the charge of punctilious obstinacy, by a useless enumeration of minor points. Ech, Cochläus, and a few other of Luther's most zealous opponents were then commissioned to draw up a reply to the Confession; which work they performed in a manner so diffuse, intemperate, and unsatisfactory, that the Diet rejected the paper. Another answer, after being subjected to a long and severe scrutiny, was read before the Diet August 3rd. Although this paper only contained a re-assertion of the usual Roman Catholic arguments in favour of transubstantiation, the seven sacraments, the invocation of saints, &c., it was solemnly decreed and proclaimed that the Protestants, after this exposition of their errors, must conform in all points to the Church of Rome; and that in case of refusal, the Roman

¹ That is, "the Confession of the Four Towns."

Emperor, as protector and guardian of the Church, would feel himself compelled to resort to further measures.

As the Protestants could not accede to this decision, a committee of sixteen members was appointed, with the view of settling the points in dispute: but these peace-makers fell themselves into the most violent altercations, gave one another the lie, and almost came to blows.* The Landgrave Philip saw the uselessness of remaining any longer at Augsburg, and on the evening of the 6th of August set off homewards, without taking leave of the Emperor, or even communicating his intention to his Protestant brethren.¹ This sudden step alarmed the Catholics, who thought that Philip had taken it in concert with his party, and with the intention of appealing to arms. The Archbishop of Mentz and the Franconian Bishops feared that their neighbour, the Landgrave, might attack their dominions under pretence of religion; and even the Emperor and King Ferdinand were alarmed for the latter's Duchy of Würtemberg, as it was known that Philip was in close alliance with Ulrich, the banished Duke. The Emperor, at first, caused all the gates of Augsburg to be guarded, to prevent the flight of any more of the Princes; but, on the representation of the Elector of Saxony, this step was discontinued.

A smaller committee was now appointed to discuss the contested points, and then another still smaller; both with the same unsatisfactory result. Charles, who had not considered how hard a thing it is to reconcile religious differences, and now found that through the firmness of the Protestants his interference had exposed the weakness of the Imperial dignity, lost his temper, and even descended to threats. The means of conciliation had been exhausted, yet he was not in a condition to resort to force. He had with him but some 1,400 German and Spanish infantry; nor, if he appealed to arms, could he rely on the support of even the Catholic Princes,² who were already jealous of the grasping spirit displayed by the House of Austria, especially in the seizure of the Duchy of Würtemberg; and they would not have stood by Charles in an attack on the German constitution, and the freedom of the Diets. The Dukes of Bavaria in particular, since their defeat in the Bohemian election, owed a grudge against Austria, which had been increased by the frustration of a plan formed

¹ Luther's *Werke*, B. xvi. S. 1630 ff.

² That an appeal to arms had been seriously contemplated appears from an opinion given by Erasmus to the Legate

Campeggio, in which sixteen reasons are given against it. Coelestin, *Hist. August. Conf.* ap. Menzel, B. i. S. 201.

against the Emperor by the Pope and the French King, during the late war, of placing the Imperial Crown on the head of the Bavarian Duke William. Nay, so much had the devotion of the Bavarian family towards the Church of Rome been cooled by their jealousy of the House of Austria, that, as they had before entered into negotiations with Ferdinand's rival, John Zapolya, so they were now minded not to deprive themselves of the possibility of an alliance with the Protestants. Nor were these views unknown to the Emperor.¹

The phlegmatic Elector John himself at length lost all patience, and, on the 20th September, asked the Emperor's leave to depart; and it was with difficulty he could be persuaded to stay a few days longer to hear the Emperor's decision respecting the Lutheran demands. It sounded something like a declaration of war, and its ill effect was increased by the harsh and ungracious manner in which it was delivered by the bigoted Elector Joachim I. of Brandenburg. A period till the 15th of April following was to be allowed the Protestants to return to the Church; in the interval, they were to attempt no further innovations, to print no new religious works, to entice or protect no subjects of other States, to concede to their own subjects of the Roman religion the free use of their worship, and to repress the Sacramentaries and Anabaptists. The Emperor, on his side, engaged to induce the Pope to summon, very shortly, either a General or a National Council.² To this decision Joachim added some threats of his own, which, however, were disapproved of by the other Catholic Princes.

The Diet was continued amid further wranglings. The Catholic majority advised Charles to issue a new decree, grounded on the Edict of Worms; and, if the Saxon Elector and his adherents should refuse to obey, to summon them before him, adjudge the proper penalty, and proceed to its execution. The Diet's Recess was accordingly drawn up to this effect, and the Imperial decree published November 22nd. The Emperor announced therein his determination to execute the Edict of Worms; numerous instances of its violation were adduced and condemned, whether by Lutherans, Zwinglians, or Anabaptists; the maintenance of the old rites and doctrines was enjoined; the jurisdiction of the Bishops was re-asserted; and the Imperial attorney-

¹ Stumpf, *Baierna Polit. Gesch.* B. i. S. 58.

² See the second Recess of the Diet, in

Luther's *Werke*, B. xvi. S. 1925 ff.; Chytræus, *Saxonia*, p. 323; Sleidan, lib. vi.

general was instructed to proceed legally against the refractory. The Imperial Chamber was reconstituted, the assessors increased from eighteen to twenty-four, and bound to act in pursuance of the recess. The Protestant deputies put in a declaration that those whom they represented would not subscribe the recess; neither would they contribute to the Turkish contingent, nor to the maintenance of the remodelled Imperial Chamber.

Such was the conclusion of the famous Diet of Augsburg, whose proceedings put the finishing hand to the constitution of the Lutheran Church, and arrayed one half of Germany against the other. Charles, however, gained one of his objects. The majority of this Diet granted an "*eilende Hülff*," or hasty succour of 40,000 foot and 8,000 horse, for the Turkish war, which was double the number usually voted. These forces were to be available not only for that year, but any subsequent one in which they might be required; and their term of service was extended, in case of need, from six to eight months.¹

The Augsburg Confession was advantageous to the Protestants, both by helping to disseminate juster notions of their tenets, and serving as a rallying signal and bond of union. The measures which the Emperor was preparing to take soon impressed them with the necessity of forming a closer league. They looked with suspicion on the projected abolition of the Council of Regency, the alterations in the Imperial Chamber, and the preparations making to prosecute them at law. The House of Austria had long seen that from the inefficiency of the Council it would either be necessary to choose a new administrator, or to recur to the Vicars of the Empire, one of whom was the Saxon Elector; and, in order to avoid this alternative, the Emperor had resolved to make his brother Ferdinand King of the Romans. This was, indeed, one of the reasons that had induced Charles to receive the Imperial Crown at Bologna, as it would obviate an objection which Maximilian had experienced on a similar occasion; namely, that as he himself was not a crowned Emperor, the dignity of King of the Romans was not vacant.

The Protestant Princes assembled at Smalkald towards the end of December, 1530, with the view of entering into a league for their mutual defence, and the protection of their religious liberties. It was an anxious question for the Elector John whether he, with a small strip of land on the Elbe, and the little territory of Thuringia, should oppose himself to the Emperor,

¹ *Reichstagsabschide*, ap. Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches*, B. ii. S. 707. .

who had just subdued the King of France and pacified Italy, and who had a majority of Princes of the Empire. The idea seemed absurd, and he was further hampered by doubt whether he had a right to resist. The younger and more vehement Landgrave of Hesse had already decided both these questions in the affirmative, and soon after his departure from Augsburg had concluded a separate league with Zürich, Basle, and Strasburg. Luther, in the Castle of Coburg, out of the bustle and tumult of affairs, had taken a cooler and broader view of the political horizon than John of Saxony, and did not at all participate in the somewhat desponding feelings of the Elector.¹ My Lord *Par ma foi*, as he called the French King, would, he thought, never forget Pavia; my Lord *In nomine Domini* (the Pope), besides being a Florentine, could not have any agreeable reminiscences of the sack of Rome; the Venetians still remembered the injuries of Maximilian; the union of these Powers with the Emperor, therefore, belonged to the chapter of *non credimus*.² Even the opinions which Luther had drawn from Scripture respecting the unlawfulness of resisting the Emperor, underwent considerable modification at Smalkald. The juriconsults showed that Germany was in reality an oligarchy; that while the Imperial dignity was elective, most of the Electors were hereditary; that the States reigned along with the Emperor, who was therefore no real monarch. These reflections sufficed to banish Luther's scruples, in so far, at least, that he left the juriconsults to act as they thought proper.

The LEAGUE OF SMALKALD was signed December 31st by the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, Dukes Philip, Ernest, and Francis of Brunswick and Lüneburg, the Counts of Mansfeld, and the cities of Magdeburg and Bremen. At subsequent meetings in the spring and summer of 1531 the League was joined by other States, especially the towns of the Tetrapolitan Confession, and others both in North and South Germany, as Lübeck, Brunswick, Göttingen, Ulm, &c.; so that it finally included seven Princes, two Counts, and twenty-four Imperial cities. It was a confederacy for mutual defence for a term of six years. John of Saxony and Philip of Hesse were ultimately chosen its leaders.

The Elector of Saxony drew up a protest against the election of Ferdinand as King of the Romans, which was presented by

¹ It is to his sojourn at Coburg that his celebrated hymn, *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*, may probably be referred.

² *Brief an Teutleben*, 19 Juni, 1530, Luther's *Briefe*, Tb. iv. S. 37 (De Wette).

his son John Frederick to the Emperor at Cologne, whither he had proceeded after the breaking up of the Diet of Augsburg;¹ but it produced no effect. It had been at first contemplated to deprive the Saxon Elector of his vote, as a heretic, under the bull of Leo X.; but the other Electors would not agree to a stroke which might next fall upon themselves. The five Catholic Electors, the Rhenish Palatine, Brandenburg, Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, had been easily gained by gifts and promises; and Ferdinand himself, as King of Bohemia, had a vote in the choice of a King of the Romans, though in the ordinary proceedings of the Imperial Diet the King of Bohemia (as such) could take no part. Ferdinand was elected King of the Romans January 5th, 1531, and two days afterwards crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. In his capitulation he pledged himself to observe the recess of the Diet of Augsburg. From this time forwards, Charles left the government of Germany mostly to his brother, requiring only to be consulted in things of the last importance. The Dukes of Bavaria, having themselves pretensions to the Empire, had viewed with a jealous eye the election of Ferdinand to be King of the Romans, and, on the 24th of October, 1531, they entered into an alliance at Saalfeld with the confederates of Smalkald, in so far as regarded the protest against Ferdinand's election. The latter, however, soon found that his title and dignity did not give him more power than he possessed before.

Charles's attention was also directed at this time to the appointment of a new ruler in the Netherlands, his aunt Margaret, who had long directed the affairs of those countries with great prudence and success, having died on the 1st of December, 1530. He installed in her place his sister Mary, widow of Louis the late King of Hungary; and, in order to see her authority firmly established, he remained some months in Brabant and Flanders.

Although Francis I. was burning Lutherans in France, and though Henry VIII. had entered into a controversy with Luther, in which he had been assailed with the most virulent abuse by that Reformer, the confederates of Smalkald did not hesitate to appeal to those two Kings to support them against the Emperor; and such is the power of political interest to cement together the most opposite and even personally hostile parties, that their application was received with favour. Francis was ready to employ

¹ Charles, before he left Augsburg, made the Fuggers, the rich bankers of that city, by whom he had been magni-

ficently entertained, Counts of the Empire, a step altogether unprecedented. Pfeffel, t. ii. p. 142.

any instrument, whether infidel Turk or German heretic, that would but afford him the means of annoying and weakening Charles. With this view he had connected himself with the Genevese, and also made advances to Zwingli, who was not backward in courting the alliance of the French King. Towards the end of 1530, Zwingli had sent to Francis, together with a project for a treaty, his book entitled *A brief and clear Exposition of the Christian Faith*, in which that most liberal and enlightened of all the Reformers did not hesitate to assign a place in heaven to such pious heathens as Socrates, Aristides, and Cato. Francis, however, declined Zwingli's proposals, for fear of offending the Catholic Cantons. Zwingli did not long outlive these transactions, for he was killed in the battle of Kappel, October 11th, 1531. He had persuaded the Zürichers to take up arms against the four original Forest Cantons, Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, and Lucern, together with their old adherent Zug, all which had remained inflexibly attached to the Church of Rome, and had rejected the application of the reformed Cantons in favour of toleration. Zwingli, impatient of waiting for his allies, went out with less than 2,000 men against the Catholic host of 8,000. They met at Kappel on Mount Albis, about three leagues from Zürich, and in the bloody battle which ensued the men of Zürich were defeated with great loss. Zwingli was struck down by a stone, and after being trampled on by his flying friends, was found after the battle, under a tree, by two of the enemy. One of them called upon him to invoke the Virgin and Saints, and Zwingli, who was already on the point of death, having made sign of refusal, the man thrust a pike through his throat. Next day Zwingli's body was quartered and burnt, and the ashes scattered to the winds.

Francis had no cause to hesitate in allying himself with the German Protestants and other malcontents, and he came to an understanding on this subject with Henry VIII., between whom and the Emperor the question of the divorce was every day widening the breach. Francis despatched an envoy to the German Princes, and, on May 26th, 1532, an alliance was concluded at Kloster Seyvern, near Munich, between Saxony, Hesse, Bavaria, and France, to oppose the recognition of Ferdinand as King of the Romans; and Francis engaged to deposit 100,000 crowns with the Dukes of Bavaria.¹ At the same time he renewed his alliance with Zápolya. These machinations were,

¹ Stumpf, *Diplom. Gesch. Baierns*, B. i. S. 93 f.

however, defeated by the threatening attitude of the Turks, which induced the Emperor to negotiate a peace with the Protestants. To check the progress of the Turks, and to coerce the German Lutherans, were the two principal objects of Charles's reign, and to these his other policy was made subservient. But, as the former was the more pressing of the two, he was often obliged to sacrifice his animosity against the Protestants in order to avert the danger threatened by the Infidels; and it was from this cause that he entered into the negotiations just referred to, which terminated in the Religious Peace of Nuremberg.

The Emperor and his brother Ferdinand, guided apparently by the counsels of Charles's confessor, the Cardinal-Bishop of Osma and Sigüenza, had, indeed, previously attempted to effect a peace with the Turks, which would have left their hands free to act against the Smalkaldic League. Ambassadors had been despatched to Constantinople in the autumn of 1530 who were empowered to offer to Solyman an annual tribute, disguised under the name of a pension, of 100,000 ducats, if he would enter into a peace, and restore to Ferdinand all Hungary with the exception of Belgrade. There seemed to be no prospect of wresting Hungary from John Zapolya by force of arms, who towards the close of the year had been in vain besieged in Buda. An attempt to assassinate him was not calculated to help Ferdinand's cause, and adds still more colour to the dark suspicions against the House of Austria. Habardanacz, who had on a former occasion been Ferdinand's ambassador to the Porte, made his way into Buda with the design of taking Zapolya's life; but being discovered by the dagger hidden in his sleeve, was, according to the usage of Turkish law, sowed in a sack and cast into the Danube.¹ After a siege of six weeks the attempt on Buda was abandoned, and, on the 31st of January, 1531, a truce of three months was concluded with Zapolya, which was afterwards extended for a year. The Hungarians of each party were weary of the contest, and even talked of choosing a third King who might be recognized by both sides.

The Vizier Ibrahim received Ferdinand's ambassadors and their proposals with cool contempt. Hungary did not belong to Ferdinand, nor even to Janusch Kral (King John Zapolya), but to the Sultan; nay, Vienna also was his, and all that Ferdinand possessed in Germany. The demands of the ambassadors were met by a counter one, that Ferdinand should surrender all

¹ Katona, t. xx. p. 362.

the Hungarian fortresses which he still occupied. They were told that another expedition was preparing, and that the Sultan would come in person to meet the King of Spain—such was the only title with which the Porte condescended to honour Charles. The title of Emperor belonged to Solyman himself; he was the Head of the Roman Empire, and he cherished the idea of making Constantinople the immediate capital of the world.

In the spring of 1531, Ferdinand, whose advice had always great weight with his brother, strongly urged upon Charles the necessity of defending Hungary, grounding himself principally on its importance to the safety of Germany and Italy,¹ and he strongly recommended that the Protestants should be conciliated. The Emperor accordingly opened negotiations with the confederates of Smalkald, through the Elector of Mentz and the Elector Palatine, which led to what has been called the FIRST RELIGIOUS PEACE, OR RELIGIOUS PEACE OF NUREMBERG, concluded at that city in July, 1532, and ratified August 2nd, at the Diet then sitting at Ratisbon. The principal articles were: That the Lutherans should not be molested on account of their tenets; that they should be permitted to preach and publish the doctrines contained in the Confession of Augsburg, and in the Supplement and Apology; that they should retain the church property of which they were in possession; that the jurisdiction of the Imperial tribunals in religious causes should be suspended; and that some Protestant assessors should be introduced into the Imperial Chamber. On the other hand, the Lutherans engaged not to protect the Zwinglians and Anabaptists; to preserve their obedience to the Emperor; to aid him with their money and counsels, and to contribute to the succours against the Turks. These terms were to be in force till the holding of a General Council, or in its default, of a new Diet of the States of the Empire, and the violation of them was to be attended with the same penalties as attached to breaches of the public peace.² By this treaty the Lutherans obtained a temporary toleration; but by submitting their tenets to the decision of a Council, instead of asserting them unconditionally, they ultimately strengthened the Emperor's hands by affording him a pretext for reopening the whole subject. The danger, however, was pressing, and the success of the Turks would have effectually disposed of the question of liberty

¹ His Letter, in Gévay, No. 97.

² Luther's *Werke*, B. xvi. S. 2237;

Hortleder, *Handlungen und Ausschreiben*, B. i. Kap. ii. S. 67 ff.

of worship. The peace was regarded with horror by Joachim of Brandenburg and other Catholic zealots; nor, on the other hand, was it approved of by the Landgrave of Hesse, who thought that the Protestants had thereby deprived their party of all chance of future increase. His ambassadors at first refused to sign; but he at length found himself obliged either to comply or to stand alone. The Emperor pressed the States assembled at Ratisbon to raise the contingent granted by the Diet of Augsburg to 60,000 men. This demand was refused; though the Princes and States showed an unusual alacrity in raising the forces voted. John Frederick especially, son of the Elector of Saxony, who, during the mortal illness of his father, had conducted the negotiations for the peace, zealously displayed his attention to the Emperor by providing a good force, which he proposed to lead in person; but this offer was declined. He succeeded to the Electorate on the death of his father shortly afterwards (August 16th, 1532).

At this same Diet of Ratisbon was passed the famous *Caroline Ordinance*, so named after the Emperor Charles V. It was a codification, though a somewhat clumsy and inconsistent one, of the criminal law of Germany. Hitherto every petty Sovereign and State had exercised the privilege of inflicting capital punishment, and often under the most dreadful forms of torture. By this ordinance not only was the severity of the criminal law much mitigated, but also a uniform scale of punishments established throughout the Empire.

Charles had not confined his demands for aid against the Turks to his Protestant subjects in Germany; he had also applied to other European States, and especially to the King of France, who was bound to assist him by the terms of the treaty of Cambray; and an application to that effect was made to Francis early in 1531. Such a demand was not likely to be heard with equanimity, and the manner of it disgusted Francis still more than the substance. The French forces raised were to be under command of the Emperor, who, it was intimated, would be still better pleased with a money payment only, instead of troops.¹ Francis gave vent to his displeasure at this demand in a remarkable letter to François de Dinteville, Bishop of Auxerre, his ambassador at the Papal Court;² in which he expressed his astonish-

¹ *Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle*, i. 503.

² This letter (dated Jan. 25th, 1531) is published in the *Négociations de la France*

dans le Levant, t. i. p. 184 sqq. Comp. Gaillard, t. iv. p. 185.

ments that he should be asked for money instead of troops, when it was well known that he and his forefathers had always been accustomed to march at the head of their own forces; nevertheless he was ready, as soon as the Pope wished it, to appear in Italy with 50,000 foot, 3,000 horse, and the necessary artillery—no obscure threat that his pretensions in that country were not abandoned. He remarked that he was not disposed to enter into a war with the Turks merely for the private quarrels of others; especially as the Emperor and King Ferdinand might have obviated all danger by making a peace with King John (Zapolya); and he expressed his own readiness to enter into such a treaty. He had, indeed, long before this, as we have already seen, made an alliance with Zapolya which he now further strengthened. It happened that Hieronymus Lasczy, King John's ambassador, was at the French Court when the Emperor made the demand just mentioned, through whom Francis offered John the hand of Isabeau, sister of the King of Navarre, as well as a sum of money; but with the hypocritical admonition that it was not to be employed against any of the French King's allies, and in no case was Zapolya to avail himself of the help of the Turks.¹ A little after, however, Francis addressed another letter to the College of Cardinals (February 2nd), in which he said that he should want his troops himself, as Hayraddin Barbarossa, the Turkish pirate, was about to make a descent on Provence.² Francis, indeed, subsequently endeavoured to prevent Solyman's invasion of Hungary, in 1532, though with no design of serving the Emperor or King Ferdinand. He saw that the danger with which they were menaced from the Turks, helped in reality to increase their influence and power, by obliging them to conciliate the Protestants, and, towards the end of 1531, he despatched Rincon to the Porte, to dissuade the Sultan from his contemplated enterprise. His ambassador, however, having been detained by illness, did not meet with the Sultan till he was already at Belgrade, when Solyman observed, that if he now returned it would be said that it was for fear of "Charles of Spain."³

These transactions serve to show the nature of the relations between Francis and the Porte. The French King, ever since his captivity, had been on the most friendly terms with Solyman. In 1528 the Sultan confirmed to the French and Catalan

¹ *Mém. de M. du Bellay*, liv. iv. (Petitot, t. xviii. p. 127 sqq.); Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, t. xi. p. 400.

² *Négociations*, &c. t. i. p. 190.

³ *Ibid.* t. i. p. 207.

merchants their commercial privileges in Egypt; and, in the same year, Francis seems to have been desirous of extending his protection to the Christians in Jerusalem—one of the earliest traces of the pretension still asserted by the French nation to protect the Christian subjects of the Porte. Solyman granted them the use of the churches in Jerusalem, except the chief one, which had been converted into a mosque. Francis appears to have entertained the idea of going in person to Constantinople, to render the Sultan thanks for the aid promised during his captivity, and then paying a visit to the Holy Sepulchre.¹

Charles's applications to the Pope and the Venetians for help against the Turks were as fruitless as those to Francis, and he was thus driven to rely on his own resources. Never had an Imperial army been so numerous and so promptly-assembled. On the plain of Tulln between Linz and Vienna, Charles found himself at the head of about 80,000 men, mostly Germans, but with an intermixture of Italians, Spaniards, and Netherlanders. Of this army, 24,000 men had been contributed by the Lutheran States.

Solyman began his march from Constantinople, April 26th, 1532, with all the magnificence of Oriental pomp. A long train of 120 cannon was followed by 8,000 chosen Janissaries, and by droves of camels carrying an enormous quantity of baggage. Then came 2,000 horsemen, the Spahis of the Porte, with the holy banner, the eagle of the Prophet, gorgeously adorned with pearls and precious stones. Next in the procession were the Christian tribute children educating by the Porte, habited in cloth of gold, having long locks like women, and scarlet caps with white feathers, all bearing similar lances, artfully worked after the fashion of Damascus. Then was borne in state the Sultan's crown, made at Venice at the cost of 115,000 ducats, followed by his domestics, 1,000 men of gigantic stature, the handsomest that could be found, armed with bows and arrows; some of whom held coupled hounds, while others carried hawks. In the midst of them rode Solyman himself, in a crimson robe trimmed with gold and a snow-white turban covered with jewels, mounted on a chestnut horse, and armed with a superb sword and dagger. The procession was closed by the Sultan's four Viziers, among whom Ibrahim was conspicuous, and the rest of the nobles of the Court with their servants.² Thus did Solyman set out on

¹ Gévay, *Urk.* 1530, p. 44.

² *Venetian Chronicle*, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iii. S. 408.

his march. On the way he was joined by troops from all quarters, and when he entered Hungary his army was estimated at 350,000 men.

Ferdinand had resolved to try the effect of another embassy, which found the Sultan at Belgrade. Rincon, the French ambassador, was also there. The Austrian envoys were conducted through a lane of 12,000 Janissaries to Solyman's tent, where they found him sitting on a golden throne, before the legs or pillars of which were two gorgeous swords, in sheaths set with pearls; also bows and quivers richly ornamented. The ambassadors estimated the value of what they saw at 1,200,000 ducats. Their errand was of course fruitless. The Sultan seemed only anxious to know the distance to Ratisbon, where the Diet was then sitting; and, on being told that it was a month's journey on horseback, he expressed his determination to go. The ambassadors were detained two months among the Turks, and compelled to follow their movements. On the 20th of July the Turks crossed the Drave at Eszék, on twelve bridges of boats. The march of Solyman through Hungary resembled a progress in his own dominions. The fortresses sent him their keys as he approached, and he tried and punished the magnates who had deserted Zapolya. The Turkish fleet also ascended the Danube as far as Presburg; at which point, Solyman, instead of directing his march towards Vienna, turned to the south, and leaving the lake of Neusiedl on his right, took the road to Styria. On the 1st of August he arrived before the little town of Güns. This insignificant and ill-fortified place was destined to inflict upon Solyman the most humiliating disgrace ever experienced by the overweeping pride of Oriental despotism since the memorable invasion of Attica by Xerxes. All that pomp and splendour of Eastern warfare, all those myriads of Turkish troops, led by the Grand Signor in person, were detained more than three weeks by a garrison of about 700 men, of which only 30 were regular troops, and those cavalry. Under command of Nicholas Jurissich, who had been one of the Austrian ambassadors to the Porte, this heroic little band repulsed no fewer than eleven assaults, and the Sultan was at length obliged to content himself with a capitulation, by which ten Janissaries were allowed to remain an hour in the place in order to erect a Turkish standard. This delay, and the defeat by Sebastian Schärtlin of a body of 15,000 Turkish horse who were to enter Austria by the Sömmering Pass, proved the salvation of the country. The French and Venetian ambas-

sadors in Solyman's camp advised him not to venture, with an army thus weakened and discouraged, a general engagement with Charles's fresh and well organized forces, and the diversion caused by Andrea Doria with his fleet in the Morea served to support this advice. Doria, after capturing Koron, Patras, and the two castles which defend the entrance of the Gulf of Lepanto, the Dardanelles of the Morea, had landed his troops, and excited the Greeks to revolt. After investing Gratz, which was well defended, Solyman reluctantly abandoned an enterprise for which he had made such vast preparations, and on the success of which he had so proudly relied. Charles was prevented from pursuing the retreating enemy by the lateness of the season, the want of provisions, the sickness which began to prevail among his troops, and the desire of several of the Princes to return home; yet, on the whole, his first appearance at the head of his armies had been attended with considerable glory and success. The subsequent dispersion of the Imperial army much annoyed King Ferdinand, who had hoped to recover with it the whole of Hungary, Belgrade included: but the German leaders would not listen to such a proposal; it was not in their instructions, nor, with the majority of them, would it have been popular. For fear of such an event, however, Solyman, at the request of John Zapolya, left 60,000 men behind at Eszék.¹ In the following year (June 22nd, 1533) a peace was concluded at Constantinople between Ferdinand's ambassadors and the Porte, by which the former was to retain all that he held in Hungary, and make what terms he pleased with Zapolya.²

After the retreat of the Turks, the Emperor again passed into Italy on his way to Spain, and had another interview with the Pope, at Bologna, in December, 1532; when the treaty of 1529 was confirmed and extended, and an alliance formed with the Dukes of Milan and Ferrara and the Republics of Genoa and Siena, for the maintenance of the *status quo* in Italy. Pope Clement, who was now intriguing with Francis, manifested great unwillingness to enter into the Emperor's views. He was particularly offended with Charles by his deciding that the House of Este should hold Ferrara as a fief of the Apostolic See, and Modena and Reggio as fiefs of the Empire. Charles pressed the Pope to summon the Council so often demanded, and Clement was obliged,

¹ The principal authorities for this Turkish expedition are Katona, t. xx. p. 811 sqq.: Solyman's *Journal*, in Hammer, B. iii. Schärtlin's *Lebensbeschrei-*

hung; Engel, *Gesch. des ungar. Reiches*, B. iv. S. 36 ff.

² Zinkeisen, B. ii. S. 744.*

though very unwillingly, to issue a fresh proclamation for that purpose.¹

While the Emperor was confronting the Turks in Germany, Henry VIII. and Francis I. had an interview at Boulogne. They felt that they should render themselves odious by taking open part against Charles at such a juncture, and in the treaty which they concluded, October 28th, 1532, they even agreed to oppose with an army of 80,000 men "the damned violence of the Turk."² Henry's motive for courting the French King at this period was his quarrel with the Pope, and consequently with the Emperor also, on the subject of his divorce. When Henry, by the advice of Thomas Cranmer, resolved to refer this question to the Universities of Europe, he absolved Francis from the payment of the 500,000 crowns which he had engaged to pay for the Emperor, as the latter's penalty for the breach of his promise to espouse Mary, and he allowed the other debt of 400,000 crowns to be discharged in the course of five years. For these considerations Francis employed himself in procuring a verdict favourable to the English King from those Universities which his influence could reach; using for that purpose sometimes bribes and sometimes threats, as in the case of the University of Paris.³ During the interview between the two Sovereigns, the subject of the divorce was much discussed. Henry had brought Anne Boleyn, now Marchioness of Pembroke, with him to Calais, where he repaid Francis's hospitalities at Boulogne, and where the French King danced with that fascinating heretic. Henry quoted Scripture and ecclesiastical history to prove that his marriage with Catharine was invalid; and he endeavoured to inspire Francis with all that hatred of the Pope which had so recently taken possession of his own bosom. The French King was at once surprised and amused at this, to him, incomprehensible display of so much passion combined with so profound a submission to Church authority; and he advised Henry to marry Anne at once, without further ceremony. He himself, indeed, though negotiating with Clement for political ends, was half inclined to throw off the Papal yoke. He was grievously sensible of his own poverty; he looked with an envious eye on the riches of the Gallican Church; and he observed that the Kings of Denmark and Sweden had acquired great accession of power by the

¹ Pallavicini, lib. iii. c. 12; cf. M. du Bellay, liv. iv.; Gaillard, t. iv. p. 203.

² Du Bellay, *ib.* p. 128 sq.; Gaillard, *ib.* p. 187; Le Grand, t. i. p. 232 sq.

³ Sleidan, lib. ix. p. 220, ed. 1620. The opinions of some of the French and Italian Universities will be found in Rymer, t. xiv. p. 391 sq.

peaceful reformation accomplished in their dominions. But his views were still directed towards Italy, where the help of the Pope was necessary to his schemes. Henry, who had no such projects, weary at length of so many years of fruitless pleading, resolved to take the advice of Francis; and he privately celebrated a marriage with Anne Boleyn, January 25th, 1533. Soon after, Cranmer, now Archbishop of Canterbury, having pronounced a sentence of divorce against Catharine, Anne was solemnly and publicly crowned, June 1st, 1533.¹ The Pope, at the instance of the Emperor, had issued a bull prohibiting the marriage, December 23rd, 1532; but it seems not to have been published till the following February.

In the course of the same year, Francis drew still closer his relations with the Pope. Ever since June, 1531, negotiations had been carrying on for a marriage between the French King's second son, Henry Duke of Orleans, and Catharine de' Medici, whose birth we have already recorded (vol. i. p. 366); but they were not brought to a conclusion till the time of the Emperor's second sojourn at Bologna, when Clement, irritated by Charles's conduct towards him, and especially by his pressing the demand for a Council, agreed to meet the French King at Marseilles in the following autumn, and there to arrange the nuptials.² Francis had demanded that a principality should be erected for his son, to consist of Pisa, Leghorn, Reggio, Rubiera, Modena, Parma, and Piacenza; also Urbino, and even Milan and Genoa; and that the Pope should help in reconquering these places. Clement was willing to satisfy these demands when an opportunity offered; only he would not speak out about Milan and Genoa. The arrangements were of course kept as secret as possible. The interview took place at Marseilles, towards the end of October, 1533, and lasted three weeks. The Pope himself performed the wedding ceremony, October 27th, and bestowed his benediction on the youthful pair. Henry Duke of Orleans, who, by the death of his elder brother, subsequently became Dauphin, and then King of France, was at this time nearly fifteen years of age; Catharine de' Medici was a little older, and is described as short, thin, and plain, with the large eyes peculiar to her family.³ Francis ceded all his claims in Italy to his son. Charles V., who could at first scarcely believe

¹ Raynaldus, t. xiii. p. 264.

² *Lettres du Roi François I.* in Camusat, *Mélanges Hist.* p. 173; *Relazione di So-*

riano, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. i. p. 118.

³ *Ibid.* vol. iii. App. p. 302.

that Francis seriously contemplated debasing the royal blood of France by mixing it with that of the Medici, so recently mere private citizens of Florence, took no steps to prevent the marriage.

The news of Henry VIII.'s marriage had reached Rome some months before this meeting (May 12th), whither it had been transmitted in all haste by the widowed Queen Mary, Governess of the Netherlands, to the Cardinals of the Imperial faction. Only a few years before Clement had himself advised Henry to such a step; but he was not then, as now, under the immediate influence of the Empire: besides which he had committed himself by the inhibitory brief. Henry was immediately cited to appear at Rome either in person or by proxy. It might be anticipated that, when the news of the divorce pronounced by Cranmer should arrive in Rome, the last and most terrible sentence of the Church would be fulminated. Henry resolved therefore to blunt the edge of the Papal weapons by anticipating them, and, on the 29th of June, he made a formal appeal, before the Archbishop of York, from the expected sentence of the Pope to the next General Council.¹

The news of the divorce produced a violent scene between the Pope and the English ambassadors at Rome. One of them, Bonner, the future notorious Bishop of London, who could ill control his tongue, made use of such intemperate language, that Clement threatened to boil him in a cauldron of lead. Henry, however, exhorted him to be firm, and to dispute the matter point by point,² and on further deliberation, the Pope thought it prudent to reserve for awhile the last blow. By a brief published July 12th, Cranmer's sentence of divorce was declared null and void; but though the King by his disobedience had incurred the penalty of excommunication, the fulmination of it was deferred till the end of September, to allow him the opportunity of resuming his former position. Henry at this time endeavoured to establish friendly relations with the Elector of Saxony and the German Lutherans; and with that view despatched Vaughan as ambassador to the Court of John Frederick at Weimar; who, however, met with so cool a reception, that he soon took his departure.³ The German Lutherans were now at least temporarily reconciled with the

¹ The substance of this appeal is given by Mr. Froude, *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 123 sqq. The original is in Rymer, t. xiv. p. 476.

² Henry VIII. to Bonner, *State Papers*,

vol. vii. p. 485.

³ Vaughan to Henry VIII., *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 503. Vaughan to Cromwell, *ibid.* p. 509.

Emperor, and were not disposed to give him any new cause of offence.

The Duke of Norfolk, Henry's ambassador to Francis, if he failed to persuade that King to abandon his intended interview with Clement, was ordered to return home instead of proceeding to Marseilles, that he might not be compelled to be present with the Pope, his master's enemy.¹ Bonner, however, followed the Pope from Rome, and arrived at Marseilles, on the 7th of November, with Henry's appeal. He has left a graphic description of the Pope's anger on receiving it, in a letter to the King,² dated November 13th. Francis appears to have made strong representations to the Pope in Henry's favour. Before the meeting broke up, Clement went so far as to say that, if the King of England would, only as a mere matter of form, acknowledge the Papal jurisdiction, he would pronounce sentence in his favour, as he believed his cause to be just; he even waived the citation to Rome, and offered to appoint a court to sit at Cambray: but Henry, who, not without reason, suspected that the Pope might still deceive him, rejected the offer; and subsequently, in a letter to Francis I., he very forcibly pointed out how much the Pope had committed himself by acknowledging the goodness of his cause, yet refusing to do him justice without extorting conditions.³ Such a proposition on the part of Clement shows, however, how much he trusted that his connection with Francis would render him independent of the Emperor.

These events were followed by that memorable session of the English Parliament, early in 1534, which abrogated the Papal jurisdiction in England. The law was mitigated in favour of suspected heretics. The act abolishing annates, which had been begun, but left unratified, now received the royal assent; a proceeding which also involved a reform in the appointment of bishops; for as no annates were to be sent to Rome, so no pallium and bull of confirmation were to be expected thence. The Crown had already usurped from the chapters the appointment of bishops, and the Pope's share in the transaction had also become a mere shadow. The *congé d'élire* was now restored to the chapters, but it was accompanied with a nomination by the Crown, to be made absolute within twelve days, under pain of incurring a *præmunire*. Thus the chapters regained a merely nominal

¹ *State Papers*, vol. vii. p. 493 sqq.

² Henry's *Letter to the French King*.

³ In Burnet, vol. iii. pt. ii. *Records*,
No. 23.

in Foxe, *Acts and Monum.* vol. v. p. 110.

freedom, while the appointment of the Crown was left wholly uncontrolled. Peter's pence and other tributes to the Apostolic Chamber were abolished; and unless the Pope did the King justice within three months, his jurisdiction in England was to cease altogether. The session was wound up by the Act of Succession, by which the King's marriage with Catharine was declared invalid, Cranmer's sentence of divorce confirmed, the marriage with Anne Boleyn pronounced lawful, and the issue of it appointed to succeed to the Crown.

Scarcely was the session ended when the news arrived in England (April 7th), that the Pope had pronounced judgment against the King. Through the mediation of the Bishop of Paris, Clement had been induced to defer his sentence to the 23rd of March, and Henry, meanwhile, appears to have agreed to the terms proposed; but his courier having been accidentally delayed on the road, Clement, at the instigation of the Spanish Cardinals, who, since the treaty of Barcelona, possessed supreme influence in the Roman Curia, declared the King's first marriage valid, and himself excommunicate if he refused to obey this judgment. In pursuance of this sentence, the Emperor was to invade England within four months, and depose the King. Large bodies of troops were actually assembled in the Netherlands; Francis offered Henry his assistance, and that summer the Channel was guarded by a French fleet.¹ But although Queen Mary had assumed in the Netherlands a very hostile attitude, it was plain from many symptoms, that the Emperor would be loath to come to extremities with England, and these demonstrations had no result. The die was now irrevocably cast. The Papal authority in England was abolished by Convocation on the same day that the news of the Pope's decision arrived. On the 25th of June a royal proclamation was issued against the Pope's supremacy; and in the next session of Parliament, in November, 1534, it was abrogated by an act which substituted that of the King in its stead.

Before this last formal blow to the Papal authority, Clement had expired. He died towards the end of September—the exact day is uncertain. He had given no very marked occasion for scandal: he was naturally grave, diligent in business, and full of ambition; but false and insincere. Although his capacity was large, his judgment was often perverted by timidity, to which also his apparent insincerity must often be ascribed. He was one of those characters frequently met with in life; an excellent

¹ Froude, vol. ii. p. 219.

adviser in a subordinate situation; but paralyzed by irresolution when the responsibility of decision fell upon himself. During his pontificate, Papal Rome experienced the most serious disasters it had ever sustained. Clement had seen his capital in the hands of the enemy, and himself a prisoner; he had beheld the establishment of the Reformation in many parts of Germany and Switzerland, and the separation of England from the Roman See; which last misfortune must have wounded him all the more, as he could not but be sensible that it was chiefly attributable to his own policy.

In choosing Clement's successor a severe struggle ensued between the French and Imperial parties, which ended in the election of Alessandro Farnese, a man devoted to neither (October 12th, 1534). He assumed the title of Paul III. Farnese was a Roman by birth, of good abilities and education. He had studied under Pomponio Leto at Rome, and at Florence in the gardens of Lorenzo de' Medici; yet he was not free from the superstition of astrology, so prevalent in that age. He was of an easy, liberal temper, fond of magnificence, and very popular at Rome; yet, after all, perhaps his chief recommendations to the Conclave were, his age of sixty-seven, and the many rich benefices which his elevation would cause to be distributed among the Cardinals. Like so many of his predecessors, he was addicted to nepotism, and he openly acknowledged an illegitimate son and daughter. It was he who founded the Farnese palace.

On the question of the divorce Cardinal Farnese had always been on Henry's side, and even after the passing of the final sentence, had advised its reconsideration. After he had ascended the Papal throne, overtures for a reconciliation were made to Henry, both through the French King and indirectly from the Pope himself. But Henry was resolved not to be again deceived, and rejected all these offers.¹ Paul III. therefore issued, early in November, 1535, a bull of excommunication against the King, in which, besides the usual revolting penalties contained in those spiritual fulminations, Henry was deprived of his throne, his offspring by Anne Boleyn were declared infamous, his subjects were released from their obedience, and exhorted to take up arms against him, all his treaties with foreign Princes and Powers were pronounced null and void, and the nations of Europe were called upon to make war upon him till he should be reduced to obedience to the Holy See.²

¹ Froude, vol. ii. p. 339.

² Raynaldus, t. xiii. p. 370 sqq.

The death of Clement sadly interfered with Francis's designs upon Italy. These had taken a more definite form ever since the death of his mother, Louise, when he found himself the heir of a larger sum of money than he had ever before possessed ; and from that time he began his preparations. One of the most important of them was the placing of the French army upon a new and more effective footing, especially by the raising of seven legions of French infantry, each of 6,000 men (1534); a force for which France had relied hitherto upon foreigners.¹ But the jealousy of the nobility prevented this plan from being carried out to its full extent. •

Francis, however, made his first attacks on the Emperor in Germany. After his treaty with the Pope at Marseilles, he had despatched M. de Langey into that country to form an intimate alliance with the Princes who were dissatisfied with King Ferdinand's election, and, in particular, to support the restoration of the Duke of Würtemberg, whose expulsion, and the usurpation of his dominions by the House of Austria, we have already recorded. In January, 1534, Francis himself had an interview with the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the chief supporter of Ulrich, at Bar-le-Duc, when he agreed to advance 125,000 dollars for the affair of Würtemberg, but under pretence of purchasing Mömpelgard, in order that he might not openly violate the peace of Cambray. He had previously paid down 100,000 crowns to the Dukes of Bavaria, in pursuance of the former treaty respecting the election of the King of the Romans ; and he engaged to pay a third of the expenses of any war that might arise. The restoration of the Duke of Würtemberg we shall have occasion to relate further on.

Besides the death of Clement, another reason which induced the French King to postpone awhile his meditated invasion of Italy, was the expedition preparing by the Emperor against the corsairs of Barbary ; for he felt that to attack Charles at a juncture when he was performing a service beneficial to all Christendom would draw upon himself the execration of Europe. For many years the coasts of Spain and Italy had been infested by Mahometan pirates, whom the Knights of St. John were quite unable to keep in check. The danger and inconvenience had much increased since Hayraddin, or Chaireddin, surnamed Barbarossa, the son of a Lesbian potter, had by his talents and bravery become commander of a considerable fleet, and had succeeded to the Kingdom

¹ Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, t. xi. 427 sq.

of Algiers on the death of his elder brother Horuc, by whom it had been seized. To Barbarossa resorted, as their proper leader, the renegades and freebooters of Southern Europe, and especially the oppressed Moriscoes of Spain. Barbarossa had not even spared the coast of Provence, and, in 1533, Francis had concluded with him a separate truce. His subsequent appointment as the Sultan's admiral brought him into friendly relations with Francis, who contemplated making use of his fleet in order to recover Genoa, engaging in return to second the enterprises of the Turks. Nay, the French King even sent an ambassador to Solyman, pressing him to terminate his Asiatic wars, and act in person against the Emperor.¹ This alliance with the Infidels, merely for the purposes of his selfish ambition, must ever stamp Francis with infamy. His defensive alliance with Solyman may perhaps be in some degree excused on the plea of its necessity against the overwhelming power of the House of Austria; but this offensive league, a shameless aiding and abetting of those unspeakable atrocities which called down the execration of Europe, has no such justification. On the coasts of Italy and Spain, and for some miles inland, no father of a family could go to rest in the confident security of finding his wife and children in the morning. The corsairs sometimes had a commission from a Pasha, a Bey, or a renegade, to procure them a certain woman, and in this way they would carry off the daughters even of persons of rank and station. In 1534, Barbarossa had infested the coasts of Naples and Sicily with his flying squadrons, inflicting a good deal of damage; then, after plundering the coasts of Sardinia, he passed over to Tunis, and on pretence of punishing Muley Hassan for his tyranny, took possession of his Kingdom.² This increase of Barbarossa's power made him still more dreaded. The Spaniards, in particular, were loud in their complaints, and Charles, who had been resident in Spain since 1533, was obliged to dismiss for awhile the politics of Europe, and to direct in person all his forces against Africa, in an expedition which assumed the appearance of a crusade. Before he embarked at Barcelona, the Emperor visited the shrine of Our Lady of Montserrat, walking in procession with uncovered head; while the admiral's ship displayed for its ensign a crucifix with Mary and John standing by.

The only aid which Charles received was from Portugal; not, indeed, from King John, but from his brother Louis, who fur-

¹ *Négociations*, &c. t. i. p. 253 seq.

² Hadschi Chalitch, *Maritime Wars*, p. 49; cf. Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 436 sq.

nished twenty-five ships, and 2,000 men fully equipped, besides sixty transports. Francis was applied to for aid, but declined to take any part in the enterprise, although there were many French prisoners languishing in Tunis. The army which assembled at Cagliari, under command of the Emperor in person, consisted of 25,000 foot and 2,000 horse, composed of Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese. The expedition sailed in June, 1535, and on the 16th arrived at Porto Farina, near the ancient Utica. The Goletta, the fortress which protects Tunis, was easily taken by storm. On the 20th, Hayraddin Barbarossa was defeated in a pitched battle, and put to flight, and five days afterwards, with the help of the Christian slaves, Tunis was captured. In these operations Charles displayed not only personal courage, but also the qualities of a good general. Muley Hassan was restored to his dominions under a treaty by which he engaged to put down piracy, to leave all Christians unmolested, to allow them the free use of their worship, and to pay a yearly tribute of 12,000 ducats.¹

Having achieved this brilliant conquest, the Emperor re-embarked, August 17th, and landed at Palermo on the 4th of September. Thence he proceeded to Naples, where he spent several months, and celebrated the carnival with fêtes and tournaments, in which he himself combated in a Moorish dress. His success seemed to have inspired him with new sentiments; and he appears at this epoch as the chivalrous cavalier, whilst Francis, his once more brilliant rival, was sinking down into the crafty negotiator. It was during his stay at Naples that Charles confirmed the marriage of his natural daughter, Margaret, with Alessandro de' Medici, a man stained with every vice. Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, who, after the death of Clement VII., had become the head of that family, had, at the instance of some leading Florentines, preferred a long list of complaints against his kinsman Duke Alessandro to the Emperor, who was then at Tunis. Charles promised to inquire into the charges on his return; but meanwhile Alessandro bribed the Cardinal's cup-bearer to poison him (August 10th, 1535). Notwithstanding his death, the charges were pursued; Alessandro was cited to Naples; yet, though condemned by a tribunal, he was suffered to retain his power, and in June, 1536, celebrated with royal pomp his marriage with Margaret. The Florentines offered Charles large sums of money to annul the treaty which he had entered into

¹ Dumont, *Corps Diplom.* t. iv. pt. ii. p. 128.

with Pope Clement, and to restore the Republic ; but though he rejected their proposals he seems to have put some check to the tyranny of Alessandro.¹

After the Emperor's return from Tunis, Francis resolved to invade Italy, for which what he called the murder of his ambassador Maraviglia, or Merveilles, served as a pretext. This man, without any publicly accredited post, had been employed by Francis as a sort of spy at the Court of the Duke of Milan, and Charles had required Francesco Maria Sforza to dismiss him ; but an opportunity arose to put him out of the way in a more effectual manner. Some of Maraviglia's people had killed Count Castiglione in a street brawl² (July, 1533) ; and Maraviglia was consequently arrested, and, after summary process, put to death. This act was a pledge of reconciliation between Charles and Sforza, and the latter now received the Emperor's niece in marriage, as previously arranged by treaty. Francis, on the other hand, chose to regard the execution of Maraviglia as a breach of the law of nations, and loudly demanded satisfaction both from the Duke and the Emperor. Sforza had no doubt acted with precipitation and injustice ; but Francis, from the causes already mentioned, had postponed his demand of redress till the Emperor's return ; refusing, in the mean time, the most humble apologies on the Duke's part, and the most liberal offers of reparation. The death of Sforza, October 24th, 1535, put matters on a new footing. He was the last of the ducal branch of his house, and left the Emperor his heir, who took possession of Milan as an Imperial fief, and appointed Antonio de Leyva to the government of it. The French King now shifted his ground. He pretended that, by the treaty of Cambray, he had renounced his claims to the Milanese only in favour of Francesco Maria Sforza ; that they were consequently revived by the death of that Prince without issue ; and on this pretence, he demanded investiture from the Emperor. Instead, however, of following up this demand by striking a vigorous blow, he suffered the Emperor to amuse him some months with fruitless negotiations. Charles held out the hope that he would confer the Milanese on the French King's third son, the Duke of Angoulême, except in case that the latter should succeed to the Crown of France ; whilst Francis wished to procure it for his second son, the husband of Catharine

¹ Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*. lib. xiv. ; Jovius, lib. xxxiv.

² According to another version, Castiglione had been commissioned to make

away with Maraviglia, and was killed while breaking into his house. Schlosser, B. xii. S. 199. Cf. Gaillard, t. iv. p. 247 sqq.

de' Medici, on the condition that he himself should first hold it during pleasure.

Meanwhile, however, Francis, unwilling that his large forces should remain unemployed, resolved to seize Savoy. It is said that Clement VII. first suggested this idea to him during the interview at Marseilles, pointing out that all his former Italian expeditions had failed for want of a proper base of operations. Such a step was now all the more necessary to his contemplated invasion of Italy, as Duke Charles III. of Savoy, although uncle of Francis, belonged to the Emperor's party, and was indeed his brother-in-law, having married Beatrix of Portugal, sister of the Empress. The French King had at hand several pretexts for hostilities. He complained that the Duke had mediated an alliance between the Emperor and the Swiss; that he had refused to lend the Castle of Nice for the interview between himself and the Pope; that he had sent the Prince of Piedmont to be educated at Madrid; that he had lent Bourbon jewels, which the latter pawned to raise troops; with other charges of the like kind. More particularly was he offended that the Duke, or rather his consort Beatrix, had accepted the County of Asti, which Francis had been compelled to renounce by the peace of Cambray; a proceeding which he regarded almost as a personal affront. Besides alleging these grievances, Francis set up a claim to part of his uncle's dominions. Louise, his mother, was the second child of Duke Philip II., and by his first wife; his uncle, Duke Charles, was the third child, but second son, and by a second wife. Charles, however, had now been thirty years in possession, having succeeded to the Duchy on the death of his brother Philibert, in 1504; Louise and her husband, Charles, Count of Angoulême, had renounced all pretension to Savoy at the time of their marriage; although, without such renunciation, the claim of the male heir was preferable, the succession being regulated as in France by Salic law. Francis pretended indeed that this law had been abrogated on the marriage of his grandmother, Margaret of Bourbon, with Philip of Savoy; but he could never produce the deed of abrogation. Nevertheless he sent Poyet, President of the Parliament of Paris, to make the following demands on his uncle: a payment of 180,000 crowns, the dowry of his grandmother; Bresse, the ancient appanage of his grandfather Philip, together with its revenues for the last forty years; Asti and Vercelli, as possessions of the House of Orleans; the County of Nice, the Lordship of Faucigni, and

several domains in the Marquisate of Saluzzo, as old 'fiefs of Dauphiné and Provence; nay, even Turin itself and great part of Piedmont, as having formerly belonged to Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis! Duke Charles offered to refer his nephew's claims to arbitration; but Francis interpreted this offer as a refusal, and declared war against him.¹

Covert hostilities had already taken place between France and Savoy. It had been the object of Duke Charles's reign to get possession of Geneva, the feudal sovereignty of which had been ceded to the House of Savoy at the beginning of the fifteenth century by Odo de Villars, Count of Geneva; but the Genevese had, as we have seen, protected themselves from the attempts of the Duke by an alliance with Freiburg and Bern. Farel, the precursor of Calvin, having, however, abolished Popery at Geneva in 1535, Freiburg abandoned the alliance, and the Duke renewed his attempts upon the liberties of the city. Francis had despatched two small expeditions to the aid of the Genevese for the purpose of annoying his uncle; but both had been defeated by the vigilance of the Duke's officers, and these checks had increased the ill-humour of the French King. In February, 1536, the admiral Chabot de Brion, Francis's lieutenant-general, marched against Duke Charles at the head of a French army. Bresse and Savoy were soon overrun; the Duke abandoned Turin on Brion's approach, and took refuge at Vercelli, and all the country as far as the Dora Grossa was speedily subdued. The admiral even crossed that river, and was preparing to attack Vercelli, when the Cardinal of Lorraine, who had arrived at the French camp, April 18th, forbade him to do so, on the ground that as Vercelli properly belonged to the Duchy of Milan, an attack upon it would be a virtual declaration of war against the Emperor.

Charles, meanwhile, had proceeded from Naples to Rome, which he entered April 5th, and there learned the progress of the French arms in Savoy. On the 17th of the same month he gave an audience to the French ambassadors in presence of the Pope and assembled Cardinals, where he recapitulated in a long speech all his former grounds of complaint against Francis; and he concluded by making three proposals: that the French King should accept Milan for his third son, the Duke of Angoulême, and evacuate Savoy; or that Francis should meet him in a duel, to be fought in their shirts with sword and dagger, the vanquished to renounce all pretensions either to Burgundy or Milan,

¹ Guichon, *Hist. de Savoie*, t. ii. p. 211; Gaillard, t. iv. *Dissert.* p. 512.

as the case might be, and to undertake the extirpation of heresy and the overthrow of the Turks; or thirdly, to decide their differences by war. Francis treated the challenge as a joke; but it is singular that the King, who passed for a model of chivalry, should have twice declined to meet the Emperor, whose renown has been thought to rest chiefly on his diplomacy.

During these negotiations Charles had collected an army of 50,000 or 60,000 men in Lombardy, with 100 guns, besides another in the Netherlands for the invasion of Picardy, while some bodies of troops on the northern frontier of Spain threatened Languedoc. By the aid of the Marquis of Saluzzo, who went over to the Imperialists, Fossano was taken, and Charles now called a council of war to deliberate concerning the invasion of France itself. The Marquis del Guasto and Don Ferrante Gonzaga strongly dissuaded him from the enterprise; Antonio de Leyva as strongly urged it.¹ The Emperor referred the question to the decision of the army, who, with a unanimous shout of approval, declared for the invasion. The Var was crossed July 25th, the anniversary of Charles's victory at Tunis. Francis had neglected the defence of his frontier, and as the danger approached, resorted, by the advice of Montmorenci, to a barbarous method of defence. The whole district between the sea and the Durance, the Alps, and the Rhone, was laid waste; the mills were destroyed; the crops burnt; the wells corrupted; the towns, even Aix itself, the capital, dismantled and abandoned. Three places only, Arles, Tarascon, and Marseilles, were to be defended against the enemy. Such was the misery which the reckless ambition of Francis had drawn down upon one of his finest provinces. On the other hand, Charles might have been warned by the fate of Bourbon how difficult an enterprise he had undertaken, though he could hardly have anticipated the desperate measures adopted by the French. The death of the Dauphin Francis at this juncture (August 10th) seemed to open a prospect of accommodation. Charles intimated that, if the French King would demand Milan for the Duke of Angoulême, peace might still be made. Francis, however, was not content with such an arrangement, nor was he disposed to give up his conquests in Piedmont. A projected attempt upon Arles by the Imperialists was abandoned; the Pope's town of Avignon, which was inclined to the Emperor, had been seized by Montmorenci, who took up his head-quarters

¹ P. Jovius, lib. xxxv.

there, whilst Francis himself was at Valence, higher up the Rhone. The march of the Imperialists was therefore directed on Marseilles, to which siege was laid August, 25th. Want of provisions, however, and an epidemic among his troops, soon obliged Charles to raise it, and on the 10th of September he began a disastrous retreat, leaving behind him a considerable quantity of guns and baggage. Fortunately for the Imperialists they were not pursued by Montmorenci, or hardly one could have escaped; their loss, as it was, is said to have been 30,000 men. Antonio de Leyva perished in this retreat; a man in whom the qualities of a great general were blotted by avarice, cruelty, and superstition. Garcilaso de la Vega, one of the best pastoral poets of Spain, also fell. He was fired upon by some peasants posted in a tower in the village of Muy, who, from his brilliant equipage, mistook him for the Emperor. Charles arrived at Genoa towards the end of November, fatigued and dispirited, and immediately sailed for Spain. The Imperialists were also repulsed on the northern frontier of France. Nassau had penetrated as far as Péronne, the siege of which he was forced to abandon, September 11th. The French still had possession of Piedmont; Turin had not even been attacked. These campaigns do not convey a very high idea of the art of war in that age. In spite of the more extended use of powder artillery, and of regularly disciplined troops, warfare still somewhat partook of the character of a marauding expedition, nor were those expedients yet adopted by which alone conquests can be secured as well as made.

The Dauphin's death occasioned in Francis either real or affected suspicions of the most horrible description. The image of the Emperor constantly haunted his mind as the chief cause of all his misfortunes, and this morbid impression, heightened probably by the actual presence of Charles in French territory, suggested to Francis the idea that his son had been poisoned. The Dauphin's cup-bearer, Montecuculi, was arrested and subjected to torture, who, being a person of feeble and nervous temperament, said all that was suggested to him while racked with pain, and confessed that he had been suborned by Leyva and Gonzaga, at the indirect suggestion of the Emperor himself, to poison the French King and his three sons. Montecuculi was condemned to be quartered alive; and Francis, attended by his whole Court, feasted his eyes with the spectacle of the execution. The only colourable evidence against the accused was that a MS. treatise

on poisons had been found in his possession. It is difficult to imagine that Francis could seriously have believed in the Emperor's guilt, and, indeed, at a later period and in cooler moments, he appears to have dismissed the thought. The circumstances of the Dauphin's death suffice to account for it from natural causes—he had drunk a glass of iced water when heated by a game at tennis.

CHAPTER XV.

ABOUT this time Germany was the scene of one of the most extraordinary triumphs ever achieved by fanaticism. Since the execution of Thomas Münzer, the Anabaptists, to avoid the persecution to which they were exposed in Thuringia, had taken refuge in East Friesland, Westphalia, and the Netherlands; where they made many converts. Early in 1534, Jan Matthys, or Mathiasen, a baker of Leyden, who had imbibed the Anabaptist tenets, and laid claim to supernatural powers, accompanied by his disciple, Jan Bockolt, repaired to Münster, the chief city of Westphalia, where they were hospitably entertained by Bernhard Knipperdolling, one of the leading citizens. The striking dress, the enthusiastic bearing of the two Hollanders, made a great impression, especially on nuns, among whom they found their first converts; married women next began to slip into the meetings, bringing their jewels and trinkets as offerings to the prophet and pledges of their devotion. The men were at first alarmed and angry, but, as it happens in such matters, were themselves at length drawn in and converted. The epidemic soon became irresistible. Matthys, who was thought to possess a supernatural potion with which he charmed all those whom he baptized, gradually acquired so much power that he could set the town council at defiance: and on the 8th of February a struggle for mastery took place. The Anabaptists, mostly strangers, were arrayed in the market-place; the magistrates and unconverted citizens seized the streets leading to it and the town gates; a pitched battle seemed inevitable, when, at the last hour, a capitulation was entered into, by which it was arranged that each party should enjoy its own creed, but pay obedience to the civil magistrate. After such a trial of their strength the Anabaptist sect naturally went on increasing. New followers streamed to Münster from all parts: wives without their husbands, husbands without their wives; sometimes whole families together; all the lewd knaves and half-witted noodles in the country round. The fanaticism was increased by the conversion of one Rottmann, a clergyman, who promised those who joined

the sect that they should obtain tenfold what they abandoned. At the ensuing election of magistrates, all offices were filled by enlightened brothers, mostly mechanics, and Knipperdolling was chosen burgomaster. On the 27th of February an armed assembly met in the council house for prayer, when suddenly Matthys, the prophet, exclaimed that all unbelievers must be driven from the city. "Away," he cried, "with the children of Esau! the inheritance belongs to the children of Jacob!" and his voice was answered on all sides by the cry, "Begone, ye godless!" On that bitter winter's day, all who would not deny their baptism, young and old, men, women, and children, were driven through the gates, where the last penny was taken from them, often the miserable savings of a long life; and the Anabaptists having now sole possession of the city, established their spiritual Republic. The rights of property were abolished, and everything was put together into one common stock, concealment being punished with death. Yet everybody continued to exercise his trade, which was looked upon as a sort of office; food and drink were provided at the public expense; and the two sexes, or, as they were called, the brothers and sisters, sat at separate tables, and ate in silence, while a chapter was read from the Bible.

The proceedings had naturally excited alarm among the neighbouring Princes; and in April, the Bishop of Münster invested his capital with an army raised among his own subjects, as well as in the Duchy of Cleves and the Electorate of Cologne. The siege, however, made but little progress. The garrison was animated with all the fury of enthusiasm; the very children had been taught to shoot with the bow, in which they had acquired great dexterity. Matthys, who was no sham enthusiast, having made a sally at the head of a few ill-armed followers, in the full confidence of driving the enemy before him, like one of the heroes of Israel, was slain with all his followers, and the prophet's mantle now fell to his disciple, Jan Bockolt, the son of a headborough at the Hague, who, after wandering about the world, had settled down as a tailor at Leyden, where he afterwards opened a wine and beer shop. Bockolt, or John of Leyden, who was of a goodly person, well spoken, fiery, and enthusiastic, began his administration by appointing a council of twelve elders, six of whom sat alternately in tribunal every morning and afternoon, and whatsoever they ordered was done. John of Leyden introduced plurality of wives, though not without a struggle, many among the Anabaptists themselves viewing such a custom with a

natural repugnance; some even opposed it with arms, but being driven into the town hall, were forced to surrender, and cruelly put to death. John was now chosen King, and reigned despotically. Thrice a week he sat on his throne in the market-place, and held his tribunal; while Knipperdolling, who had been appointed executioner, stood a step lower, bearing the sword of justice. John had already twelve wives, when, having courted a thirteenth, who refused his addresses, he beheaded her with his own hands and trampled on her body, while his wives stood around singing, "Glory to God in the highest!" The Bishop of Münster's army was at length re-enforced by some Imperial troops; the city was completely invested, and began to suffer all the extremities of hunger, when, on the night of June 24th, 1535, with help of some within, it was taken by storm. Rottmann and many others perished in the conflict. Bockolt, Knipperdolling, and an associate named Krechting, were taken alive and put to death, after the most dreadful tortures. Their skeletons were then placed in three iron cages, affixed to the tower of St. Lambert's church,¹ where the three cages remain to this day.

These excesses were detested alike by the moderate of all persuasions. Towards the end of 1535 the Protestants renewed and extended the League of Smalkald, which now received several accessions, and especially that of Ulrich, Duke of Würtemberg, whose restoration had been effected by the Landgrave Philip of Hesse with the help of French gold; but not till after the dissolution of the Suabian League, in December, 1533, which had frustrated several attempts for that purpose. Philip of Hesse had raised an army of 25,000 men with the money supplied by the French King, and totally defeated King Ferdinand at the battle of Lauffen, near Heilbronn, May 13th. The rest of Würtemberg was soon reduced, and Ulrich reinstated in his Duchy. Ulrich's son Christopher had been kept a close prisoner by Ferdinand, the usurper of the Duchy, under pretence of educating him. In the autumn of 1532 Charles had resolved to carry him into Spain; but on the way through Tyrol he contrived to escape, and, after many dangers, got safely into Bavaria, where he was protected by the Dukes, his maternal uncles.

The affairs of Würtemberg were settled by the peace of

¹ Respecting the Anabaptists of Münster, see Hermann von Kersenbroch, *Narratio de Obsidione Monastericensi*, in

Mencke, *Scripp.* t. iii. No. 23; Jochmus, *Gesch. der Kirchen-Ref. zu Münster* (Münster, 1825).

Cadan¹ June 27th, 1534. Ferdinand waived his claim to the Duchy, though with the salvo that it should be regarded as an *arrière fief* of the Empire, dependent on the House of Austria. On the other hand, the confederates of Smalkald, who were parties to this treaty, consented to recognize Ferdinand as King of the Romans, stipulating, however, that for the future none should be elected to that dignity without the unanimous concurrence of the Electors. But this transaction owes its chief importance to its effect upon the state of religion in Germany. It was agreed that the Imperial Chamber should no longer exercise any jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, and that all previous decrees in contravention of this principle should be quashed. Würtemberg was immediately reformed, and thus this revolution must be regarded as forming an epoch in the rise of German Protestantism. The Reformation was soon afterwards established in Holstein, Pomerania, the Mark of Brandenburg, and other places. Besides Würtemberg, the King of Denmark (as Duke of Holstein), Dukes Barnim and Philip of Pomerania, George and Joachim of Anhalt, and the towns of Augsburg, Frankfort, Kempten, Hanover, Hamburg, and Minden, acceded to the League of Smalkald at its renewal in 1535. The King of France also joined it, and the King of England declared himself its protector. The League was renewed for a term of ten years, and the direction of its affairs was divided half-yearly between the Saxon Elector and the Landgrave of Hesse, with the title of Captains-General. At the same time John Frederick of Saxony caused a new Protestant Confession to be drawn up by Luther and other divines, under the name of the ARTICLES OF SMALKALD, which were essentially the same as those of the Augsburg Confession, but much more strongly worded, betraying the hand of Luther instead of that of Melancthon. The Pope was branded as the anti-Christ, and represented as under the dominion of avarice, pride, lust, and other evil passions.²

Whilst Francis was favouring the Protestants of Germany, in order to damage the Emperor, he was cruelly persecuting those in his own dominions; though it must be admitted that he had received great provocation from the intemperate zeal of some of the new converts, which was condemned even by the more moderate of their own party.³ Placards containing gross and

¹ A town in Bohemia. The treaty is in Dumont, t. iv. pt. ii. p. 119.

² Luther's *Werke*, Th. xvi. S. 2326, 2323.

³ Beza, *Hist. Eccl.* liv. i. p. 10 (ed. 1841).

violent attacks upon the Mass and other matters of the Roman Catholic faith, which Féret, a servant of the King's apothecary, had caused to be printed at Neufchâtel, were posted up in the Paris streets, some even on the Louvre—nay, on the very door of the King's apartments at Blois. Montmorenci and Cardinal Tournon persuaded Francis, who was naturally incensed at the audacity displayed in these placards, that this was a commencement of anabaptism in France; and as his orthodoxy laboured at that time under considerable suspicion from his connection with the German Lutherans, with Henry VIII., and also with the Turks, he seized the opportunity to vindicate it in the cruellest and most signal manner. Some victims had been already made in November, 1534; the 29th of the following January was signalized by a solemn *auto-de-fé*. The image of St. Geneviève, together with her relics, as well as those of other Saints preserved at Paris, as St. Germain, St. Méry, St. Marceau, St^e. Opportune, St. Landry, St. Honoré, the head of St. Louis, and all the relics of the St^e. Chapelle, were carried through Paris in solemn procession, followed by the King on foot, his head uncovered, and bearing a taper in his hand. His three sons, and the rest of the royal family, the great officers of state, cardinals, bishops, and others, bearing lighted flambeaux, the Council, the Parliament of Paris, and all other public bodies, joined the procession, which went to Notre-Dame to hear a solemn Mass. Francis afterwards dined at the Evêché, where, in the presence of a numerous company, he declared in an animated speech, that he would sacrifice with his own hand any of his children who might be infected with the new heresies. In the evening six wretches, who had been convicted of them, were burnt by means of a machine so constructed as to dip them repeatedly in the flames, till the fire having at length consumed the cords, they fell in and perished. Others to the number of twenty-four were afterwards sacrificed in like manner. At the same time an edict was published for the extirpation of Lutheran and other heretics, as well as for the suppression of printing; but the latter does not appear to have been acted upon. These persecutions, which were continued till May with increasing atrocity, caused many Reformers to fly from Paris, and among them John Calvin, destined afterwards to play so remarkable a part at Geneva.

To the confederates of Smalkald, who were naturally revolted at this conduct of their pretended ally, Francis excused himself by alleging that the persons burnt were rebels rather than

schismatics, and not Lutherans, but "sacramentaries." He even held out the hope of a union between the Gallican Church and the Lutheran Churches of Germany; and in an autograph letter, January 28th, 1535, invited Melanchthon to Paris, to discuss with his doctors the question of the Eucharist; but John Frederick, who mistrusted the pliability of Melanchthon's temper, forbade him to accept the invitation. Such quarrels are, however, easily accommodated, when the interests of both parties are the same, and at present neither Francis nor the Lutherans were disposed to separate.

On his way back to Paris, after the retreat of the Emperor from Provencé, Francis had been met by James V. of Scotland, who had come to demand the hand of his eldest daughter, Madeleine. The alliance of that youthful King was sought by the three greatest Sovereigns of Europe. Henry VIII. offered James his daughter Mary, but on condition that he should declare himself, after Henry's own example, supreme head of the Scotch Church; a step which the Scottish King was not prepared to take. The Emperor offered him a choice among three of his female kinsfolk, including also his cousin Mary, for whom he promised to procure the Crown of England. Charles, however, since the death of his aunt Catharine, in January, 1536, had been renewing his advances to Henry VIII.; and the French King, sensible that his influence in that quarter was declining, determined to strengthen himself by an alliance with Scotland; with which view he offered James the hand of Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vendôme. Resolved to judge for himself, the Scottish King paid a visit, *incognito*, to Vendôme, in September, 1536. The lady did not come up to his expectations; but he saw on this occasion Madeleine, the eldest daughter of Francis, then seventeen years of age; a mutual passion is said to have ensued, which the French King found it difficult to oppose; the royal lovers were married January 1st, 1537, and after some months spent in fêtes and rejoicings, arrived in Scotland, May 28th. Unfortunately, however, a consumptive malady, to which Madeleine was subject, made rapid progress in the harsh climate of Scotland, and soon carried her off (July 7th). James was now pressed by his clergy to marry again. He had already cast his eye on Mary of Guise, widow of the Duke of Longueville, and he despatched Cardinal Beaton and Robert Maxwell into France to demand her hand. Henry VIII., who, after the execution of Anne Boleyn, was again a widower, by the death of Jane Seymour, in childbed, made

proposals for Mary ; but Francis, much to his chagrin, preferred the suit of the King of Scots. This marriage, however, fraught with such momentous consequences both to England and Scotland, did not take place till the summer of the following year.

Francis meanwhile had been preparing for new wars. In a *Lit de Justice*, held in January, 1537, "Charles of Austria" was summoned to appear before the Parliament of Paris, to do homage for Flanders and Artois, which, it was alleged, through Charles's violation of the treaty of Cambray, were again vested in the French King. Such a citation, before the conquest of Flanders, was simply ridiculous ; Charles of course failed to appear, and was condemned as a faithless and contumacious vassal. The views of Francis embraced, besides an attack on the Netherlands, large operations in Italy, to be helped by an invasion by Sultan Solyman. The French envoy La Forêt had concluded with the Vizier Ibrahim, in January, 1536, an alliance, which, under the appearance of a commercial treaty, was in fact a political league ; and it was arranged that, in 1537, Barbarossa should transport an Osmanli army into Apulia for the conquest of Naples, while Francis should cause a diversion in the north, by entering Lombardy with 50,000 men.

Want of vigour on the part of the French King—perhaps even some secret stings of conscience—prevented these plans from being carried out to their full extent. Francis's efforts were first directed towards the Netherlands. He, and Montmorenci, his lieutenant-general, opened the campaign towards the end of March, and took Hesdin, St. Pol, and St. Venant ; when the King, with inconceivable supineness, and content apparently with small successes after such vast pretensions, dismissed great part of his army, sent another part into Piedmont, and hastened back to Paris to enjoy his pleasures. Count Buren, the Imperial general, now appeared in the north with an army of 35,000 men, retook St. Pol, captured Montreuil, and laid siege to Têrouenne. Francis hastily reassembled his army, which, under the Dauphin Henry and Montmorenci, was marching to the relief of Têrouenne, when proposals of peace were made by Queen Mary, the Netherlands Regent ; and on the 30th of July, a truce of ten months was signed at Bomy by her and her sister Eleanor, Queen of France.

Solyman, meanwhile, in pursuance of his engagement, had assembled a vast force at the Albanian town of Avlona, whence the coast of Otranto may be discerned, and Hayraddin Barbarossa

was in readiness to transport the Turkish army with a fleet of 100 sail, which had been joined by the French admiral, St. Blancard, with twelve galleys. All Italy was in consternation. Pope Paul prepared to fly from Rome; the garrisons were strengthened in all the ports belonging to the Roman States; Andrew Doria, the Imperial admiral, was compelled to put into Messina to escape Barbarossa's fleet, and left the coast of Apulia exposed to the descent of the Turks. Barbarossa landed 10,000 cavalry near Otranto; but, being unprovided with artillery, they could effect nothing against the larger towns, and contented themselves with making an attempt on Castro, wasting the open country, and carrying off about 10,000 persons into slavery.¹ Francis, however, neglected to appear in Italy at the appointed time, and Solyman, therefore, did not follow up the invasion. The events just related took place in the summer of 1537, and it was not till the end of September that Francis prepared to enter Italy. By the 31st of October, the French had penetrated as far as Rivoli, and were desirous of engaging the enemy, when Francis, jealous of his captains, and even of his own son, sent them a message to await his arrival. The prospect of peace may, however, have been the chief cause of his inactivity. After the truce of Bomy, negotiations had been continued at Monçon, in Aragon; and on the 16th of November the plenipotentiaries at Monçon signed a truce of three months, to be published in Piedmont by the 27th. The two armies were to be disbanded, and each Power was to retain the territory which it held at the time of the publication of the armistice. It was also agreed that plenipotentiaries should be appointed to consider and adjust a definitive treaty of peace.

Pope Paul III., who, like the Emperor, was desirous of arresting the progress of the Turks, as well as of putting an end to the schism which distracted the Church, neither of which objects could be effectually accomplished so long as Europe was disturbed by the disputes of Charles and Francis, had long been endeavouring to bring their wars to an end; and in these projects he was seconded by the Emperor's sisters, the Queens of France and Hungary. The aged Pontiff did not shrink from fatigue and danger in order to promote a design which he had so much at heart. He had also, it is true, some personal and family interests to forward. After the example of his predecessor, he wished to form connexions both with the Emperor and the French King, by

¹ *Négociations*, &c. t. i. p. 330 sq.; Paruta, *Ist. Venez.* lib. viii. p. 686.

marrying into their families his two grandchildren, Octavius and Vittoria, the offspring of his son, Pier Luigi Farnese, a sort of Cæsar Borgia in miniature, whom he had made Duke of Camerino by seizing that place because it had fallen to a female. With these views, Paul arranged a meeting between Charles and Francis at Nice, to agree upon a pacification. Francis readily assented to an interview which offered him a chance of gaining his ends by negotiation instead of arms; and the Emperor, on his side, felt the burden of supporting a war with France and with the Turks, whilst endeavouring at the same time to re-establish Imperial authority in Germany. His finances were far from flourishing. The Lord of half Europe, as well as of Mexico and Peru, could not raise money enough to pay his mercenaries. The Netherlands were his true Indies; but his subjects there, though able, were not always willing to pay, and serious symptoms of revolt had manifested themselves at Ghent on the subject of taxes.

When Paul arrived at Nice, May 27th, 1538, he found that the Duke of Savoy was not inclined to admit either himself or the Monarchs into the only town which the fortune of war had left him. The Pope was obliged to take up his abode in a Franciscan convent in the suburbs; the French King established his quarters at the village of Villanuova, about two miles from the town, while the Emperor was fain to abide in the little port of Villafranca, in the galley which brought him. Paul could not prevail upon Charles and Francis to see each other, and he therefore received the visits of both in turn, and acted as mediator between them. A mutual mistrust, not unnatural after all that had passed between them, possessed the minds of the two Sovereigns. They could not persuade themselves that any agreement would be faithfully observed; and under these circumstances the only method for obtaining a peace seemed to be to enter into no prospective conditions at all, but to treat on the basis of *uti possidetis*. Such a method was highly favourable to Francis, as it would give him Savoy and great part of Piedmont, a possession almost as valuable as the Milanese, and much more conveniently situated with regard to his own dominions. Charles, indeed, felt some shame, though Beatrix was dead, in thus abandoning his brother-in-law, the Duke of Savoy, whatever feelings Francis might entertain in stripping his uncle. The wounds of political morality, however, are soon salved, and, as commonly happens in such cases, the helpless party was sacrificed. One of the conditions of the proposed peace was, that Francis should join the Holy League

against the Turk, recently concluded between the Pope, the Emperor, and Venice; but Francis was not inclined to an open breach with the Grand Signor,¹ and a truce of ten years was therefore substituted for a regular treaty of peace (June 18th). Both parties thought, and probably with reason, that such a truce was as likely to be observed, and to last as long, as a more formal treaty. Thus Bresse, Savoy, and half of Piedmont, occupied by Francis, remained in his hands, while the rest of Piedmont and the Milanese was retained by the Emperor. Hesdin was restored to the French, but Francis yielded respecting Gelderland, and recognized the Duke's promised reversion to the Emperor. The County of Nice alone was left to the Duke of Savoy. The Pays de Vaud was retained by Bern, and Geneva preserved its newly-acquired liberty—a circumstance by which both Sovereigns unconsciously sowed the seeds of future revolt in their own dominions, by enabling that city to become the seat of Calvin's reformation. Such is the Nemesis of subtle and grasping politicians. Francis also obtained Mirandola, and altogether his position was vastly improved by this treaty when compared with that of Cambray.² Charles of Savoy was abused as well as robbed. It was said that he had drawn his misfortunes on his own head by his want of complaisance to his powerful visitors, although his reluctance to admit a foreign garrison during the congress was natural enough under the circumstances. Early in the following year the truce was converted into a "perpetual peace,"³ by the treaty of Toledo (January 10th).

Paul III. succeeded during these conferences in effecting one of his matrimonial projects. Margaret of Austria, the Emperor's natural daughter, had in the preceding year become a widow, through the murder of her husband, Alessandro de' Medici. The roving eyes of that tyrannical and licentious Prince were often directed towards the purest as well as highest among the Florentine ladies, and not content with robbing them of honour, he publicly boasted of his success. But his kinsman, Lorenzino, who shared and assisted his pleasures, meditated, under the cloak of that base office, the means of procuring the supreme power for himself. Alessandro had been captivated by Lorenzino's still

¹ *Relazione di Niccolò Tiepolo*, in Tommaseo, *Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens sur les affaires de France au xvi^e siècle* (Doc. Ind.), t. i. p. 214 sqq.

² Dumont, t. iv. p. ii. pt. 169 sqq.

³ A magnificent title frequently used

in those days, and ridiculed by Leibnitz in the preface to his *Codex Juris Gentium Diplomaticus*, where he cites with approbation the sign of a Dutch shopkeeper, the picture of a cemetery, with the inscription, *A la paix perpétuelle!*

young and handsome aunt, the wife of Leonardo Ginori, but had long sought her favour in vain, when Lorenzino pretended that he had procured him an assignation. Blinded by lust, Duke Alessandro suffered himself to be lured into a dark and secret chamber, where, as he lay expecting the promised fair one, he was set upon by Lorenzino and a hired assassin, and stabbed to the heart (January 6th, 1537). Want of resolution, however, prevented Lorenzino from reaping the fruits of his crime. Struck with remorse and horror at what he had done, instead of rousing the people and putting himself at their head, he fled precipitately to Bologna, and thence to Venice. A party of Florentines, by the advice of Cardinal Cibo and Francisco Guicciardini, the historian, now placed Cosmò do' Medici, son of the great captain Giovanni, of the Black Bands, not yet eighteen years of age, at the head of their affairs, with the title of Duke; and the choice was subsequently ratified by the Emperor. Cosmo caused Lorenzino to be murdered at Venice, in 1547. Duke Cosmo was desirous of marrying his predecessor's widow, as a means of securing the Emperor's favour, and establishing his own position at Florence; but Pope Paul succeeded in obtaining her hand for his grandson Ottavio Farnese.

The refusal of Charles and Francis to see each other at Nice had impressed their respective Courts, as well as the Pope, with the idea that, though from necessity they had agreed upon a truce, they were still at deadly enmity, and that war would be renewed at the first opportunity. This, however, was an erroneous notion. Their unwillingness to have an interview at Nice seems to have arisen from a wish not to expose their plans before witnesses, and it is probable that the two Sovereigns had already arranged there a future meeting. However this may be, Francis lingered after the breaking up of the conference at an abbey in the diocese of Nîmes, and the arrival of the Imperial fleet at Aigues-Mortes being announced to him (July 14th), he immediately mounted his horse and rode to the coast. A boat conveyed him to the Emperor's galley, and Charles helped him with his own hand to ascend the side. "Brother, behold me once more your prisoner!" exclaimed Francis, as he set foot upon the deck. This mark of confidence was returned on the following day by the Emperor, who paid Francis a visit on shore. Queen Eleanor embraced, alternately, a brother and a husband, and the oblivion of past offences appeared to be so complete that even Andrew Doria was presented to Francis. During the few days that the Sovereigns

remained here, they had long interviews, to which only the Queen, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and Montmorenci (now Constable), were admitted on the side of France, and on that of the Emperor, Granvelle, Keeper of the Seals, and the Grand-Commander Govea. On the 17th of July the King conducted the Emperor to his galley, and the meeting ended.

*The scene just described is calculated, at first sight, to fill us with astonishment. A little previously, Francis had solemnly condemned the Emperor as a rebellious vassal, nay, had even accused him of poisoning the Dauphin; whilst Charles had publicly challenged the French King to mortal combat, with every mark of hatred and contempt. The explanation of this altered policy is chiefly to be sought in the influence acquired, at this period, by Montmorenci. That nobleman, a man of harsh, overbearing, and arrogant character, but possessing considerable administrative ability, had recently been raised to the dignity of Constable, which, since the treason of Charles of Bourbon, had remained in abeyance; and, being a bigoted Roman Catholic, he was naturally inclined towards the policy of the Emperor, the consistent and persevering foe of heretic and infidel; while the course hitherto pursued by France had necessitated leagues with Lutherans and Turks. Francis, enervated by luxury and debilitated by disease,¹ was more than ever inclined to intrust to other hands the reins of government; though in the temporary, but violent, reactions from his lethargy of pleasure, one idea, the dream of his life, still haunted him—the recovery of the Milanese. This Montmorenci taught him to expect, not from arms, but negotiation; and Francis was sufficiently humbled, or sufficiently indolent and debased to seek from the goodwill of his rival an object which he had in vain attempted to wrest from him by force. In a letter dated from Nîmes (July 18th), only a day or two after the interview at Aigues-Mortes, he declared that thenceforth the affairs of the Emperor and his own should be the same.²

The change in the policy of France soon became manifest. Two of the questions discussed at Aigues-Mortes seem to have turned on the affairs of religion, and the conduct to be observed towards England. There being no longer any reason to conciliate the German Lutherans, the severity of the persecutions in France was redoubled. An inquisitor at Toulouse, who had been con-

¹ Soon after the interview at Aigues-Mortes, he was laid up at Compiègne by a fresh attack of a disgraceful malady, brought upon him, it is said, by the sin-

gular revenge of an injured husband. L. Guyon, *Leçons diverses*, ap. Martin, t. viii. p. 254.

² *Archives Curieuses*, t. iii. p. 26.

verted by the very persons whom he was appointed to punish, was burnt in that town (September 10th, 1538); and on the 10th December following appeared an edict against the Reformers, far more severe than any hitherto published. Nor was it long before the German Lutherans received intimation of this change. Montmorenci signified to Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, that he must not attack the neighbouring Catholic Bishops—which, indeed, he was not contemplating—unless he wished to draw down upon himself the indignation of France.¹

The French policy with regard to England was also completely altered, and seemed to be now founded on the presumption that a reconciliation between Henry VIII. and the Emperor was impossible. As there appeared to be no longer any need for courting the friendship of the English King, Francis even began to consider whether it might not be for his interest to break completely with Henry. The obligation to pay 100,000 crowns a year, according to the treaty of Moore, was irksome; the payment had been suspended with Henry's consent, in consideration of the distress of France consequent on the Emperor's invasion; and after the truce of Nice, Francis, whose practice it was to observe treaties no longer than was convenient, began to question altogether the validity of the debt. Several causes of coolness had sprung up between the two Kings. We have already referred to Francis's refusal of Henry's suit to Mary of Guise. That was not the only French princess with whom Henry entertained matrimonial projects. He had also thought of another daughter of the house of Guise, and of Mademoiselle de Vendôme; but before making his choice, he wished to see all these ladies at Calais. So unchivalrous a proposal excited the derision of Francis, whose minister wrote to Castillon, ambassador at the English Court:—"The King has laughed at the conferences they have had with you on this subject. It seemed, he says, as if in England they selected their wives like their ponies; that is, got together a good quantity, made them trot, and took the easiest paced."² Henry's passion, indeed, could not have been very violent, as he was at the same time soliciting the hands of the widow of Duke Sforza and of Queen Mary, the Emperor's sister.

If Henry was regarded by Charles and Francis with an evil eye on account of his schism, the same cause naturally excited a great

¹ Sleidan, lib. xii.; Ribier, *Lettres et Mém. d'Etat*, t. i. §. 423.

² Letter of M. Bochetel in Le Grand,

Hist. du Divorce, t. iii. p. 638. The method would, however, have saved trouble in the case of the "Flanders mare."

deal more indignation at Rome. After the beheading of Anne Boleyn, indeed, both the Pope and the Emperor had striven to effect a reconciliation with the English King, and Charles seems to have pursued that object down to the very time of the conference at Nice. From some diplomatic papers still extant,¹ it appears, that even while at Villafranca in the summer of 1538, the Emperor made proposals to Henry for a league against France. The scheme seems to have been connected with the marriage before referred to, between Henry VIII. and Charles's niece, the widowed Duchess of Milan, as well as with a plan for making the Emperor's nephew, Dom Luis of Portugal, Duke of Milan, and giving him the hand of the English princess Mary. But after Charles's close alliance with France all these projects vanished, and in November, 1538, we find Henry complaining of his coldness.² In the same year Paul III. renewed against Henry his bull of deprivation. That Pontiff dreamt of nothing less than hurling the English King from his throne by means of the new alliance between the Emperor and France. The scheme was fomented by the intrigues of Cardinal Reginald Pole, who as a descendant of the House of York had some pretensions to the English Crown, and who, in the true spirit of the Popish hierarchy, while thus conspiring against his King and early benefactor, affected to give out that it was only from his love for Henry and for that Prince's own good, that he was striving to bring him into obedience to the Pope.³ The French Court entered into the plan. There was undoubtedly discontent in England, which Castillon, the French ambassador, represented to be such, that if the Emperor and the Kings of France and Scotland combined together, it would be easy not only to dethrone Henry, but even to conquer and partition his Kingdom; the northern part of which, as far as the Humber, might then be given to Scotland, the Emperor taking the midland counties between Humber and Thames, and Francis the southern part as far as Wales. Charles declined the proposal on the ground that his first care must be to reduce the Lutherans and Turks; adding, however, that he should see with pleasure the enterprise undertaken by Francis, who had no domestic enemies to contend with. But Francis, or rather the Constable, was not disposed to enter upon it alone, and Pole and his patron the Pope were obliged to postpone the project. These

¹ MS. in Brit. Mus., ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 487. vol. iii. pt. ii. *Records*, No. 53. He had adopted the same style in his book, *Pro*

² *Harl. MS.* p. 59. *ibid.* p. 490.

³ His *Letters* to Cromwell, in Burnet,

Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis Defensione.

schemes, however, occasioned Henry a good deal of alarm. In March, 1539, an embargo was laid on the Netherland shipping in English ports. The English coast was fortified under the King's personal inspection, the fleet was increased to 150 sail, and levies of troops were made throughout the realm.¹ The same danger induced Henry to draw closer his alliance with the confederates of Smalkald, and with that view also, under Cromwell's guidance, to contract his unfortunate marriage with Anne of Cleves. But this subject requires a few words of explanation.

We have already mentioned² that in 1505 the Archduke Philip obtained possession of Gelderland and Zutphen. He did not, however, hold them long. Charles of Egmont escaped from custody and recovered his dominions, which, with the support of the French, he retained; and when, in 1508, the League of Cambray was formed, he was provisionally confirmed in them, though he was compelled to give up a few places. Like Sickingen, in Germany, Charles of Egmont was a sort of robber-prince; his dominions became the resort of all the restless spirits of the surrounding districts; and he caused the Netherland government a great deal of trouble and anxiety. In 1528, however, Charles V. compelled him, by the treaty of Gercum, to engage that he would appoint the Emperor his successor in Gelderland and Zutphen, in case he himself should leave no heir; and this arrangement was recognized by Francis I. in the treaty of Cambray (1529). But in spite of these engagements, Charles of Egmont made, in 1534, a formal donation of his dominions, after his decease, to the King of France, in consequence of which a French envoy repaired to Gelderland, and received an oath of fidelity from the commandants of the principal fortresses. This step was highly unpopular with his subjects. They wished to be the immediate subjects neither of Francis nor of Charles, and they turned their eyes on a neighbouring Prince, John III., Duke of Cleves, who had the nearest pretensions to the inheritance, although Duke Antony, of Lorraine, also asserted a claim in right of his mother Philippina, sister of Charles of Egmont. In 1538 the Duke of Gelderland, at the instance of his States, entered into a treaty with John III., by which he engaged to leave his dominions to John's son, William, surnamed the Rich, and by the death of the Duke of Gelderland in June of the same year, William came into possession. In the following February

¹ Hall, p. 827 foll.; *Despatches of Marillac*, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iv. S. 181.

² Vol. i. p. 238.

he also became Duke of Cleves by the death of his father, John. His lands now extended from the Werre to the Meuse, and along both banks of the Rhine from Cologne to the neighbourhood of Utrecht; for his father had obtained Berg, Jülich, and Ravensberg by marrying the daughter and heiress of their last Duke. Sibylle, a sister of this powerful Prince, was married to John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and in 1539, Henry VIII., by the advice of the Protestant members of his Council, married Anne of Cleves, another sister; a step which proved the downfall of Cromwell, and eventually drove the King into the arms of the Catholic party.

In the East, after the failure of Hayraddin Barbarossa's attempt on Italy, Solyman turned against Venice the preparations he had made for the conquest of Naples; in which design he was encouraged by the French envoy, La Forêt. In August, 1537, the Turkish armament assembled at Avlona was directed against Corfù. The attack was, however, repulsed; Solyman was compelled, by disturbances in Asia, to withdraw great part of his forces, leaving only enough to besiege Napoli di Romania and Malvasia, the chief towns held by the Venetians in the Morea. Barbarossa, with his fleet, closely followed by the French squadron under St. Blancard,¹ proceeded to attack the islands of the Ægean, most of which fell during this year and the next into the hands of the Turks. The Holy League, effected in 1538, proved of little benefit to the Venetians. Doria, who seems to have cared little for Venetian interests, performed nothing worthy of his old renown, and in March, 1539, the Republic concluded a three months' truce with the Porte, which was subsequently prolonged till the end of September, for the purpose of negotiating a peace. In these negotiations, Rincon, a Spanish adventurer, who had succeeded Marillac as French envoy at Constantinople, pretended to second the Venetians, but only to betray them. He had purchased from the secretaries of the Council of Ten and of the *Pregadi*, the secret that the Venetian government was resolved on peace at any price; and this intelligence he communicated to the Porte. Hence in the treaty at length concluded in November, 1540, the hardest terms were insisted on by the Sultan; and besides Napoli di Romania, Malvasia, and other places, the Venetians were compelled to cede all the islands captured by Barbarossa, and to pay 300,000 ducats: conditions which

¹ St. Blancard's entertaining journal of the cruise is published in the *Négociations*, &c. t. i. p. 340 seq.

so reduced the power of the haughty Republic that she was obliged to place herself as it were under the protection of France.¹

After his interview with Francis at Aïgues-Mortes, Charles had proceeded into Spain, where he soon became involved in disputes with the Cortes. The Spaniards, and especially the grandees, murmured at the increased burdens to which they were subjected, as well as at the drain of their best troops for enterprises in which they had no concern; and the Cortes refused to vote a larger sum than 40,000 ducats. The grandees, headed by the Constable Velasco, otherwise a staunch adherent of the house of Austria, were highly offended at a plan of Charles's to introduce an excise to which their order would be subject. Velasco insisted that the payment of taxes was the badge of the peasantry; that to impose them on nobles not only curtailed their privileges, earned by the blood of their forefathers, but even derogated from their honour; and he offered the unwelcome and almost insulting advice, that in order to better his circumstances Charles should remain in Spain and diminish his expenditure. The nobles, he maintained, were merely bound to serve the King at their own expense in his wars, and that only in defence of the realm. Charles, finding that he could obtain no more from the Cortes, angrily dismissed them in February, 1539. But by this parsimony the nobles eventually lost all their influence. Charles henceforth forbore to summon to the Cortes either nobles or prelates, on the ground that they paid no taxes; so that the Cortes were henceforth composed only of the deputies of eighteen towns, convened *pro forma* to grant the taxes to which the commons were subject.

The Spanish nobles now retired to their country seats, or shut themselves up in their palaces; quadrangular buildings in Moorish fashion, without windows towards the street, and enclosing a court planted with trees. They were men of vast possessions, some of them having incomes of 100,000 ducats or more, with 30,000 families dependent on them. They were haughty beyond imagination. Each of them kept his little court, which was often adorned with a splendid body-guard of 200 men. Their consorts were served by ladies on bended knee; the page who handed the cup remained kneeling till his mistress had finished drinking. Being shut out from public affairs, the nobles squandered their revenues in rivalling one another in magnificence; they lost all their martial habits, ran into debt, and reduced themselves at

¹ Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches*, B. ii. S. 807.

last to fear the King whom they had once caused to tremble. Charles V. seldom held a court; Philip II. knew how to keep the grandees at a distance; and both would trust only those whose fidelity was beyond all suspicion.¹

As the Emperor had thus to contend in Spain with the pride and power of the nobles, so he had to repress in the Netherlands the factious spirit of his commercial subjects, which had also been roused on the question of taxation. We have already referred to the refusal of the citizens of Ghent to pay an impost that had been levied on them. In 1537, Mary, Queen of Hungary, Governess of the Netherlands, had obtained from the States General assembled at Brussels a vote of 1,200,000 florins, payment of which was proportionally allotted to the various towns and provinces. To this assessment all submitted except Charles's native city, Ghent, which, by means of its guilds and the exemptions and privileges obtained from various Counts of Flanders and Dukes of Burgundy in times past, had achieved a democratic constitution, and asserted the right of refusing any taxes to which it had no mind. The population of Ghent was divided into three classes: the *Poorters*, or rich, the mechanics, and the proletarians. Of these the last two had in certain cases a voice in the government of the city, and they now refused to make any money payment, though they offered to find troops according to ancient custom, while the *Poorters* declined both the one and the other; in consequence of which refractoriness, Mary directed all citizens of Ghent to be arrested, wherever they might be found. From this order Ghent appealed to Charles, who, however, refused to hear the case, and referred it to the Great Council of Mechlin, by which the citizens were condemned. The latter now rose in open revolt, expelled the nobility and Imperial officers, put their city in a posture of defence; and in 1539 sent deputies to the King of France to offer to acknowledge him and solicit his protection as their suzerain; which position, indeed, he had claimed in regard of West Flanders and Artois, when, as already related, he had two years previously, in a solemn *Lit de Justice*, summoned the Emperor to appear before him as his vassal. But the views of Francis were now completely changed. His present policy was to court, instead of to oppose the Emperor, and he not only refused this demand for aid, but even acquainted Charles with the plans of his rebellious subjects, although they had been communicated to him in the strictest

¹ Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 221 ff.

confidence. At the same time he renewed an offer which he had made some months before, that the Emperor should travel through France in case his presence was required in Belgium.

Charles accepted this offer, but it is difficult to believe that for the mere convenience of it he consented to surrender the Milanese. The story rests on the authority of Du Bellay,¹ who has been copied by other writers. It is difficult in such cases to prove a negative, but a little reflection will show the utter improbability of the tale. The revolt had been going on two or three years; it did not extend beyond Ghent and one or two smaller towns, and could easily have been put down without Charles's presence, whose only object in going thither was to make the punishment of his rebellious fellow-townsmen more signal and conspicuous. He saved no time by passing through France, the journey, from the ceremonies attending his reception, having occupied a quarter of a year! If he was averse to a long sea voyage, yet even the route through Italy and Germany would not have occupied three months, and there was nothing to deter him from it, as he was then on very good terms with the German Lutherans. Indeed, he accepted the offer of Francis with reluctance, and only because the refusal would have betrayed a want of confidence;² for besides the danger of being seized as a hostage, he foresaw that it would expose him to the importunities of the French Court. The invitation, like the betrayal of the citizens of Ghent, was clearly a part of Montmorenci's policy to obtain from the gratitude of Charles what force had failed to extort, and Francis's much extolled generosity merely an attempt to sell at an exorbitant price a very common act of hospitality.

Charles set out in October, 1539. Francis's two sons and the Constable Montmorenci met him at Bayonne, when the latter offered the two princes as hostages for the Emperor's safety; but Charles would not hear of it, and insisted on their accompanying him on his journey. The meeting of the two Sovereigns at Loches was celebrated with magnificent *fêtes*, which were repeated at Amboise, Blois, Orléans, and Fontainebleau, and surpassed by the entry into Paris, January 1st, 1540. In the midst of these festivities many little accidents occurred to disconcert and alarm the Emperor. An officious perfumer nearly stifled him with smoke; the Chancellor Poyet was awkward enough to knock down a large

¹ *Mémoires* (Petitot. t. xix. 295).

² This appears from a letter from Charles to his sister, the Queen of Hun-

gary, in which he also says that he will treat of nothing in France. Raumer's *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1842, p. 561.

piece of wood on his head and hurt him severely; and the Duke of Orleans, jumping suddenly with French vivacity on the crupper of his horse, embraced him tightly, and told him to consider himself a prisoner. Brusquet, the Court fool, asserted his pre-eminence in this play of wit. He kept what he called a book of fools, in which he wrote the name of Charles V. for having ventured into France. "But what," asked Francis, "if I let his Majesty depart unmolested?" "In that case," replied Brusquet, "I shall rub out his name and insert yours." These pleasantries were, however, seasoned with importunities respecting the Milanese, which more than counterbalanced, says Brantôme,¹ all the honours and good cheer which the Emperor experienced.

Charles crossed the frontier towards the end of January, 1540, and entered Ghent without opposition on the 24th of February, his birthday. Although the leaders of the revolt, as if unconscious of any criminal act, did not attempt to escape, the Emperor proceeded against them with great severity. The bell of Roland, that formidable tocsin, which had so often called the inhabitants to arms, was taken down; the sheriffs and principal citizens were obliged to ask pardon on their knees, with halters round their necks, and barefooted; nineteen of the popular magistrates were beheaded, and all of them deposed, their places being supplied by persons devoted to the Emperor; the ancient privileges of the city were abolished, and a citadel erected to bridle the inhabitants, the fines levied upon them serving to defray the expense of building it. Oudenarde and Courtray, which had partaken in the revolt, were also punished. Thus an end was put to the liberties of Ghent, for which she had so often fought. Her commercial prosperity vanished with them, and passed away to Antwerp; her republican spirit to Holland, where new Arteveldees were soon to arise.²

Charles had scarcely set his foot in the Netherlands when the two French ambassadors who had accompanied him demanded for their master the investiture of Milan, as the price of his passage through France. Nettled at this demand, Charles begged that they would first suffer him to attend to his own affairs; stated that he could enter into no discussions without consulting

¹ T. ii. *Discours*, 46, p. 254 (ed. 1822).

² For the revolt of Ghent see Jean d'Hollander, *Discours des Troubles advenues en la Ville de Gand, 1539*, in Hoyne van Papendrecht's *Analecta Bel-*

gica, t. iii. pt. ii. p. 263 sqq.; Arendt, *Der Genter Aufstand vom Jahre, 1539*, in Raumer's *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1842. On Charles's passage through France, Ribier, t. i. p. 487 sqq.

his brother Ferdinand, whom he expected to meet in the Netherlands; and when further pressed, denied entirely having made the promise imputed to him. When the subject was renewed at Ghent, Charles declared that he would never consent to cede the Milanese to France, and thus sever the chain of connection between his own dominions; but he offered to marry his eldest daughter to the Duke of Orleans, and to give her as a dowry, either his Flemish possessions, together with Burgundy, or the Charolais, or else the Milanese: a proposition which was rejected by Francis. Both parties, however, announced their intention of observing the truce of Nice. The Emperor, after waiting some months to ascertain whether Francis was inclined to renew the negotiations, invested his son Philip with the Milanese at Brussels, October 11th, 1540.¹

Montmorenci's policy, which had thus completely failed, ended in his own disgrace. Early in 1541 he found himself compelled to quit the Court, and retire to Ecouen; yet during the six years in which he lived in retirement, he continued to enjoy the favour of the Dauphin Henry. Meanwhile Francis, vexed with his disappointment, and ashamed of the truckling part which he had been made to play, began to meditate an occasion to renew the war with the Emperor. This was not long in offering itself; but before we relate the events of the next campaigns, we must direct our attention for a while to the affairs of the German Lutherans, as well as of the Turks: with both of whom Francis now strove to draw closer the bonds of union and friendship.

¹ Ribier, t. i. p. 542 (522); Gaillard, t. iv. p. 8; Dumont, t. iv. pt. ii. p. 140.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE efforts of Pope Paul III. had been directed to the establishment of peace in the Church as well as between the Emperor and France. He had despatched Nuncios to the Lutheran as well as the Catholic Princes of Germany, in order to bring about an understanding respecting a General Council, and on this subject the Nuncio Vergerio had had an interview in Saxony with Luther, but without much success. In June, 1536, Paul issued briefs for the assembling of a Council at Mantua in May of the following year. The assembly was, however, opposed on various grounds by the Kings of France and England, as well as by the German Lutherans, who objected to an Italian town. They were not, of course, any better pleased with the substitution of Vicenza, where the Papal Legates, Campeggio and Aleandro, nominated to preside over the Council, actually remained several months; but the war having then broken out between the Emperor and France, not a single prelate appeared. The Reformers had now begun to question altogether the expediency of a Council, and required that it should at least be composed, as in old times, not only of priests, but also of Princes and the representatives of States; and that the Pope should appear in it not as a judge, but as a party.¹

The Emperor's endeavours to support the Pope's authority had only tended still further to alienate the Lutherans. The Imperial Chancellor, Held, who was despatched to back the representations of the Papal Nuncio, Vorstius, to the confederates of Smalkald, behaved intemperately, and the debates which ensued were violent and unsatisfactory. Held subsequently travelled about the country canvassing against the Lutherans, and at length succeeded in organizing a Catholic League, called the HOLY LEAGUE OF NUREMBERG (June, 1538). The principal members of this confederacy, which was established for a term of ten years, were King Ferdinand, Duke George of Saxony, the Dukes of

¹ Sarpi, *Storia del Conc. Trident.* p. 74 sqq. (ed. 1619).

Bavaria, the Archbishops of Mentz and Salzburg, with a few other Catholic Princes. This league, which was subsequently confirmed by the Emperor at Toledo (May 20th, 1539), was the more alarming to the Lutherans on account of the truce concluded between Charles and Francis at Nice.¹

In the spring of 1539 a conference took place at Frankfurt between the Elector Palatine on the part of the Emperor, and Joachim II., Elector of Brandenburg, as representative of the League of Smalkald. The latter Prince, who succeeded to the Electorate in 1535, was as warm in the Lutheran cause as his father had been in support of the old religion. At this meeting a sort of truce was arranged for a period of fifteen months, by which the decree of the Diet of Nuremberg, and the edict of pacification issued at Ratisbon in 1532, were to be observed till the next Diet, and meanwhile the jurisdiction of the Imperial Chamber in religious matters was to remain suspended. In the interim the disputed points of doctrine were to be amicably discussed by some eminent doctors selected from each side, and a report rendered to the next assembly of the States; and although the Pope annulled this convention as derogatory to the authority of the Holy See, it nevertheless continued to be observed. About the same time the Lutherans gained an accession of strength by the death of George, Duke of Saxony (April 17th, 1539). That Prince, as we have seen, was a violent opponent of the Reformation; and as his two sons had died, he appointed by his will, that in case his brother and successor Henry, surnamed the Pious, a zealous Lutheran, should attempt to introduce any innovations in religion, the Emperor and King Ferdinand should assume the administration of his dominions. These, which must be carefully distinguished from the Saxon Electorate or Duchy of Saxe-Wittenberg, were vested in the younger, or Albertine branch of the Saxon family, who possessed considerable territory in Misnia and Thuringia, including the towns of Leipsic, Dresden, &c. Henry, however, succeeded without opposition, and immediately began to introduce the Lutheran religion into Albertine Saxony. Luther and other eminent divines were invited to Leipsic, who soon abolished the Popish worship; much to the satisfaction of the people, who had long been Lutheran at heart. Lutheranism now prevailed almost everywhere from the Baltic to the Rhine.

As arranged at Frankfurt, a disputation between Papist and

¹ Sleidan, lib. xii.; Pallavicini, lib. iv. cap. 2.

Lutheran doctors was held at Worms in November 1540, in presence of Marone, the Papal Nuncio, and of Granvelle, who had recently been appointed Imperial Chancellor, in place of the intemperate Held. The disputation was chiefly conducted by Dr. Eck on the part of the Romanists, and by Melancthon on that of the Lutherans, but soon became involved in such subtleties on the question of original sin, that by the advice of Granvelle the Emperor adjourned the discussion till the meeting of a Diet at Ratisbon in the ensuing spring. The same year is memorable for the institution of the Jesuits, the scheme of which had been submitted by Ignatius Loyola to the Apostolic See in 1539. The Pope referred the matter to a committee of three Cardinals, who gave it their approval, and Paul in consequence, chiefly on account of the vow of implicit obedience, authorized the new institution by a bull (September 27th, 1540). At the commencement of 1541, the Society counted only ten members.¹

The Emperor opened in person the Diet which assembled at Ratisbon in April, 1541. Cardinal Contarini, a member of the Gratory of Divine Love, a man of great learning as well as warm religious feeling, attended the assembly as Papal Legate. Luther was also present. Contarini made large concessions; but it was soon evident that the discussion would be, as usual, fruitless, and the Emperor dissolved the Diet (July 28). Francis I. protested to the Papal ambassadors against the concessions made by Contarini, which were also viewed with suspicion at Rome; and Paul annulled all the acts of the colloquy on the ground that a secular assembly was not competent to discuss religious matters. The Catholics and Reformers, however, came on this occasion more nearly to an accommodation than at any previous or subsequent period.² The Pope and his Legate, as well as the Dukes of Bavaria, now pressed upon the Emperor the necessity of putting down the Lutherans by force of arms; but Charles, who had still need of their services against the Turks, was disposed to act with more moderation. He replied that he had neither money nor power for such an enterprise, and he issued a declaration which left matters nearly on the same footing on which they had been placed by the Religious Peace of Nuremberg.

Besides the Turks, an enemy nearer home, the powerful Duke of Cleves and Gelderland, also induced the Emperor at this period

¹ Raynaldus, t. xiii. p. 517 and 566.
We shall return to this subject.

² The reader will find a more detailed

account of the religious proceedings at the Diets of Frankfort, Worms, and Ratisbon, in my *Life of Calvin*, ch. iii.

to court the friendship of the Lutheran Princes. In 1540, after Charles had punished Ghent, and a new war threatened to break out between him and Francis, both Sovereigns had sought the alliance of Duke William, and Francis enticed him with the promise of the hand of his niece Jeanne, only daughter of Henry d'Albret, though the French Court had already formed the plan of uniting what remained of Navarre to the French Crown. With a view to his relations with the Duke of Cleves, Charles, while still at Ratisbon, had concluded a treaty with the Landgrave Philip of Hesse (June 13th): The Landgrave had been for some time on a friendly footing with Queen Mary, Governess of the Netherlands, who was suspected of a leaning towards the Lutherans. She advocated an anti-French and anti-Roman policy, but her only wish was to see Germany united under the Emperor.¹ Charles, by his treaty with Philip, granted him an amnesty for all his former enterprises against the House of Austria, whilst on the other hand the Landgrave promised to embrace the *political* party of the Emperor, and to oppose any alliance of the League of Smalkald with France or England; and more particularly not to admit the Duke of Cleves into the League, nor to support him in any manner; nay, if the Emperor should be attacked, to assist him if necessary, in person.² In the following July, Charles also concluded a treaty with Joachim II. of Brandenburg, in which the latter promised to stand by the Emperor in the affair of Cleves, and to assist him in recovering the contested territories. He further engaged to embrace the Imperial party in the question of Ferdinand's election, which was now again mooted; he agreed to oppose all recruiting for France, and he assured Charles of his entire devotion. The Emperor, on his side, permitted the Elector of Brandenburg to maintain the Lutheran religion in his dominions till the assembling of a Council, or till the States should have come to a better decision. The Lutheran worship established in Brandenburg was thus in a measure legalized, and the Elector cheerfully undertook neither to overstep what had been already done nor to join the League of Smalkald.

There was another cause besides his friendship for the Netherland Regent, which induced the Landgrave of Hesse to conclude this treaty with the Emperor. Philip had one of those not uncommon temperaments in which amorousness is united with the

¹ Ranke. *Popes*, vol. iii. App. p. 332.

² Abstract of Treaty, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iv. S. 225.

fervour of devotion; and as his consort, Christine, daughter of Duke George of Saxony, though she had borne him several children, was distasteful to him both in temper and person, he sought in unlawful love a solace for his domestic unhappiness. His frequent transgressions were, however, accompanied with as frequent a repentance, and in this struggle with Satan he at length hit upon one of those compromises which sometimes present themselves to minds constituted like his. He determined to cover his sins with a cloak of legality, and to sanctify his concubinage with the holy name of matrimony. At the Court of his sister at Rochlitz he had been captivated by Fräulein Margaretha von der Saal, but the young lady, under her mother's guidance, resisted all his unlawful advances. Philip now applied himself to consult the Scriptures, and in the books of the Old Testament it was not difficult to find passages that seemed to justify a plurality of wives. Christine, who appears to have been of easy temper, gave her formal consent in writing to her husband's marriage with Margaretha, with the reservation, in other respects, of her own rights and those of her children. Philip's conscience, however, was not satisfied without the sanction of the theologians, and he appealed to Luther and Melancthon as the fountain heads of Gospel lore, the very Popes of the Reformation. The case was difficult. It was hard to sanction bigamy, harder still to lose so staunch and powerful an upholder of the Protestant cause as the Landgrave of Hesse. The paper in which they answered his application contains all the reasons which could be urged against it; yet they withheld not their consent, and were parties to the bigamy, but under the seal of confession, and with the injunction of the strictest secrecy.¹ We can here discern but little difference between these Protestant doctors and Pope Clement VII., when he advised Henry VIII. to take an additional wife. Bigamy, however, is not only a moral and religious crime: it is also a legal offence; and the Landgrave began to fear that the Emperor and the Imperial Chamber might find in it a fresh handle for pursuing him. Under this apprehension, he first endeavoured to draw closer his alliance with the Elector of Saxony, and engaged to aid him in matters not provided for by the League of Smalkald, as the affairs of John Frederick's brother-in-law, the Duke of Cleves, provided the Elector would,

¹ "Quodsi denique Vestra Celsitudo omnino concluderit adhuc unam conjugem ducere, juramus id secreto faciendum. . . . Hinc non sequuntur alicujus momenti con-

tradictiones aut scandala; nihil enim est inusitati, Principes concubinas alere."—Luther's *Briefe*, Th. v. §. 241. (De Wette.)

in turn, support him in his new marriage, which he effected in March, 1540. The strict principles of the Elector forbade him, however, to enter into such an arrangement, and Philip, in consequence, threw himself, as we have seen, into the arms of the Emperor. His marriage, of course, soon became publicly known, and occasioned great scandal. Melancthon, who was then on the point of proceeding to the Diet at Hagenau, was so mortified and alarmed by the part which he had played in the business, that he was seized with a dangerous illness; and it required all the consolations of Luther, who was of a more robust frame of mind, to restore his self-possession.

The moderation displayed by Charles at Ratisbon tended to conciliate the Lutherans, who engaged to assist him against the Turks. They wished him to undertake the war in person; but Charles was then meditating another expedition to Africa, to repress the dreadful devastations committed on the coasts of Italy and Spain by Hassan Aga, commandant of Algiers, a renegade eunuch in the service of Hayraddin Barbarossa, and he therefore intrusted the conduct of the war against Solyman to his brother Ferdinand. The peace with the Porte before mentioned,¹ in 1533, to which Charles was not a party, had left many things unsettled, and early in 1534, Cornelius Duplicius Schepper was despatched to Constantinople to make, if possible, a more satisfactory arrangement. He found a very altered state of things. Aloysio Gritti had lost great part of his influence; the power of Ibrahim himself was fast sinking, against whom a formidable party, headed by Barbarossa and Junisbey, the interpreter to the Porte, had arisen in the Divan. Schepper's efforts were unavailing. In the last audience granted to him the Sultan repeated that Hungary belonged to himself, that Janus Kral (King John) was merely his slave, and acted only in his name, and he warned Ferdinand not to undertake anything against that potentate.² Soon afterwards Gritti was despatched to Hungary as the Sultan's plenipotentiary, and entered Transylvania at the head of 7,000 men. He was, however, hated and suspected, as well by the party of Zapolya as of Ferdinand; 40,000 men rose in arms, overpowered his little army, and delivered Gritti himself to the executioner. This act naturally roused the anger of Solyman, and left no room for peaceful solution of the points in dispute.

¹ Above, p. 58.

² Gévay, p. 57. As a specimen of the political morality of the age, it may be mentioned that Schepper hired a bravo to blow up Barbarossa in his galley.

Ferdinand sent ambassadors both to Ibrahim and the Sultan, then in Bagdad, to clear himself from blame, by charging John Zapolya with the execution of Gritti; but Solymán would not accept his excuses, and demanded reparation. From this time, however, Zapolya began to sink in reputation with the Porte. Junisbey, whom the Sultan had despatched to inquire into the circumstances of Gritti's murder, was gained over by King Ferdinand with promise of a pension; and Zapolya was condemned to pay 1,200,000 ducats, partly for arrears of "pension" due to the Porte, and partly for valuables belonging to Gritti on which he had seized. It was soon after the return of Junisbey to Constantinople that the Vizier Ibrahim was murdered, through some secret Court intrigue. Meanwhile, as the Turkish hordes were pressing on from Bosnia towards Eszék, Ferdinand's general, Katzianer, advanced with an army of about 24,000 men, mostly Germans, to keep them in check; but being surrounded by the Osmanli cavalry, he was compelled to a disastrous retreat, in which he lost all his artillery (November, 1536), while his army was dispersed and almost entirely cut up.

After this no warlike movements of any importance occurred for some time. In 1538 the Emperor and Ferdinand concluded a peace with John Zapolya, which cost the latter the loss of the Sultan's confidence. By this treaty, Charles and his brother consented to recognise Zapolya as a brother, that is, as a King, and to concede to him all the territory of which he then stood possessed; but on condition that after his death, whether he left children or not, his dominions should revert to Ferdinand.¹ In September, 1539, Hieronymus Lasczi, who had now deserted the service of Zapolya for that of Ferdinand, proceeded to Constantinople as the latter's ambassador; but before any negotiations could be concluded the state of things was completely changed by the death of Zapolya (July 21st, 1540). He had married in the previous year, Isabella, daughter of Sigismund I., King of Poland, who had borne him a son only nine days before his decease; and a party immediately sprung up in the infant's favour, at the head of which was Martinuzzi, or brother George, Bishop of Grosswardein. Some of Zapolya's former supporters, however, as Gregory Frangepani, Peter Pereny, and others, recognized Ferdinand. French intrigues were now revived; the friendly policy of Francis towards the House of Austria had now terminated; and the French envoy at Constantinople induced the

¹ Engel, B. iv. S. 53 sq. The treaty is in Katona, t. xx.

Hungarian ambassadors themselves to beg of the Sultan, that in case the throne of Hungary became vacant the Duke of Orleans should be elected to it.¹ Lasdzi was now imprisoned, and war was declared against Ferdinand. Solyman in person began his march towards Hungary, and entered Buda without resistance (August 25th, 1541), before the forces voted by the Diet of Ratisbon, under command of Count Fürstenberg, could come up. A Turkish government under a Pasha of three tails, was established in the Hungarian capital, the principal church was converted into a mosque, and Buda remained in the hands of the Infidels near a century and a half. Zapolya's wife and infant son were ejected from the palace, and sent to Lippa on the other side of the Theiss. Solyman, after a three weeks sojourn in Buda, where he received and contemptuously dismissed another embassy from Ferdinand, returned homewards and reached Constantinople November 20th. Ferdinand had offered to hold Hungary as tributary to the Porte; but the proposition was spurned by Solyman, who even demanded a yearly tribute for Austria.²

We shall here pursue the affairs of Hungary to their catastrophe. The rapid progress of the Turks had created a panic in Germany, and the Diet which assembled at Spire early in 1542 voted with unaccustomed alacrity a force of 40,000 foot and 8,000 horse, the command of which was entrusted to Joachim II. of Brandenburg. With part of these troops Joachim marched to Pesth, which had a garrison of 8,000 Osmanlis; but after cannonading the town, and in vain attempting to bring his men to the assault, who were in a state of mutiny for want of pay, he found himself compelled to retreat. In 1543 Solyman again appeared in Hungary, and after a short stay at Buda, laid siege to Gran. The garrison made a brave defence, till the gilt cross on the cathedral having been shot away, they were struck with a superstitious terror, and surrendered (August 10th). Tata and Stuhlweissenburg next fell, the latter after a brave defence, expiated by the massacre of nearly all the population. In 1544, Vissegrad was taken, the ancient and magnificent seat of royalty; after which, and the capture of some castles near Tolna, the Turks carried the war into Croatia and Slavonia. Ferdinand's troops gained some partial advantages, but on the whole his prospects were hopeless. In 1545 he concluded a truce with the Pasha of Buda, and sent an ambassador to Constantinople to arrange terms

¹ *Letters of the Bishop of Montpellier to Francis I. and Rincon, Négociations, &c., t. i. p. 443 sqq.*

² Engel, B. iv. S. 76.

of peace. After lingering negotiations, Solyman, whose views were then directed towards Persia, at length consented to a truce of five years (June 13th, 1547), guaranteeing the maintenance of the *status quo*, on condition of Ferdinand paying to the Porte a yearly tribute of 30,000 ducats. The Turkish conquests in Hungary, like other territories subject to the Porte, were divided into Sandjaks, which were at first twelve in number, as Buda, Gran, Stuhlweissenburg, Mohács, Fünfkirchen, &c.

While Solyman was prosecuting his successful campaign in Hungary, Charles was conducting with a very different result his long-projected enterprise against Algiers. The success of his former expedition seems to have inspired him with a taste for these maritime crusades. The present one, however, was undertaken, against the advice of his admiral, Andrew Doria, at too late a period of the year. It was the 20th of October before the Imperial fleet appeared at Algiers, having on board a fine army of about 22,000 men, together with 100 Knights of St. John. Only part of the troops had been landed when a high wind, accompanied with a heavy fall of rain, carried away the tents, rendered the ammunition useless, and converted the encampment into a swamp; and a violent storm which followed wrecked the greater part of the fleet, and thus deprived the army of provisions. In these trying circumstances Charles behaved with great fortitude; whilst he shared the dangers and hardships of the meanest soldier, he displayed all the best qualities of a general. When the scattered ships which had escaped were re-assembled, Charles commanded all the horses to be drowned in order to make room on board for the men; but scarcely had this been done when another storm again dispersed the ships. The anxious question now arose how the troops were to be carried home; but this point was soon decided by a pestilence which carried off the greater part of them. The Emperor was the last to embark, and after encountering many more perils at length arrived with the remnant of his armament at Cartagena (December 1st).

The news of Charles's disaster was received at the French Court with transports of joy. The opportunity appeared to Francis favourable for beginning a new war, and an occurrence which had taken place in the preceding summer afforded him a pretext for declaring it. Soon after the conclusion of peace between Venice and the Porte, Rincon, the French envoy at Constantinople, had returned home for fresh instructions, and

was sent back in June, 1541, in company with a Genoese named Fregoso, who was to act as French ambassador at Venice. Both these men were the Emperor's subjects. Rincon, as we have said, was a Spanish renegade; Fregoso was an opponent of Doria and the Imperial party at Genoa, from which city he had been expelled and declared a rebel; and as they had entered the service of Francis a price had been set upon their heads. For the convenience of Rincon, who was very corpulent, and disliked the fatigue of riding or posting, he and Fregoso agreed to descend the Po in boats, disguised, and without passports. A kind of small underhand warfare was already going on in Italy between the troops of Du Bellay Langey, the French governor of Turin, and the Imperialists; and he and the Marquis del Guasto, the Governor of Milan, were constantly on the watch to intercept each other's couriers. Some of Guasto's *bravi* having fallen in with Rincon and Fregoso, proceeded to arrest them; the envoys resisting, were killed in the skirmish which ensued, and their papers seized. Francis was loud in his complaints of this proceeding, which he denounced as a violation of the law of nations; for the present, however, he stifled his resentment, and except for the unfortunate ending of Charles's expedition to Algiers would probably have suffered the affair to sink into oblivion. But no sooner did he hear of that event than he sought to connect himself with all who had any cause of discontent with the Emperor. He had already formed an alliance with the Duke of Cleves, who disputed Gelderland with Charles, and he now leagued himself with the Neapolitan malcontents; but he could not persuade Henry VIII. to enter into his plans. The alliance with the Duke of Cleves, besides affording an opportunity to attack the Netherlands on both sides, also enabled Francis to draw what troops he wanted from Germany through the Duke's dominions. On November 19th, 1541, the French King also concluded at Fontainebleau a treaty with Christian III. King of Denmark, for a term of ten years, during which the latter engaged to close the Sound against the enemies of France;¹ and in the following July he effected, at Ragny, an offensive and defensive league² with Gustavus I. of Sweden. The Scandinavian Powers were only just beginning to take part in the general affairs of Europe. Francis having thus endeavoured to set all Europe in a flame in order to gratify his ambition and resentment, called into the field, in the summer of 1542, no fewer than five armies; of which three were

¹ Dumont, t. iv. pt. ii. p. 216.

² Dumont, t. iv. pt. ii. p. 228.

directed against the Netherlands ; the fourth, commanded by the Dauphin, marched towards the frontier of Spain ; while the remaining one, under the Admiral d'Annebaut, consisted of the troops cantoned in Piedmont.

Hostilities began on the side of Cleves. The Duke caused one of his captains, Martin Rossem, a sort of *condottiere*, to assemble his irregular troops on the frontiers of the Netherlands, but without expressly avowing him. To the remonstrances of the Queen Regent, the Duke replied that the troops were not his, and that he believed them to be destined against the Turks. Rossem, however, suddenly presented himself before Liège, and demanded a passage over the Meuse. The citizens shut their gates, and Rossem, crossing the river at a higher point and devastating everything on his route, directed his march towards Antwerp, with the design of taking and plundering that city. René, of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who attempted to arrest his progress, was defeated at Hoogstraeten, with a loss of 1,400 men ; but nevertheless succeeded in putting Louvain and Antwerp in a posture of defence. These occurrences determined Francis to begin the war on the side of the Netherlands. He did not declare it till July 12th, 1542, and then in the most virulent terms. One French army, under command of Charles Duke of Orleans, though virtually under that of Claude, Duke of Guise, the young Prince's instructor in the art of war, assembled on the Luxembourg frontier ; another, led by the Duke of Vendôme, threatened the frontier of France. The Imperialists, not expecting to be attacked in Luxembourg, had made little preparation for defence. Damvilliers, Yvoy, Arlon, Montmédy, even the capital, Luxembourg itself, fell rapidly before the French arms, and were for the most part cruelly handled, the capitulation of Luxembourg only being respected. Young and ardent, the Duke of Orleans was dissatisfied with such easy conquests ; he longed to flesh his maiden sword in a pitched battle in the field ; and hearing that one was likely to be fought by the army in the south, under command of his brother the Dauphin, he suddenly dismissed the greater part of his troops, retaining only enough to cover the French frontier ; a step of which the Queen of Hungary immediately took advantage to recover Montmédy and Luxembourg.

Francis was very much chagrined at this news. He gave the Duke of Orleans, though his favourite son, a very cool reception at Montpellier ; and the Duke was further mortified by finding that there was no more probability of a battle being fought in

the south than in the quarter he had just left. The Dauphin was at the head of 40,000 infantry, and 4,000 cavalry. Queen Margaret, the King's sister, wished this noble force to be employed in the recovery of Navarre; but, by the advice of Montpezat, Governor of Languedoc, that project was abandoned, and the army directed against Roussillon, which it was thought would prove an easy conquest. The plan of the campaign was to take Perpignan, to obtain command of the sea, to occupy Le Pertuis, and thus to prevent any succours for Roussillon arriving from Spain. But the scheme was ruined by the dilatoriness of Francis, who ordered that nothing should be done before his arrival; and as he travelled with all the pomp and slowness of a royal progress, it was the middle of August before the Dauphin's army entered Roussillon. Meanwhile a body of Aragonese, under command of the Duke of Alva, had thrown themselves into Perpignan, and Doria had landed artillery and ammunition enough for the most vigorous defence. The place, indeed, presented so formidable an appearance that Du Bellay compared it to a porcupine darting its quills on every side. The Dauphin did not appear before it till August 26th. The Admiral d'Annebaut, who had come from Piedmont to superintend the siege, conducted it unskilfully. The sandy soil rendered the works of the besiegers useless; the autumnal rains began to swell the torrents into rivers, and to render the situation of the French army extremely dangerous. On the 4th of October the King arrived within twelve leagues of Perpignan; when, finding that no progress had been made, and after several assaults had been repulsed, he ordered the siege to be raised. Thus this splendid army, the finest ever collected during the reign of Francis, retreated without striking a blow. The immense preparations which had been made on all sides ended only in the capture of a few small places near Boulogne and Calais by the Duke of Vendôme, and some others in Piedmont by Du Bellay Langey; a result which must be ascribed partly to the indiscretion of the Duke of Orleans, partly to the dilatoriness of Francis, but still more to the plan of dividing the French forces, instead of striking in one quarter a decisive blow with their united strength.

During this campaign, the Emperor had remained quietly in Spain, without approaching the scene of action. After his return from Africa, he had visited in succession Tarragona, Tortosa, Valencia, Alcalà de Henares, and Madrid, presenting his son Philip to the people, and encouraging the enthusiasm which

the attack of the French had roused. The Cortes voted him considerable supplies ; he obtained a large dowry for his son by betrothing him to the Infanta Mary of Portugal ; and by ceding his pretensions to the Molucca Islands to the Infanta's father, John III., he procured a large sum by way of loan. The mines of America, too, had been more than usually productive, and he was thus better provided with means for carrying on the second campaign than he had been at the beginning of the first, while on the other hand the resources of France were almost exhausted.

The Emperor further strengthened himself by an alliance which he concluded with Henry VIII. The part taken by Francis in the affairs of Scotland had increased the coolness between him and the English King. Henry had been endeavouring to effect an alliance with James V. of Scotland, whom he wished to engage in the same measures of ecclesiastical reform as he had himself adopted in England ; nor did the Scottish King seem disinclined to enter into his views ; but the plans of Henry were defeated by the opposition of the Scottish clergy and the intrigues of the French Court, which foresaw the loss of its influence in Scotland in the event of a union between that country and England. Enraged at this disappointment, Henry resorted to force. An army of 20,000 men, under the Duke of Norfolk, crossed the Tweed in the autumn of 1542, inflicting great loss and devastation ; and it is said that the melancholy occasioned by his ill-successes near Solway Firth hastened the death of James, who expired December 14th. This event caused a change in Henry's policy. He laid aside his hostile preparations against Scotland, and sought to bring about a union between the two countries by the marriage of his son Edward with Mary, the infant daughter of James. It was evident, however, that this plan would also be opposed by the French Court, and Henry therefore determined to effect an alliance with the Emperor. A treaty was accordingly concluded, February 11th, 1543, by which the two Sovereigns agreed that Francis should be summoned to renounce his alliance with the Turk, to compensate the Emperor for the losses and injuries which he had suffered from it, and to execute all his previous agreements, whether with Charles or Henry. If the French King rejected these conditions, then war was to be declared against him, and to be prosecuted by each Sovereign with an army of 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse, and with a fleet carrying 2,000 sailors, until the Emperor should have recovered the Duchy of Burgundy and Picardy, and Henry the rest of France. The treaty, which

was not published till the following June, also contained some clauses more particularly relating to the contracting parties themselves ; and especially they engaged reciprocally,—the Emperor that no English book, Henry that no German one, should be printed in their respective dominions.¹ No operations, however, of any importance were undertaken in pursuance of this treaty till the year 1544.

The campaign of 1543 opened like the previous one with some successes on the part of Rossem, especially the defeat of the Imperialists at Sittard, March 24th. Francis was thus led again to direct his chief strength towards that quarter ; but he had formed no settled plan, and his orders were vacillating and contradictory. After some operations of too little moment to be worth detailing, he retired towards the end of July to Rheims, where he dismissed part of his army, and forgot the affairs of war in the pleasures of the chase. In this campaign Francis received some assistance from the Danes, who made descents on the Netherland coasts and attempted to take Walcheren.

On the other hand Charles had determined on punishing his rebellious vassal, the Duke of Cleves, and with that view proceeded through Italy into Germany. The Italian Princes flocked to pay him court at Genoa ; and Cosmo de' Medici redeemed with 20,000 gold crowns the fortresses of Leghorn and Florence, which were held by Imperial troops. On the 22nd of June Charles had an interview with the Pope at Busseto, in the Parmesan. Paul in vain endeavoured to persuade the Emperor either to purchase peace by ceding Milan to the King of France, or to establish in it Ottavio Farnese, Paul's grandson, and son-in-law of Charles ; but though the Pope offered 300,000 *scudi* for the investiture of Ottavio, the Emperor refused to grant it.

Towards the end of July, Charles arrived at Spire, and made immediate preparations for punishing the Duke of Cleves. It was fortunate for the Emperor that he had secured the alliance of the Landgrave of Hesse. The Saxon Elector, the Duke of Cleves's brother-in-law, was covertly assisting him, and even wished to procure his admittance into the League of Smalcald, to qualify himself for which the Duke had received the sacrament in both kinds. Philip, however, who had bound himself to the Emperor not to lend any countenance or support to the Duke of Cleves, would not consent to his admittance into the League. The Bishop of Spire and the ambassador of the Elector of Saxony

¹ Rymer, t. xiv. p. 768 sqq. ; Herbert, p. 238.

interceded with the Emperor in favour of the Duke ; but Charles replied that if the Turks were at his very gates, his attention should be first directed to punish a rebel, who had chosen the moment of his country's greatest danger to ally himself with its enemies. The part played by the Duke of Cleves was indeed very annoying. Besides the usurpation of Gelderland, he procured for Francis the help of German troops, rendered possible an attack from Denmark, and neutralized the power of the Netherlands. Charles had brought with him a choice body of 4,000 Spanish and as many Italian veterans, to which he added 26,000 lance-knights and 4,000 horse, commanded by the Prince of Orange. And now Francis and his sons, who had been so anxious to do battle with the Emperor, were presented with a fair opportunity ; yet with an inexplicable infatuation, which marked all Francis's operations in his later years, he was amusing himself at this critical juncture with hunting at Rheims, and abandoned the Duke of Cleves to his fate,—an ally who had done him such good service, and whom he had united with the royal family of France. Charles laid siege to Düren ; a battery of forty cannon effected a breach, and on the 26th of August the place was carried by storm. A horrible massacre ensued, and on the evening of the same day not a living soul was left in Düren, except the troops who had entered by the breach. The fall and fate of Düren, the strongest place in the Duchy of Jülich, struck terror into the rest: Jülich, the capital, Roermonde, Venlo, submitted ; and the Duke of Cleves, who had despatched courier after courier to Francis with the most urgent prayers for help, but without effect, hastened to Venlo to throw himself at the feet of the Emperor. In this humiliating posture Charles suffered his rebellious vassal to remain a considerable time, without so much as deigning to look at him. Ultimately, however, he was admitted to a sort of capitulation. His hereditary dominions were restored, with the exception of two towns, which were retained as pledges for his fidelity ; but he was required to give up Gelderland and Zutphen ; to return to the Catholic faith ; to renounce the alliance of the Kings of France and Denmark ; to swear fealty to the Emperor and to the King of the Romans ; to release the people of Gelderland from the oath of fidelity which they had taken to him, and to transfer Rossem with his formidable band to the Imperial service.¹

Francis began to bestir himself when it was too late. He

¹ Dumont, t. iv. pt. ii. p. 265.

reassembled his army, marched into Luxembourg, and recovered the capital (September 27th). Hence the Admiral d'Annebaut was ordered to proceed to the relief of the Duke of Cleves: but before he could set out a herald arrived from that Prince, to announce to Francis, that he had been compelled to abandon the French alliance, and at the same time to demand that his wife, the heiress of Navarre, should be sent to him, in whose favour he forwarded a safe-conduct from the Emperor. But Francis replied, that as his alliance was renounced, he was no longer the Duke's debtor, and that William, with regard to his consort, had better apply to the King and Queen of Navarre, and see whether they were disposed to grant him their daughter. Neither they, however, nor Jeanne d'Albret herself, as Francis well knew, were inclined to carry out the marriage contract, which was now declared null and void. The Duke of Cleves subsequently married a daughter of King Ferdinand, and five years afterwards the heiress of Navarre espoused Antony of Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme. The remainder of the campaign of 1543 presents nothing worth relating. Francis advanced as far as Câteau-Cambrésis, where his army and that of Charles were so near, that frequent skirmishes of outposts took place; yet neither Sovereign ventured to quit the heights to risk a general engagement. The chief incidents were the sieges of Landrecies and Luxembourg by the Imperialists. But, though the latter were joined by 6,000 English, under Sir John Wallop, nothing important was effected, and in November both armies went into winter-quarters. The only gain to the Emperor was Cambray, the capital of an episcopal principality, which had claimed the privilege of neutrality. Charles persuaded the citizens to erect a citadel, as a defence against Francis, and after his return from Landrecies, introduced into it a garrison, which held the city in subjugation.

While these things were passing in the north the proceedings of the Turkish fleet under Hayraddin Barbarossa, the ally of Francis, drew down upon the latter the indignation of Europe. Agreeably to a convention between the Porte and Paulin, the French envoy, Barbarossa, with a numerous fleet, appeared in the month of May off the coast of Calabria, and landing large bodies of soldiers, destroyed olives and vines, and carried off into slavery all the inhabitants whom he could seize. Reggio was burnt without attempting a defence, the citizens having fled for safety to the mountains. Before the end of June, Barbarossa appeared at the mouth of the Tiber. Rome trembled. Many of the citizens

fled. The Cardinal de' Carpi was despatched to learn the intentions of those dreaded visitors, when a scene ensued such as Europe had not yet beheld. Paulin, the French envoy was not ashamed to appear, and to avow himself the director of Hayraddin's movements. He assured the Cardinal that there was nothing to fear, that the Turks, as allies of France, would respect the neutrality of the Pope; and Barbarossa, without committing any further ravages, directed his course towards Marseille. Here he put up to public sale the unhappy wretches whom he had taken in Calabria, and, strange to say, purchasers were not wanting.¹

Hayraddin, who had expected to find at Marseille everything in readiness for some grand enterprise, to be achieved by the united arms of Solymán and Francis, vexed and astonished to see in the harbour only twenty-two galleys and some transports, and these unprovided either with men, or provisions, or armunition, broke out into curses and menaces, threatening the Sultan's resentment if the summer were allowed to pass over unemployed. Paulin hastened to Francis to acquaint him with Barbarossa's threats, and returned with a few soldiers and orders to attack Nice, which had been already attempted without success by the Count of Enghien. The Duke of Savoy was totally unprepared to resist such an attack. Towards the end of August the combined forces got possession of the town, though bravely defended by Montfort, a Savoyard gentleman; but the citadel, under command of Paolo Simiane, a Knight of Malta, still held out; and on the 8th of September, the approach of Andrew Doria's fleet, as well as of Guasto with an army on the land side, compelled the Turco-Gallic forces to retire. Thus Francis had not even the consolation of success to place against the infamy of his conduct. To propitiate Barbarossa's ill-humour he ordered all Mussulman slaves in the French galleys to be liberated, and assigned Toulon as the winter quarters of the Turkish fleet. All the French were ordered to evacuate that place; and a letter written from it during the time of its occupation by the Turks describes it as resembling Constantinople.² France was the only European power that acted offensively with the Mussulmans. The Venetians equipped a fleet to protect the coasts of the Adriatic, and Francis, unwilling to offend his ancient allies, sent Jean de Montluc, afterwards Bishop of Valence, to excuse his conduct. In a long harangue to the Venetian Senate, Montluc quoted Scripture in Francis's

¹ The best account of Barbarossa's cruise in 1543 is in P. Jovius, lib. xliii. sq.

² *Négociations*, &c., t. i. p. 567 sqq.

defence, and showed how King David and King Asa had availed themselves of the services of the Infidels !¹

Early in 1544 Charles opened in person the Diet at Spire. It was one of the most august that had assembled during his reign, and was attended by King Ferdinand and most of the Princes of the Empire. In his opening speech (February 20th) Charles dwelt chiefly on the unnatural alliance between the French and Turks, and insisted on the necessity of crushing France in order to save Europe from the Turkish yoke. King Ferdinand supported the impression thus produced by relating Solymán's progress in Hungary. The Lutheran members of the Diet having professed themselves unconcerned with the quarrels of the Emperor, and affirmed that the French King had always been friendly to the liberties of Germany, the Emperor produced some letters written to him by Francis in 1540, in which this King, in consideration of the alliance concluded between them, promised his active assistance in suppressing the Lutherans, whom he denounced as rebels alike to the authority of their Sovereign and of the Church. The indignation excited by this communication was increased when the ambassador of the Duke of Savoy related the capture of Nice, the only asylum that remained to his master, by the Mussulman pirates; and the King of Denmark's ambassador solemnly renounced the alliance contracted with Francis, who had rendered himself odious to all Christians by his league with the Turks. The French King, hoping that his treachery towards the Lutherans would have remained concealed, had despatched Cardinal John du Bellay and President Olivier to Spire, to conciliate the friendship of that party. But the herald who had been sent forward to procure a safe-conduct for the French ambassadors was dismissed, with the intimation that he might consider himself fortunate to escape with his life, since an envoy from the ally of the Mussulman pirates of Barbary was without the pale of Christian international law. Alarmed at this intelligence, the ambassadors, who had advanced to Nancy, fled thence by night, and on their return to Paris, Du Bellay published a manifesto, which, on the admission even of historians not unfavourable to Francis, was filled with the grossest inconsistencies and falsehoods. Sometimes the Turkish alliance was altogether disavowed, sometimes justified by examples drawn from the Old Testament; in a word, there was no subterfuge to which the ministers of the French King scrupled to descend.² Francis also endeavoured to

¹ *Commentaires de Montluc*, liv. i.

² The paper is in Freher, *Script. Rer. Germ.* t. iii.

clear himself in a remarkable letter to John Frederick the Elector of Saxony.¹

The Diet voted the Emperor supplies both against France and the Turk, and Charles pledged his word to attack the Osmanlis on the conclusion of the French war. The discussion of the affairs of religion was postponed to another Diet, to be summoned exclusively for that purpose; unless a General Council could be assembled, in which the Emperor engaged to preside. Meanwhile the decrees of former Diets in favour of the Lutherans were confirmed; the free and public exercise of their religion was allowed; they were again declared capable of filling the places of assessors in the Imperial Chamber; and the custom of swearing on relics the members of that tribunal was abrogated in their behalf. These concessions were wrung from the Emperor by his political necessities. The Pope, in a letter, bitterly reproached him with them (August 24th), and Charles is said to have been secretly negotiating at this very time with Paul respecting the methods of extirpating the Lutherans.²

In Piedmont the war had not ceased during the winter. After the raising of the siege of Nice, Guasto had obtained some notable advantages over Boutières, successor of Du Bellay Langey, who had died in January, 1543. Mondovi and Carignano had been recovered by the Duke of Savoy. The arrival of the Count of Enghien, however, in the spring, arrested the progress of Guasto. The French and Imperial forces in Piedmont were nearly equal; but as both the money and credit of Francis were exhausted, he impressed upon Enghien the necessity of caution, and forbade him to risk a general engagement. Such an injunction was intolerable to the French nobles. Blaise de Montluc, a captain of the true Gascon stamp, was despatched to the French Court for the purpose of getting the *veto* removed, which he accomplished by his playful and spirited eloquence.³ Enghien gained a signal victory over the Imperialists at Cerisole (April 14th), more by the brilliant valour of himself and his troops than by good generalship.⁴ Guasto had told the people of Asti, when marching out towards Cerisole, to shut their gates against him if he did not return victorious. They took him at his word. Want of money, however, obliged Enghien to discharge the Swiss in his service, and

¹ Published in the *Négociations*, &c. t. i. p. 575.

² Raynaldus, t. xiv. p. 70 sqq.; Pfeffel, * t. ii. p. 157.

³ Henry IV. used to call the *Commen-*

taires of Montluc, *La Bible du Soldat*.

⁴ Pistols are said to have been for the first time used in this battle by the Imperial troops. They were invented at Pistoia, in Tuscany.

the inconsiderate demand of Francis, who required him to send 12,000 of his best troops into France, not only rendered his victory fruitless, but also nearly disorganized his army. The only result was the recovery of Carignano. The Imperial army, however, was in almost as bad a condition, and both generals found it convenient to conclude an armistice of three months.

The Emperor, meanwhile, with the help of some of the leading Protestants, as Albert of Brandenburg, Maurice, Duke of Saxony, a young prince who had just succeeded his father Henry, and some others, had assembled an army of 40,000 men in Lorraine, which he joined towards the end of May, after it had already reduced Luxembourg and some other towns, and was preparing to invade Champagne. The situation of Francis was perplexing. His league with the Turks had deprived him of all other allies: yet by them he had been treated more as a vanquished enemy than a confederate Prince. During their stay at Toulon they had acted as if they were in an enemy's country, and furnished the benches of their galleys by carrying off all the men they could seize on the adjacent coasts, while the women served to supply their harems. The crews were even taken out of the royal galleys. To induce so dangerous an ally to quit Toulon, Francis paid Barbarossa 800,000 crowns. He sailed, in April, for Constantinople, again carrying terror and desolation along the coasts of Italy. This was his last notable exploit. He died two years after at a very advanced age.

Before Francis succeeded in assembling his army in the north, the Emperor had taken Commercy and Ligny, and invested St. Dizier. The gallant defence of the last place, however, which held out till the 17th of August, allowed the French King some breathing time. Meanwhile the English forces had been engaged in the spring in a campaign in Scotland; but though Edinburgh was taken and pillaged, they were unable to maintain themselves there. In the summer the Duke of Norfolk landed at Calais with an English division, and proceeded to lay siege to Montreuil, while Henry crossed the Channel with the main body about the middle of July, and was soon after joined by some 25,000 Flemings and Germans. The original plan appears really to have been to cross the Somme and press on to Paris.¹ But Henry and Charles did not act cordially together. Each believed the other insincere respecting the partition of France, and this dis-

¹ See the plan of the campaign traced by Thomas, Duke of Norfolk (*Considerations, &c.*) in *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 761.

trust ended at length in open hatred. Henry, instead of proceeding to join the Emperor, laid siege to Boulogne. An ancient author has described his forces. The van and rear consisted each of about 12,000 foot, 500 lightly armed horse, and 1,000 more with breastplates and lances. Their uniform was blue, with red trimmings. Interspersed were 1,000 Irish, clothed in long tight shirts, and a cloak, their only clothing, while their heads had no other covering than their long hair. They were armed with three javelins and a long sword, and an iron guard protected the left arm to the elbow. The centre division, led by the King, consisted of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse, all in red uniform, with yellow trimmings. The artillery comprised 100 large guns, and many smaller. A hundred one-horse mills to prepare their flour, and ovens to bake it, were conveyed in waggons. These and the baggage waggons required 25,000 horses; while 15,000 oxen and a vast quantity of other animals followed the army to supply it with meat.¹

Both Charles and Henry were inclined to negotiate with the French King; but the Emperor, in spite of his successes, was the first to treat. He had penetrated as far as Château-Thierry, within two days' march of Paris. That capital was filled with consternation. The citizens were flying on every side, both by land and water; the Seine was covered with boats filled with fugitives. Francis hastened from Fontainebleau, and, accompanied by the Duke of Guise, rode through the streets of Paris haranguing the citizens, and exhorting them to take courage. "If I cannot prevent you from being afraid," said he, "I will at least prevent you from being hurt." This address restored confidence, and a great number of citizens, students, and others, flew to arms.² The Emperor found great difficulty in procuring subsistence for his army, and to winter in France seemed wholly impossible. Under these circumstances, negotiations were opened at the little village of La Chaussée, between Vitry and Châlons, and instead of crossing the Marne, Charles retired to Villers-Cotterets, and thence to Soissons, which he plundered. Francis eagerly embraced his proposals for a peace, and preliminaries were signed at Crespy, in the Laonnois, September 18th. Charles's conduct on this occasion seems precipitate, and must perhaps be ascribed to the policy which he had adopted of peace at almost any price with France, in order to pursue his plans against the Lutherans

¹ Botero, *Relationi Universali*, p. 276 (ed. 1640). •

² Paradin, *Hist. de notre Temps*, p. 138.

and Turks. It does not appear why he might not have dictated terms at Paris, instead of Crespy. At least two months remained for field operations; he was within two days' march of Paris; and Henry VIII., after taking Boulogne, which capitulated September 14th, was in full march upon that capital; a circumstance, however, such was the want of communication between them, of which the Emperor was ignorant. And perhaps, indeed, Charles was as much disinclined to forward the schemes of that King as to increase the alienation of Francis by the humiliating capture of Paris.

By the treaty of Crespy each party was to restore the places taken by either since the treaty of Nice; the French were to evacuate the territories of the Duke of Savoy, with exception of Pinerolo and Montmélian, and the dispute between Francis and his uncle was to be referred to arbitration. Francis again renounced all claim to the Kingdom of Naples and the suzerainty of Flanders and Artois, as well as to Gelderland and Zutphen. The Emperor, on his side, gave up the Duchy of Burgundy and the towns and lordships on the Somme, formerly held by Duke Philip the Good. In order to render these terms more palatable, the Emperor offered some of the disputed provinces as a dowry either to his eldest daughter, Mary, or to his niece, the second daughter of King Ferdinand, whichever the Duke of Orleans might select for his consort; the former to bring him the Netherlands and Franche-Comté, the latter the Duchy of Milan. The Duke was to declare within four months which of the ladies he preferred, and the marriage was to take place within a year. The Emperor was to retain possession of these provinces till his death, but the Duke of Orleans and his consort were to be made Governors immediately. One of the stipulations was that the Emperor and Francis should co-operate in restoring the union of the Church; that is, should enter into alliance against the Protestants, and should defend Christendom against the Turks; and Francis not only abjured the Turkish alliance, but also promised 600 lances and 10,000 foot for the war in Hungary.¹ At the same time another and a secret treaty appears to have been signed, the contents of which have never come to light, but which excited the suspicion and hostility of the Court of Rome.²

The peace of Crespy gave great offence both to the Dauphin and to the King of England. The former was dissatisfied because his father, in order to gain an establishment for his second

¹ Dumont, t. iv. pt. ii. p. 279.

² Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iv. S. 347.

son, had sacrificed the dignity of his Kingdom, abandoned the ancient rights of the French Crown, and thus curtailed those of the Dauphin when he should come to be King. And though he would not offend his father by refusing to ratify the treaty, yet he secretly caused a notarial protest to be drawn up against it, which he signed at Fontainebleau (December 12th), in presence of the Duke of Vendôme and the Counts of Enghien and Aumale;¹ thus imitating the unworthy example of his royal father. The Parliament of Toulouse, at the instigation, probably of the Dauphin's partisans, also entered a protest against the peace. Henry VIII., on his side, was indignant that the Emperor should have concluded a treaty with France without his participation or even knowledge. He himself appears, however, to have entered into negotiations with the French previously to the Emperor. The Earl of Oxford and the Bishop of Winchester, Henry's plenipotentiaries, had an interview with the ambassador of Francis at Harelot, near Boulogne, September 9th, when they demanded that Francis should abandon his alliance with Scotland, and pay up the arrears of money which he owed and the expenses of the present war. The French ambassador, so long as Charles was threatening Paris, pretended to entertain these propositions; but no sooner had Francis concluded peace with the Emperor than he rejected them with scorn. On hearing this, and also that the Dauphin was marching against him, Henry, who had advanced to Montreuil, retreated, and embarked his troops for England, leaving, however, a garrison of 7,000 men in Boulogne, the capture of which place was the only advantage he had derived from the campaign.

After the peace of Crespy the Emperor suddenly altered his policy towards the Lutherans. Besides the assistance Francis had promised in case of need against the Turks, he afterwards undertook to mediate a peace between the Emperor and the Porte,² and we have seen that a truce was actually concluded between Ferdinand and the Turks in 1545.³ Being thus delivered from his two most troublesome enemies, Charles for the first time found himself free to act as he pleased in the religious affairs of Germany; and the change in his views was soon apparent in the Diet that met at Worms in the following spring.

The Pope had been highly offended by the proceedings of the

¹ Dumont, *ib.* 288; Ribier, t. i. p. 578 sq.

² Lanz, *Correspondenz*, B. ii. S. 435, 455; *Négociations*, &c. t. i. p. 596 sqq.

³ Above, p. 102 sq.

Diet of Spires as well as by the treaty of Crespy. The announcement of a National Council to decide on ecclesiastical affairs, and the promise of a General Council given without consulting the Court of Rome, were equally distasteful to him. Paul, that he might appear to act independently, resolved to anticipate any formal application; and on the 19th November, 1544, he issued a bull, summoning the adjourned council to meet at Trent on the following 15th of March. The short notice was purposely contrived in order that the assembly might consist almost entirely of his own courtiers and of Italian bishops, who would thus have the regulation of all the forms to be observed; but the prelates who then met were so few, being only about twenty in number, that it was found necessary to adjourn the Council to the following 13th of December.¹ The Emperor overlooked the Pope's apparent slight. He was glad to see that a Council had, at all events, been summoned, and he meant that its labours should not be confined to the uprooting of heresy, but should also include a reform of the Church itself in its head and members, as formerly promised by his ancient tutor Pope Adrian. He therefore accepted the Pope's bull, and gave orders that the doctors of theology, both in Spain and the Netherlands, should prepare to go to Trent. Before he quitted the Low Countries, he gave a specimen of what might be expected from him, now that he was at peace with France, by causing the University of Louvain to draw up a Confession of Faith in thirty-two articles, which cut short all the questions raised by the Lutherans. To these articles his Netherland subjects were required to conform under pain of death; and to show that this was no unmeaning threat, he ordered a Calvinist preacher, named Peter du Breuil, to be seized at Tournay, and burnt alive by a slow fire in the public square of that town (February 19th, 1545).² The German Lutherans had reason for alarm, for the period of the religious peace was terminated *ipso facto* by the assembly of a Council.

The Diet opened at Worms, March 24th, 1545, was chiefly occupied with the affairs of religion. The Emperor, being laid up with gout, did not appear till May 16th. The Lutherans refused to grant any supplies for the Turkish war till their safety should be established by a perpetual law. They objected to the authority of the Council of Trent, declared that they would not vindicate their opinions before a body assembled purposely to condemn them,

¹ Sarpi, lib. ii. p. 105; Raynaldus, t. xiv. p. 84.

² Sarpi, p. 106; Sleidan, lib. xvi.; Raynaldus, *ib.* p. 85.

and demanded that a National Council should be summoned instead, in which the disputed points might be settled, not by authority, but by fair and friendly discussion. The Count of Grignon, the French ambassador, addressed them in menacing terms, and called upon them to submit to the Council summoned by Paul. The Emperor declared that he had no power to call a National Council; and Cardinal Farnese, the Papal Legate, threatened that if the Lutherans persisted in dictating to the Pope and Emperor it might be necessary to use coercion. These dissensions were for a while appeased by a resolution for a fresh conference between the theologians of both parties, the results of which were to be referred to another Diet to meet at Ratisbon. The Emperor, however, had begun to throw off the mask. As if it were no longer necessary to hide his real sentiments, the Lutheran preachers were forbidden to hold forth at Worms; whilst his own chaplain, an Italian monk, was allowed to inveigh against them in the most furious manner, and to call upon the Emperor to fulfil the duty of a Christian Prince by their annihilation.

In the phalanx of Protestant Princes appeared only a single waverer. The young Duke Maurice of Saxony, who, as head of the Albertine line of that house, ruled the southern Saxon lands from Leipsic to the borders of Bohemia and Franconia, had at the very commencement of his reign adopted a line of policy to which he owed his subsequent advancement. Although a zealous Lutheran with regard to doctrine, he carefully abstained from mixing himself up with the political views of the Lutheran party, and consequently withdrew from the League of Smalkald. He had helped King Ferdinand in person in the Hungarian campaign of 1542, as well as the Emperor in his expedition against the Duke of Cleves; on which occasions he distinguished himself by his intrepidity and his dexterity in all military enterprises. At Worms he sought to ingratiate himself with the Emperor by inclining to recognize the authority of the Council of Trent; and by his talents, his graceful person, and his insinuating manners he succeeded in gaining the friendship of Charles.

The views of the Emperor with regard to religious affairs were warmly seconded by the French King, who not only despatched an ambassador to Worms to support them, but also caused a committee of the doctors of the Sorbonne to draw up resolutions for the consideration of the Council of Trent; to which assembly he invited the University of Paris to send a deputation. At the same time he displayed, in his own dominions, his zeal for the Catholic

faith by a persecution unparalleled since the time of Diocletian. His clergy, taking advantage of one of those disgraceful attacks to which his health was constantly exposed by his profligacy, urged him to make his peace with God by the slaughter of some thousands of persons who worshipped Him in a different manner from themselves, and induced him to enforce an edict passed by the Parliament of Provence so long ago as November, 1540, the execution of which, at the intercession of the German Lutherans, had been hitherto suspended.

Among the High Alps which separate Provence and Dauphiné from Piedmont existed a scattered Christian population which had preserved from time immemorial in their religious worship traditions and customs widely different from those of the Church of Rome. They were called Vaudois, probably from the valleys (*vauz*) which they inhabited, and had undergone some persecution in the reign of Charles VIII., but had been saved by Louis XII. from the hands of the inquisitors. They may be traced at least as high as Bishop Claude of Turin, who in the ninth century energetically protested against the worship of images and other Roman practices.¹ They are mentioned in the *Chronique de Saint Tron*, written early in the twelfth century, as tainted with an inveterate heresy; and they could not, therefore, have derived either their doctrines or their name from Peter Valdo, who founded, towards the end of that century, a sect called *Les pauvres de Lyon*, or the Poor Brethren of Lyon. Their pastors, whom they called *barbas* (uncles), recognized with pleasure the similarity of their own tenets to those of the Protestants of Switzerland and Germany; nor could the Reformers themselves have seen without emotion the principles which they had deduced from reason and research so strikingly confirmed by the practice of a community whose remote and almost inaccessible position had preserved them during centuries from being infected with the errors and abuses which had gradually been engrafted on the Church of Rome. There were few topics or practices in which they differed from the Reformers, and Farel, in a great synod held in 1532, in the valley of Angrogna, in Piedmont, in which all the colonies of the Vaudois were represented, had brought them to still greater conformity.

It was on a settlement of these people, which had been established two or three centuries in Provence among the mountains which, rising near the celebrated fountain of Vaucluse, stretch

¹ Martin, t. iv. p. 6 sq.

away towards the Alps, that Francis, incited by the Cardinal de Tournon, determined to wreak the vengeance of persecution. Their industry had converted that rugged district into a smiling garden, abounding with corn, wine, fruit, and cattle; for one of their maxims was, "To work is to pray:"¹ a maxim often reversed by their Roman Catholic persecutors. After their connection with the Reformers, the Vaudois had departed from their former prudent reserve, and had drawn down upon themselves persecution, which, in 1535, they had opposed with arms. On the 1st of January, 1545, Francis addressed a letter to the Parliament of Provence, directing them to put in execution the decree of 1540, whose dreadful purport was, that all fathers of families should be burnt, their wives and children reduced to serfdom, their property confiscated, and their dwellings razed. And this was required to be done in such a manner, "that Provence should be entirely cleared and depopulated of such beguilers."²

Three men of learning and liberality had attempted to avert this accursed sentence: Chasseneuz, a learned jurisconsult, first President of the Parliament of Provence; Jacopo Sadoleti, the amiable and enlightened Bishop of Carpentras;³ and Guillaume du Bellay Langey, the Governor of Piedmont, which last had made a very favourable report of the Vaudois to the King. But Chasseneuz was now dead, and had been succeeded in his office by Meinier, Baron d'Oppède, a man fitted for the execution of such atrocities. D'Oppède kept the King's mandate a profound secret till he had assembled a small army of about 3000 men, chiefly composed of disbanded soldiers from Piedmont, accustomed to the wars of Italy, and revelling in blood and plunder. He was assisted by the Papal Legate, Antonio Trivulzio, who supplied 1000 foot soldiers and some cannon. When all his preparations were made, D'Oppède read the King's letter to the Parliament of Provence, April 12th, which immediately ordered the decree of 1540 to be executed. The next day D'Oppède, accompanied by Paulin, whom we have known as envoy to the Porte and companion in arms of Hayraddin Barbarossa, passed the Durance with his force, and immediately began the work of havoc. The crops

¹ Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 346.

² "De faire en sorte que le pays de Provence fût entièrement dépeuplé et nettoyé de tels séducteurs." Bouche, *Hist. de Provence*, liv. x. t. ii. p. 615.

³ It was he who once addressed to Melancthon words particularly deserving to be remembered by all leaders of reli-

gious parties: "I am not a person who immediately conceives a hatred for whomsoever may differ from us in opinion." See Martin, t. viii. p. 330. Carpentras was the capital of the County of Venaissin, and therefore, at that time, part of the temporal dominions of the Roman See.

and fruit trees were destroyed, the villages burnt, the inhabitants massacred. On the 18th D'Oppède arrived at the little town of Mérindol. It had been abandoned by all the inhabitants except a poor idiot lad, who was immediately tied to a tree and shot. At Cabrières about ninety of the townspeople had remained, and as they made a show of defending themselves they obtained a capitulation granting them their lives. But no sooner were they in the hands of D'Oppède than he caused them all to be massacred, on the ground that no faith is to be kept with heretics. Those who had succeeded in escaping were hunted down like wild beasts. With the exception of 600 or 700 of the more robust, selected for the galleys, the whole population was destroyed.¹ This cold-blooded massacre, which filled the greater part of Europe with indignation and horror, was deliberately approved and adopted by Francis, the French clergy, and the Parliament of Paris. When the Swiss interceded for the few Vaudois still left alive, Francis bade them mind their own business and not interfere in the affairs of his Kingdom. At the beginning of the following reign, the Dame de Cental, one of the proprietors of the district ravaged, instituted a suit in the Parliament of Paris against the authors of the massacre, which had completely ruined her property; but that body acquitted them after twenty hearings, thus deliberately sanctioning this atrocious deed.²

In the following year (1546) the persecutions were continued in France. At Meaux, which continued to be a great centre of reform, fourteen persons were burnt together, and a great many others subjected to corporal or pecuniary penalties. It was fatal to any followers of Calvin if a French Bible, or the *Christian Institution* of that reformer, was found upon him. One of the foremost victims was Stephen Dolet, burned August 3rd, 1546, on the Place Maubert, at Paris, on the charge of heresy, atheism, and eating flesh on a fast day! He was the friend of Rabelais and Clément Marot, and a distinguished scholar, the author of some celebrated *Commentaries* on the Latin language.

France was at this time in a deplorable condition, the effect of its long wars as well as of mal-administration. Some of the provinces were almost in a state of anarchy. Périgord revolted against the *gabelle*, and the judge sent to try the malcontents narrowly escaped being murdered. The war with England still

¹ For this persecution of the Vaudois see De Thou, liv. vi.; Beza, *Hist. Eccl.* liv. i.; Bouche, *Hist. de Provence*, liv. x.;

Alexis Muston, *Hist. des Vaudois*, t. i. ch. v.

² Beza, *Hist. Eccl.* t. i. p. 28; Sarpi, lib. ii. p. 115.

remained on hand: Francis was determined to recover Boulogne; yet it was difficult to raise the necessary funds without imposing fresh taxes, which excited universal discontent. He was also meditating a descent on the southern coast of England, as well as an attack on the side of Scotland. The Scottish Regent Hamilton had at first consented to a marriage between the infant Mary and Edward Prince of Wales. The treaty, however, was scarcely signed (August 25th, 1543), when, listening to the Catholic fanatics, and that party which nourished an old enmity against England, Hamilton changed his mind, reconciled himself with Cardinal Beaton, and connived at a violent persecution of the Reformers, several of whom were burnt alive. A small French force, under James Montgomery, Seigneur de Lorges, landed in Scotland to support this movement, and to assist in an invasion of Northumberland (July, 1545). The combined Scotch and French forces marched towards the border, but Montgomery could not persuade the Scotch to cross the Tweed, and the campaign resulted in a few unimportant skirmishes with the Earl of Hertford. The French naval expedition against England, though prepared on a grander scale, had an equally fruitless result. The French navy was at that time much superior to the English. Their largest vessel, called a *Carraquon*, measured 800 tons and mounted 100 guns, most of which, however, must have been of small calibre. In rivalry of this extraordinary vessel, Henry VIII. had built an exact counterpart, also called a *Carraquon*,¹ but so badly constructed as to be entirely useless. No better fate, however, attended the French vessel. Francis repaired with his Court to the Havre de Grace, to be present at the sailing of the expedition, when a grand fête was given on board the *Carraquon* (July 6th, 1545). Large fires having been lighted for cooking, in spite of the remonstrances of the sailors, the ship caught fire, and was completely destroyed, together with most of its crew; and it was with difficulty that the Court ladies and the military chests could be rescued. The armament nevertheless set sail. It consisted of 25 galleys brought round from Marseille, 150 *vaisseaux ronds*, or ships of war, and 60 transports, the whole under the command of the Admiral d'Annebaut. On the 18th of July the French fleet appeared off the Isle of Wight. The English fleet was much inferior, consisting only of sixty vessels. Nevertheless the English came out, but being too inferior in

¹ It is difficult to say whether this be a proper name or an intensive of *caraque*, viz., a large carrack.

force to venture a close engagement, retired after a distant cannonade into Portsmouth. The French sunk the "Mary Rose," and the vessel called the "Great Harry" was near sharing the same fate. The French commander, however, did not venture to attack Portsmouth, and after making some descents on Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, set sail for Boulogne, which town was then besieged by Marshal du Biez. Annebaut landed some of his forces to construct a fort at Outreau, in order to command the entrance of the harbour: but on the appearance of the English fleet, which had been reinforced, retired into Havre. The fort at Outreau proved useless, and the English had still free access to Boulogne.

While the siege of that town was proceeding a great calamity overtook Francis,—the death of his favourite son, the Duke of Orleans. The Dauphin he regarded with jealousy and hatred, and only a few weeks before a scandalous scene of anger and violence had taken place between them. Francis had wished to make the Duke of Orleans in some degree his brother's rival, and regarded with satisfaction the future greatness which he had provided for him by the treaty of Crespy. But these hopes were destined to frustration. During the siege the King resided with his two sons at Forêt-Moutier, near Abbeville. The neighbourhood was infected with the plague, which the Duke of Orleans is said to have caught by venturing with his usual thoughtlessness into the house of a peasant. He died September 9th, 1545. This event deprived Francis of all the benefits he had promised himself from the peace of Crespy. At the same time, however, it revived his own pretensions in Flanders and the Milanese, which had been renounced only in favour of his son's marriage; and on this ground he opened fresh negotiations with the Emperor. Charles, who was then at Antwerp engaged in borrowing money from the Netherland towns for the war which he was meditating against the Lutherans, received the French ambassadors very coldly. After expressing some decent regret for the death of his intended son-in-law, he declared that it afforded no reason either why he should recognize claims which he had always repudiated, and which Francis had twice solemnly renounced, or why he should not demand the restitution of the dominions of Savoy for a Prince who was at once his brother-in-law, his ally, and his vassal; and he declared that all he could promise was that if France did not attack him he would not attack France. With this answer the ambassadors were fain to

return. Thus the unfortunate Duke of Savoy lost all hope of recovering his dominions, which, by the treaty of Crespy, Francis was not bound to restore till the Duke of Orleans had been put in possession either of Milan or the Netherlands.

The failure of Francis's negotiations with the Emperor determined him again to change his policy. He recalled his prelates from the Council of Trent, then on the point of assembling; he also instructed his envoy at the Porte to do all in his power to thwart Ferdinand's negotiations with Solymán, which he had been previously forwarding, and to induce the Sultan to recommence hostilities in Hungary. But being still embarrassed by his war with England, the French King did not venture upon an open rupture with the Emperor. That war had cost him much money and many soldiers, and as the winter approached his men died by hundreds in the camp. The German Lutherans, alarmed by the preparations which Charles was making against them in the Netherlands, had in vain sought to reconcile the French and English kings, whose help they foresaw would be needful to them in the approaching struggle. But neither was yet prepared to accept the terms demanded by his adversary.

At the very moment when the Council was about to meet at Trent for the reformation of the Church, Paul III. occasioned a new scandal by granting his son, Pier Luigi Farnese, Parma and Piacenza, with the title of Duke; a step also highly offensive to the Emperor, who regarded those cities as belonging to the Milanese, and he therefore refused to confirm the investiture. Such was the origin of the Duchy of Parma. The new Duke of Parma rendered himself so odious by his vices and crimes, that he was murdered two years afterwards (September 10th, 1547), when Ferrante Gonzaga, Governor of Milan, took possession of Piacenza in the Emperor's name. King Philip II., however, restored, in 1557, Piacenza to Ottavio Farnese, the son and successor of Pier Luigi; and the house of Farnese continued to hold the Duchy of Parma as a fief of the Holy See till the extinction of its male heirs in 1731.

The affair of Parma did not disturb the understanding between Charles and the Pope, who were now both intent on putting down the German Lutherans. The Council of Trent was at length opened for despatch of business, December 13th, 1545. The meeting of this assembly may be considered as forming a new epoch in the history of Europe, and we shall therefore postpone to another chapter an account of its proceedings. A General

Council had always been regarded as affording the last chance of restoring the Church's unity; and when its authority was rejected by the Lutherans, no alternative seemed left but an appeal to arms. That method, which might have crushed Protestantism in its infancy, had been hitherto avoided; but we shall soon have to trace the rise, progress, and termination of the wars which sprung from the Reformation.

Luther did not live to behold these scenes of violence. At the very time when his doctrines were under examination at Trent, the lowly monk, whose strong head and fearless heart had thus engaged in angry and anxious discussion, as over their dearest interests both in this world and the next, the highest, the most powerful, and the most learned men in Europe, was quietly expiring in the obscure little town which gave him birth. He had gone to Eisleben to reconcile a quarrel that had arisen between the Counts of Mansfeld; and while engaged in this mission of peace, was attacked with inflammation, which put an end to his life, February 18th, 1546, at the age of sixty-three. The Saxon Elector caused his funeral to be celebrated with great pomp. The dread with which Luther had inspired his adversaries may be gathered from the manner in which his death is recorded by Odoric Raynaldus, the annalist of the Church. "It is said," writes that author, "that the day on which Luther died was signalized in Belgium by many of the possessed being delivered, because the devils quitted them to accompany Luther's soul to hell; though they presently returned to resume their functions."¹

¹ *Ann. Eccl.* t. xiv. p. 193.

CHAPTER. XVII.

THE progress of the Reformation had hitherto been peaceful ; we now enter upon an epoch when its path was marked with blood—a catastrophe foreseen and dreaded by Luther, but which he was spared from beholding. For a period of near a century, our attention will be chiefly arrested by religious wars, which however are often combined with a great political movement that had already been initiated,—the struggle for supremacy between France and the House of Austria. Before we enter upon these narratives it may not be amiss to inquire into the causes of Luther's success ; and why a reformation which had before been fruitlessly attempted in England, in Bohemia, in Italy, should have succeeded in Germany and Switzerland.

The same political causes which afterwards produced the religious wars of Germany, undoubtedly contributed to establish the Reformation in that country. In the Romano-German Empire the civil power was two-fold—literally an *imperium in imperio* ; and thus the German Electors and other Princes, being sheltered under a supreme head, were enabled to give reins to the feelings inspired by Papal abuses and extortions, without incurring the responsibility which attached to the Emperor. He, not they, was in immediate connection with Rome ; a bond which the natural bigotry both of Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand was not inclined to sever. Had Charles been as absolute in Germany as in Spain, or as Francis I. was in France, and Henry VIII. in England, the Reformation could not have taken place without his consent ; while, having been established against his will in the dominions of some of the Princes of the Empire, he was induced, when political events enabled him to do so, to attempt to crush it by force. It is curious moreover to observe how the infancy of the German Reformation was protected from the power of Charles, not only by the peculiar constitution of the Empire, but also by the very enemies of Germany—the Turks, the French, nay, the Pope himself. Had not the safety of the Empire been threatened by Solyman, had not Francis menaced the Emperor's

Italian possessions, and Pope Clement VII. shown a disposition to assist his plans, Lutheranism might probably have been crushed in the bud. In the Swiss Cantons, free and republican constitutions contributed still more directly and rapidly to the success of the Reformation. The appeal was made immediately to the people; there was no bigoted or self-interested Sovereign to step in between them and Rome. •

Another and indispensable element of success was the bold and ardent character both of Luther and of Zwingli; a character the more essential in Luther's case, as he had to assert his principles at the risk of his life. This is the great and inestimable merit of Luther, as well as of his immortal contemporary Columbus,—his dauntless courage, his unshaken constancy. Others may have conjectured the sphericity of the earth and the possibility of sailing round it, but it was reserved for the bold-hearted Genoese to prove it by venturing his life. So also, others have, perhaps, devised more thorough and more consistent plans of reform than Luther; but they either confined them to their studies, or failed in the assertion of them from timidity, like Erasmus and Wiclif. The circumstances in which Zwingli was placed did not call for so great a display of moral courage as was exhibited by Luther; but there can be no doubt that he possessed it, though he had not, like the Saxon reformer, to struggle against the frowns and menaces of a government; and he at last laid down his life in the field for the sake of his principles.

Neither Luther nor Zwingli, however, could have effected anything had they not obtained the adhesion of the people; and their success in this respect was not perhaps so much owing to the better prepared state of the public mind for the reception of their doctrines, as to the gradual nature of their attack upon the Roman Church. They began with *one* abuse, but one which came immediately home to the bosoms of the people,—the doctrine of Indulgences. It mattered little to the great body of the population how much the Archbishops of Mentz or Cologne paid for their palliums, or whether the Pope or the Emperor should present to benefices; but it was of the utmost importance to them to know whether the Pope alone could open the gates of Heaven, and whether he was justified in demanding a fee for that purpose. The wedge once introduced, the rent became gradually larger, till all that was unsound in the Church was severed. The German nation had long presented in vain their list of a hundred grievances; Rome was at last opposed and overturned upon a single

one. Another element of success was the prudence and moderation with which, however violent and adapted to vulgar ears might be his language, Luther proceeded in carrying out the substantial parts of his enterprise; never were so much energy and so fiery a zeal tempered with so much discretion. As a doctrinal reformer he was even too timid, and cannot be said to have left the Reformation complete.

The Papal key being broken, it was necessary to provide another method of unlocking the portal of Heaven; and this the Reformers found in the doctrine of justification by faith. The theory of indulgences was founded on a spiritual treasury of good works, so ample and so efficacious that they could be transferred with infallible effect to every repentant sinner, even the greatest, who could afford to purchase a share of these merits; and the same principle lay at the root of other superstitions which served to fill the coffers of the Church; such as pilgrimages, jubilees, &c. Luther combated these doctrines in the only way in which they could be combated—by transferring the custody of Heaven from the Vicar of Christ, who had abused his trust, to Christ himself. “By faith alone shall ye be saved.”

That the doctrine of justification by faith alone was capable of perversion, Luther himself saw and lamented. “This doctrine,” he observes in one of his discourses,¹ “should be heard with great joy, and received with heartfelt thankfulness, and we should become all the better and more pious for it. But alas! this is reversed, and the longer it is heard, the wicked, the more reckless, and more sinful, doth the world become. Yet it is no fault of the doctrine, but of the hearers.” Perceiving these results, Luther, in his later popular discourses, avoided giving the doctrine too much prominence, though he still reserved it in his armoury, as an indispensable weapon against Rome.² There are indeed minds that will pervert anything, and naturally a doctrine so abstruse and difficult of comprehension. The coarser multitude

¹ *Hauspostille*, ap. Menzel, B. i. S. 314.

² As we have often referred the reader to the works of Mr. Hallam for instruction, we feel bound to caution him against the narrow and unphilosophical view of the Reformation taken by that writer (see *Hist. of Literature*, pt. i. ch. iv. § 58 sq. and ch. vi. § 12). Mr. Hallam, who appears to have wished that the Bible should have remained a sealed book, since he finds fault with Luther for translating it, denounces the Reformation as appeal-

ing to the ignorant, and because in it “there predominated that revolutionary spirit which loves to witness destruction for its own sake, and that intoxicated self-confidence which renders folly mischievous.” Never were such grave charges made with so little foundation. It was the Romish Church that appealed to ignorance; papistry lived and thrived by it alone. That the great leaders of the Reformation loved “destruction for its own sake” is an imputation which Mr.

put a very gross and material construction on it, and adopted it, in preference to indulgences, as a salve for conscience, because it was the cheaper of the two!

The establishment of the Lutheran and Zwinglian reformations has been described in preceding chapters. Before the end of the period which they comprise, a third, and perhaps, in some respects, a greater reformer, had appeared upon the scene. In the autumn of 1539 John Calvin succeeded in finally establishing himself at Geneva, which city he may be said to have ruled with all the authority of a Pope and all the power of a despot down to his death in 1564. It belongs not to our subject to enter into any minute discussion of his religious tenets, or to explain in what manner they differed from those of his brother reformers. It is well known that grace and predestination form the foundation of his doctrine, which he carried out more boldly, and perhaps more consistently, than Luther; and that in all respects he made so thorough a clearance of every remnant of Popery that the Genevese Church and other Churches founded on its model have claimed exclusively the name of *Reformed Churches*. Nothing, to some minds, can be more convincing than his logic; nothing, to others, more repulsive than his system; yet all must agree in admiring the language and method in which he unfolds it. It was perhaps in part owing to the vigour and excellence of his literary style, that Calvin's influence as a reformer was much more widely felt than that of Luther or Zwingli. The Lutheran reformation travelled but little out of Germany and the neighbouring Scandinavian kingdoms; while Calvinism obtained a European character, and was adopted in all the countries where men sought a reformation *from without*; as France, the Netherlands, Scotland, even England; for the Early English Reformation under Edward VI. was Zwinglian and Calvinistic, and Calvin was incontestably the father of our Puritans and Dissenters. Thus, under his rule, Geneva may be said to have become the capital of European reform. The superior *catholicity* of Calvinism, if such a term be not paradoxical, will also appear from the fact, that while that creed penetrated into Lutheran countries, Lutheranism made little way where the

Hallam does not attempt to substantiate. It would be easy to show, on the contrary, that changes equally momentous were never carried out in so gentle a method as by Luther; insomuch that a distinguished modern historian has not

hesitated to characterize him as the greatest conservative that ever lived (Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iv. S. 6). Mr. Hallam denounces the whole Reformation because it produced some local and temporary abuses.

religion was Calvinistic. This result was perhaps aided by Calvin's French style.

Although, at the period we are contemplating, the political effects of the Reformation, with which alone we are concerned, had not yet developed themselves, yet it may be as well to point out its tendency. That the movement which released the populations from the religious slavery of Rome was also favourable to civil liberty, can admit of no doubt; it is almost exclusively among Protestant nations that a free government has been able to maintain itself. In this respect, however, a striking difference is observable between the Swiss and German reformations. The latter, as we have shown, was the reverse of democratic, and the Genevese reformer alone can be connected with the progress of civil freedom in Europe. Yet the cause of this distinction is not very obvious. It cannot well be ascribed to the more democratical Constitution of the Genevese Church, or the substitution of presbyterianism for episcopacy,—a cause that would hardly operate out of its own bosom; and, with regard to politics, Calvin inculcated as strongly as Luther the duty of unconditional submission to the civil power. He lays down in his *Institutes* that spiritual liberty is not inconsistent with political servitude; while of the three chief forms of government he gives, abstractedly, the preference to monarchy, and in practice prefers an aristocracy only from the difficulty of always finding a good and virtuous King; whence it appears that he must have contemplated an absolute monarchy. In another passage, he maintains the divine right of Kings, and the duty of passive obedience.¹ In conformity with these principles, his own government at Geneva was narrowly oligarchical. In short, a priest is still a priest, whether at Rome or at Geneva, and the political principles of whatever Church, when allowed an uncontrolled sway, will always be those of absolute submission. The resistance to the civil power among Calvin's disciples did not spring from what he taught, but from that freedom of inquiry and independence of thought which are the very spirit of the Reformation. With the respective liberality of Luther and Calvin, in matters regarding religious opinion, we are not here concerned; yet it may be stated that the German was far more tolerant, or, at all events, far less cruelly persecuting, than the Frenchman. Luther always maintained that to burn heretics is a sin against the Holy Ghost; and so also did Calvin, till, irritated by the

¹ See *Institutions*, lib. iv. c. 20, §§ 1 and 8, 25—29, 31.

opposition of Servetus, he committed him to the flames: an act approved by Melanchthon, who has obtained the surname of "the Mild," apparently from the absence of those more robust and manly qualities which characterized Luther.

It has been observed that the Reformation was a reaction of the Teutonic mind against the Roman, and it is indeed a remarkable fact, that it has met but little success except among populations of Teutonic origin. With these, religion is more an affair of reason than with the southern, or Romance, nations, with whom it is a matter of feeling and imagination. Hence the latter have ever been prone to superstition and idolatry, and to the pomp of the Romish service, which appeals so directly to the senses; while the religion of the northern nations is more subject to degenerate into rationalism. A French historian has remarked that the Jesus of the south is either the infant Jesus in his Mother's arms, or Christ on the Cross; while the Jesus of the north is Christ teaching, the Saviour bringing the Word.¹ The former images are an appeal to our sympathy, the latter to our understanding.

The resistance of Henry VIII., in England, to the Papal power, cannot yet be called a reformation, though it may be questioned whether Henry would have proceeded to such an extremity had he not had the example of Luther's success before his eyes. England, however, was ripe for a reformation. The doctrines of Wiclif were far from being extinct in that country. Since the beginning of the century, the records of the episcopal courts abound with prosecutions for heresy. In 1525 we read of an "Association of Christian Brethren" in London, who employed themselves in distributing testaments and tracts.² In 1527 a union of those holding Lutheran doctrines, for Calvin was not yet much known, was formed at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which may be regarded as a seminary of the new opinions.³

The movement of reform was not felt exclusively without the pale of the Church: it penetrated into the Church itself. Even in Rome, amid the sceptical Court of Leo X., a re-action took place. In that pontificate was established the Oratory of Divine Love, a sort of spiritual society, which numbered nearly sixty members, several of whom became Cardinals, as Contarini, Sadoleti, Giberto, Gianpietro Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV., and others. Their tenets, and especially that of justification by

¹ Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 190 sq.

² Froude, *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 26.

³ Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 416.

faith, bore some resemblance to Lutheranism. They held their meetings in the church of S. Silvestro and St^a. Dorotea in the Trastevere, not far from the spot where St. Peter is supposed to have lived. After the sack of Rome by Bourbon's army, many of this society proceeded to Venice, at that time the only city of refuge in Italy for men of compromised opinions; for Florence was a despotism, and Milan the constant theatre of war. Among other exiles, Venice gave shelter to Cardinal Pole, who had quitted England to escape the anger of Henry VIII., incurred by declaring against him in the matters of his first divorce and his religious supremacy.

Several religious orders were either founded or reformed. That of the Camaldolese having become much corrupted, a new congregation of the same order, called Monte Corona, from the mountain on which its principal monastery was situated, was founded in 1522 by Paolo Giustiniani. The Franciscans were once more allowed to reform themselves, and produced what were called the *Cappuccini*, or Capucins (1528), who became celebrated as preachers. Remarkable among the new congregations was that of the Theatines, founded about 1524 by two members of the Oratory of Divine Love, Caraffa and Gaetano da Thiene, the latter afterwards canonized. The Theatines were secular priests, not monks, though they observed a monastic rule. The congregation became in time peculiar to the nobility—a nursery of bishops. The Barnabites, another clerical congregation, founded in 1530 by Zaccaria Ferrari and Giacomo Antonio Morigia at Milan, were designed principally for preaching, missions, and the education of the young.¹ But of all these new institutions that of the JESUITS was by far the most remarkable and important.

Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde, the youngest son of the noble house of Loyola, born in 1491 in the castle of that name in Guipúzcoa, was destined to the profession of arms, and was bred at the Court of King Ferdinand, and in the suite of the Duke of Najara. Spanish chivalry had imbibed a strong religious colour from the Moorish wars, and Inigo, or Ignatius Loyola, whose temperament naturally inclined him to devotion, had composed in early youth a romance, of which the hero was the Apostle Peter. Loyola's wound at Pamplona, in 1521, and the course of religious reading on which he entered during his convalescence, have been already related.² When his strength was recruited he

¹ Ranke, *Popes*, bk. ii. ch. i. (Mrs. Austin's transl.).

² See vol. i. p. 412.

left home and journeyed to Montserrat, where, after making a vigil of arms in the monastery church, he hung up his sword and shield before the image of the Virgin, after the fashion of the secular knight-errant, putting off his knightly accoutrements, clothing himself in the coarse raiment of the hermits of those mountains, and taking in his hand the pilgrim's staff. After some wanderings, he retired to a Dominican convent at Manresa, where his conduct resembled the delusions of insanity, being marked by temptations to suicide and by imaginary revelations of the most extraordinary kind. If, however, it was madness, it was not without a method. He was conscious that his zeal would be useless without learning; he felt his deficiency in philosophical and theological attainments; and at the mature age of thirty-seven he entered the University of Paris, the last stronghold of Scholasticism, to devote himself to the seven years' course of study necessary to graduate in theology (1528-1535). Here he met his first two disciples, Peter Faber, a Savoyard, and Francis Xavier, a Navarrese; and their little society was afterwards joined by three other Spaniards: Salmeron, Lainez, and Bobadilla, and by a Portuguese, Rodriguez. In 1537 we find Loyola and his band at Venice, where they were ordained priests, and where he attached himself to Cardinal Caraffa, who had founded there a house of Theatines. But so mild a religious rule did not satisfy Loyola's burning zeal, who was still influenced by his early military ideas, and pleased himself with the thoughts of making war upon Satan. He and his companions enrolled themselves, like soldiers, in a company, which they called the COMPANY OF JESUS; and as obedience is one of the first of military duties, they added a special vow of obedience to those which they had already taken of poverty, chastity, and ordinary obedience, and bound themselves unhesitatingly to go wherever and do whatever the Pope should command. With these views they proceeded to Rome to offer their services to the Pontiff, and in 1540 obtained a complete sanction to their institution and to its name.

As the dress of the regular orders, and the singularity of their whole existence, which had made so strong an impression in the Middle Ages, had now lost all their charm and influence, except with the lowest and most ignorant classes, and had, indeed, often become an object of repulsion and ridicule, the Jesuits resolved to adapt themselves to this new state of feeling, and to spread their influence in the world by becoming its instructors. With this view they rejected all monastic habits, being in fact

clerics and not monks, and devoted themselves to the pulpit, the confessional, and the education of youth. Thus, out of the visionary dreams of Loyola, arose an institution eminently practical, and one of the main supports of the Papacy since the Reformation. In 1542 Loyola assisted Cardinal Caraffa in establishing the Inquisition at Rome, where the ancient Dominican Inquisition had long fallen into decay. Rules of remarkable severity were drawn up for the guidance of this tribunal, and the principle of unreasoning submission, to which Loyola had subjected his Society, was also established in this court. Woe to the wretch who ventured to defend himself! To attempt it was to resist justice; and any person who tried to clear himself, or sought the protection of any prelate or potentate, was only treated with the greater severity. He who confesses indeed is still guilty; but he is contrite, humbled, obedient, and may therefore be absolved. Thus the main object of the institution was to break down and subdue all resistance, and the Inquisition became an instrument, not of justice, but of conquest and domination over the human soul.¹

The necessity of some concession to the new ideas had penetrated the mind of the Pope himself. In 1537 Paul III., in anticipation of the assembly of the promised General Council, issued a bull for the reformation of the City of Rome and of the Papal Court; a measure opposed by Schoinberg, a German, and Cardinal of S. Sisto, on the ground that it would afford a handle to the enemies of the Church, and be quoted by them in justification of their own reform. It was, however, supported by Caraffa. A commission of nine Cardinals was appointed, with Contarini at their head and Pole among their number. In their report, of which Luther published a translation with biting marginal notes, abuses are candidly exposed, and liberal propositions made for their amendment. The commission recommended the gradual extinction of the older sort of Franciscan friars, called Conventuals, and also proposed other useful measures of ecclesiastical reform, as well as some repressive ones; but no practical effect followed from their recommendations.²

Latin Christianity was however effete: care might preserve

¹ Caracciolo, *MS. Vita di Paolo III.* ap. Ranke, *Popes*, B. i. S. 212; Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 434.

² P. Sarpi, *Hist. Conc. Trident.* lib. i. p. 77 (*Opera*, t. i. ed. 1671); the Report of the Commission (*Consilium de emendanda*

Ecclesia), in *Le Plat. Monum. Trident.* t. ii. pp. 596—605. Luther's *Werke*, B. xvi. S. 2394 ff. The Report was to have been secret, but the Cardinal S. Sisto sent a copy into Germany, it is said with the privity of the Pope.

its remnants, but could never restore its pristine glory. The old political ideas which it had once inspired were dying out, even in countries which still remained Roman Catholic; of the truth of which there cannot be a stronger instance than the alliance of Francis I. with the Turk. The same progress which had destroyed feudalism destroyed also the prestige of Rome. To this general observation, however, Spain affords a remarkable exception. While light was arising in other countries, Spain retrograded in darkness. The Scholastic philosophy was first domiciled there, when it was being fast expelled from the rest of Europe. With the view of rendering the schools of Paris not indispensable to Spaniards, Alfonso de Cordova introduced the Nominalist doctrine at Salamanca, and at the same time Francisco de Vitoria the Realist, as something new. The latter found the greater number of disciples, and from his school proceeded the most famous theologians.¹ Both in Spanish theology and literature, the exclusive doctrines of the Latin Church continued to flourish. Although Erasmus enjoyed the favour of the Court, Diego Lopez Zuniga made it the business of his life to attack the innovations of that author; and in 1527, two Dominicans having formally indicted the writings of Erasmus of heresy before the Spanish Inquisition, his *Colloquies*, *Praise of Folly*, and *Paraphrase of the New Testament* were condemned.

As the spiritual authority of the Popes was broken by Luther and the Reformation, so also their temporal power received a great blow under Clement VII. through Bourbon's capture of Rome and Clement's consequent subjection to the Emperor. After this period, the Popes pretty well abandoned their pretension of deposing Kings, of which but very few instances subsequently occur. The same causes acted on the material prosperity of Rome. The City flourished in the profuse and splendid reign of Lep. X., who, by a liberal commercial policy, the abrogation of monopolies and encouragement of free trade, made it the resort of Italian merchants; while his patronage of art and letters rendered it the capital of the polite and learned of all nations. After the sack of the City and its other calamities in the pontificate of Clement VII., its inhabitants were reduced, when Paulus Jovius wrote, from 85,000 to 32,000.² The glory of that brilliant literature and art, which obtained for the

¹ Nic. Antonii *Biblioth. Hisp.* sub voc. *Franciscus*, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iii. S. 112.

² Jovii *Vita Leon. X.* lib. iv. p. 95.

pontificate of Leo X. the distinction of an Epoch, it lies not within our plan to describe.¹

In resuming the progress of maritime discovery (vol. i. p. 325), we may notice that Columbus's idea of a passage to India by western navigation was realized in 1520, but by a much more circuitous route than he anticipated. In that year Fernando Magellan, or Magelhaëns, a Portuguese in the service of Castile, coasted the continent of South America, doubled its southern extremity, and gained the Chinese and Indian seas by traversing the Pacific Ocean. Magellan was slain at the Philippine Isles, but his companions continued the voyage. At the Moluccas, they fell in with the astonished Portuguese; and returning to Spain by the Cape of Good Hope, they completed the first circumnavigation of the globe. The Papal boundary between the Spanish and Portuguese possessions now fell into jeopardy; but there was verge enough in the unexplored countries of America to employ all the strength of Spain without quarrelling about the Indies. Juan de Grijalva had discovered, in 1518, the existence of a civilized Empire in the North American continent, and in the following year Hernan Cortés undertook with a few hundred men the conquest of Mexico. The Mexicans, although much superior in courage as well as civilization to the tribes of Hayti and Cuba, or even to the ferocious Caribs, yet wanted, like them, the three most terrible and effective instruments of war—iron, gunpowder, and horses. In three years the conquest was completed, and Mexico became New Spain. A few years later one of the companions of Balboa, Francisco Pizarro, together with his brothers, subdued the still richer and more important Empire of Peru (1525-1534). The subjugation of Quito, Chili, Terra Firma, and New Granada, followed in quick succession (1529-1535). The wealth of these countries exceeded the most sanguine hopes. Pizarro, who had been a swineherd lad, and was unable to read, became the Governor and almost the King of an immense realm; and adventurers who had carried nothing with them but their swords suddenly acquired enormous fortunes. Meanwhile, on the eastern side of South America, the Portuguese had founded the Dominion of Brazil, fallen to them by the treaty of Tordesillas, and destined one day to rival the possessions of the Spaniards in that continent.² The Portuguese also went on extending their

¹ The English reader will find an account of the state of learning and art in the age of Leo X. in Roscoe's *Life* of that Pontiff, and in Hallam's *Introduction to*

the Literature of Europe.

² Besides Dr. Robertson and the Abbé Raynal, some of whose facts have been overthrown, the reader should consult for

conquests and settlements in Asia, the details of which it does not belong to our plan to narrate; and it may therefore suffice to observe that their possessions in that quarter ultimately embraced Muscat and Ormuz, the Deccan, Cambay, and Guzerat, with many places on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, as well as in Bengal, and also took in Macassar and Malacca, and the important islands of Ceylon, the Moluccas and others.¹ They had also a considerable intercourse with China; and in 1517 a Portuguese ambassador went by land from Canton to Peking.

The only attempt at colonization by any other European power about this time was that of the French in the northern parts of America. It was not till 1524 that the French Government aided private enterprise in the New World. In that year Verazzano, a Florentine, sailed to North America under the auspices of Francis I., and reconnoitred the coast which had previously been discovered by Cabot, from Cape Breton down to Florida. In 1534 Jacques Cartier, a native of St. Malo, ascertained that Newfoundland was an island, and entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the mouth of the river of that name. In the following year he ascended the St. Lawrence river, and discovered Canada as far as the spot where Quebec subsequently rose. North America now received the name of New Franco. In 1540 Cartier made his third voyage to America, but under command of a Picard gentleman named Roberval, whom Francis had appointed Viceroy of Canada. But though a colony was established at Cape Breton, the severity of the climate, the want of resources, and the neglect of the government caused the enterprise to fail, and it was not renewed till the reign of Henry IV.

The most important consideration resulting from these discoveries and conquests is their effect upon commerce. The Portuguese, who came directly into contact with large and populous nations far advanced in civilization and possessing valuable products and manufactures fitted to become at once the objects of trade, reaped immediate benefit from their enterprises. Hence Portugal became wealthy and prosperous in an incredibly short space of time, and at the beginning of the second quarter of the sixteenth century had reached the greatest height of its prosperity; which it continued to enjoy till the defeat and death of its romantic

the history of Cortés and Pizarro Mr. Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico and Peru*. The history of Brazil has been written by Southey.

¹ See on this subject Barros, *Decadas*

de Asia; Lafitau, *Hist. des Découvertes et Conquêtes des Portugais*; Saalfeld, *Gesch. des Portugiesischen Colonialwesens in Ost-indien*, Göttingen, 1810.

King, Dom Sebastian, in 1578, and the subsequent transfer of Portugal to the Spanish Crown. The Spaniards, on the contrary, in their first discoveries found a simple uncivilized race, who, having only the commonest wants of life, so easily satisfied in those climates, could offer little but a few natural products in the way of trade and barter. The value of the West Indies as plantations has principally arisen from the culture of articles introduced by Europeans, and especially the sugar cane brought from the Canaries, or by extending the growth of indigenous products, as tobacco, indigo, cochineal, cotton, ginger, cocoa, pimento, and other articles. The profitable development of such plantations was, however, necessarily a work of time, and in this dearth of the materials of commerce the attention of the Spanish settlers was naturally directed to procure the precious metals. The avidity of Columbus in this search is the chief blot upon his character; nor was the *auri sacra fames* rendered any better by being covered over with the somewhat threadbare and transparent mantle of religion. His system of *repartimientos*, or assignments of large tracts of land to his followers, and with them the unfortunate natives as slaves, led to the greatest cruelties. The wretched inhabitants were at once baptized and enslaved. The miseries of the American Indians awakened especially the compassion of a Spanish Dominican, the humane Bartolomeo de las Casas, but it seems to be a groundless assertion that he initiated their labours and sufferings by originating in those parts the importation of Negro slaves.

The cruelty of the Spanish settlers in their search after gold had the most disastrous effects on the population of the New World. The natives of the Antilles soon disappeared altogether. Hayti, which is said to have numbered 100,000 inhabitants, was depopulated in fifteen years. Many escaped by suicide from the hands of their cruel taskmasters. In Mexico and Peru, whole populations were torn from their native valleys to work the mines in cold and sterile mountain-tracts, where they perished by thousands. In these two countries, however, as in some others of Spanish America, the original inhabitants were not entirely exterminated, but formed, in process of time, the bulk and basis of the Spanish-American population.

From the contradictory nature of the accounts, it is very difficult to estimate the first effects of the discovery of the West Indies on the prosperity of Spain. Zuniga says¹ that the returns

¹ *Annales de Sevilla*, ap. Prescott, *Ferd. and Isab.* vol. ii. p. 463.

of gold were so large before the close of the fifteenth century as to affect currency and prices. Bernaldez, on the other hand, says, that so little gold had been brought from Hispaniola at the same date as to lead to the belief that there was scarcely any in the island, and some writers assert that the expenses of the colonies ate up the profits. It is stated, however, that the ordinary revenue of Castile, which in 1474 was only 885,000 reals, had risen in 1504 to upwards of 26,000,000 reals, being an increase of more than thirtyfold.¹ But this increase must not be entirely ascribed to the discovery of America. In this period the rich Kingdom of Granada had been annexed to the Spanish Crown; and through the instrumentality of the Inquisition much had been extorted from the unfortunate Jews and Moriscoes. The home manufactures and productions of Spain had also increased. The first flowing in of the precious metals was of course favourable to industry and served to develop Spanish trade and manufactures. In 1438 a breed of English sheep had been obtained for Castile;² the Spanish wool soon became famous, and supplied material for the home manufacture of cloth. During the reigns of Charles and his successor, Segovia was celebrated for fine cloth and arms, Granada and Valencia for silks and velvets, Toledo for woollen and silken fabrics, Valladolid for plate, Barcelona for glass and fine cutlery; Spanish ships were to be seen in all the ports of the Mediterranean and Baltic.³

The effect of the importation of the precious metals was not much felt in Europe generally till the second half of the sixteenth century, at which time it is thought that the circulating medium had been doubled, and the price of commodities, of course, rose in proportion. The Spanish government in vain endeavoured to keep the precious metals at home. Commerce was ill understood in that age. Gold and silver, instead of being regarded as commodities merely of relative value in exchange, were considered as constituting absolute wealth. This view was not peculiar to Spain, but was shared by all the rest of Europe. Archbishop Morton, the Chancellor of Henry VII., in addressing the English Parliament in 1487, advised them to provide that all merchandise brought from beyond sea should be exchanged for the commodities of the country, in order that the King's treasure might not be diminished. Thus the sole end of trade was thought to be to export products and manufactures, and to keep all the gold that

¹ Prescott, *ibid.* vol. iii. p. 460.

² Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 635. ³ Prescott, *ibid.* vol. iii. p. 439.

paid for them in the country.¹ On the same principle, Spain, in order to retain her treasure, prohibited foreign commerce, and laid exorbitant duties even on raw materials imported and manufactured articles exported.² It is surprising how long a time mankind take to discover principles which, when once known, seem only the most plain and obvious dictates of common sense; a reflection which naturally suggests how much absurdity must have been vented in the discussion of those incomprehensible questions which engrossed at this time the attention of the religious world. In the first case, however, men only suffered in their comforts or their pockets; in the latter they were frequently burnt alive.

The sudden and accidental increase of wealth, or rather of its conventional signs, in Spain, involved individuals as well as the government in the most fatal illusions. The reign of Charles and his son Philip II. were the era of a baseless and short-lived prosperity, which was displayed in the manner of life of the Spaniards. Sumptuous palaces and superb public buildings arose, with all the accompaniments of fountains, aqueducts, and gardens; the style of architecture was improved and a school of painting and sculpture founded; even literature participated in the general movement. There were at that period more printing-presses in Spain than are to be found at the present day, while the Universities of Barcelona, Salamanca, and Alcalá swarmed with students. But there was a worm at the root of all this prosperity, and that was, the national indolence, which bigotry, monachism, pride, and partly, perhaps, the climate, combined to foster. This idleness, together with wrong principles of trade, ruined the manufactures of Spain, and rendered her dependent for them on other countries. The absence of foreign competition, and the establishment of monopolies, helped to injure commerce. The gold which Spain had purchased with so many crimes passed gradually from her hands, and already before the end of the sixteenth century the process of ruin and depopulation had commenced.

The maritime discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese diverted the course of European trade, which had previously centered in the Mediterranean. The Eastern Saracens had, as early as the twelfth century, established a great maritime commerce at Barcelona, which they carried on in vessels called *cogs*. Traces of it are still observable in the Catalan dialect, from the many

¹ Craik's *Hist. of British Commerce*, vol. i. p. 200.

² Twiss, *loc. cit.*

Arab words relating to it. The Barcelonese are remarkable for the improvements which they introduced into commerce. It was they who first made laws for the regulation of marine insurance, and established, in 1401, a bank of exchange and deposit, called *Tarla de Cambio*, or table of exchange.¹ The bank of Venice had indeed been established before this date, but on quite a different principle. The bank of Genoa, or chamber of St. George, dates from 1407, and was, like that of Venice, originally designed to manage the capital of the public debt, though it afterwards became also a trading company. The bank of Barcelona soon rose to be a great commercial authority, and in 1404 we find it appealed to by the magistrates of Bruges, respecting the usage of bills of exchange.² Venice and Genoa were the principal trading cities of the Mediterranean besides Barcelona. After the Florentines had acquired the port of Leghorn in 1425, they also began to compete with the Venetians in the eastern trade carried on overland through Alexandria, in which the Medici were deeply concerned.³ But of all these cities, Venice, by the extent of its traffic, stood conspicuously at the head. One of the chief articles of Venetian export was the cloth of Florence, which they distributed to the rest of Italy and to the East; while the Florentines took in return the goods imported by the Venetians. But their principal trade was with the East: and as the overland transit of Indian and Persian commodities not only involved great expense in itself, but was also further burdened by the customs demanded by the rulers of Egypt, it is easy to see how great a blow the discovery of the maritime passage must have inflicted on Venetian commerce. After the conquest of Egypt by Selim I., in 1517, the Venetians hastened to conclude with him a commercial treaty, the principal object of which was to ruin the Portuguese by laying heavy duties on their commodities, while the privileges of the Venetians were extended. This method, however, availed but little against the advantages enjoyed by the Portuguese, and the Venetians endeavoured to effect a compromise by offering King Emanuel of Portugal, in 1521, to buy at a fixed price all the spices over and above what was required for the home consumption of that Kingdom: but the Portuguese government was too prudent to sacrifice the advantage which it had acquired. The Portuguese were able to sell the commodities of Persia and India at half the

¹ Capmany, *Memorias Históricas de Barcelona*, ap. Macpherson, vol. i. p. 612.

² *Ibid.* p. 615.

³ Roscoe, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, vol. i. p. 136.

price required by the Venetians; a state of things which was necessarily followed by a decline of the Venetian trade.¹ Their settlements also in India and the Persian Gulf enabled them to command the local markets, and thus to forestall the Venetians.

The decline of Venice was in some respects to be lamented. At the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century that Republic was the centre of liberal ideas, which there found their best home. The liberality of Venice was also displayed in the encouragement of the press. Printing had not been invented many years when, in 1469, the Venetians invited to their city the printers Windelin of Spire, John of Cologne, and Nicholas Jenson. Twenty-five years later, Aldus Manutius began his labours, and effected a revolution in the book trade by discarding the pedantic folio for the more convenient octavo, of which only few had been printed before, and thus rendering literature more popular. He was, moreover, the inventor of the cursive characters we call *italics*. Venetian books soon became an article of trade, but before the end of the fifteenth century English printers had begun to compete with them, as appears from the following *colophon* to a Latin translation of the Epistles of Phalaris, published at Oxford in 1485:—

“Celatos, Veneti, nobis transmittere libros
Cedite; nos alius vendimus, O Veneti.”²

In Germany the great rise of prices observed between the years 1516 and 1522 excited universal discontent. This rise was mainly owing to the depreciation in the value of money consequent on the importation of gold and silver from America; but it was also attributed to the monopolies by which the trade of Germany was principally conducted. In 1522 the Diet passed a resolution forbidding associations with a larger capital than 50,000 florins.

The North German commercial Hansa League continued to exist, though in a declining state, through the whole of the sixteenth century, till it was at last virtually demolished, in 1630, by the Thirty Years' War. In the middle of the sixteenth century it still comprehended between sixty and seventy towns. The Hansa was divided into four quarters or groups, at the head of which stood Lübeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic. • Lübeck was the head of the League, which, in the early part of the

¹ The principal work on Venetian commerce is Marini's *Storia civile e politica del commercio d' Veneziani*, published in 1789.

² Middleton's *Origin of Printing in England*, p. 11.

century, was still vigorous enough to make war on neighbouring states. In 1509 some of its towns engaged in hostilities with John, King of Denmark, captured his fleet at Helsingör, and carried off his bells, which they hung in their churches. In 1511 the Lübeck fleet returned into harbour with eighteen Dutch ships which they had captured. The Hansa had factories in foreign countries, of which the principal were London, Bruges, Novgorod, in Russia, and Bergen, in Norway. After the Thirty Years' War, only Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen again united. Such a league could be necessary only in the infancy of commerce; but it answered a good purpose in its time, and it may be remarked that in Germany, as elsewhere, the commercial towns, and especially Nuremberg, were the great centres of liberal opinions, as well as of literature and art.¹ The Austrian possessions in the Netherlands opened an outlet for German maritime trade, carried on by the great commercial houses in Augsburg and Nuremberg, which engaged in the East India, and afterwards in the West India trade. Hence, also, in part, the rise of Antwerp. But the Netherlands had owed their first prosperity chiefly to manufactures, drawing the raw materials from other countries—silk from Italy, wool from England—and dispersing through Europe their manufactured goods. Bruges, though smaller than Ghent, was more splendid and the seat of a greater trade. During the Middle Ages the great manufacturing and trading cities of Flanders often acted as independent communities, and sometimes entered into treaties for themselves, as for instance Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, with King Edward II. in 1325; while the Count of Flanders frequently required them to be parties to treaties which he made with other Sovereigns.² In the course of the fifteenth century Amsterdam had also risen to considerable importance, chiefly through the herring fishery; but its great transmarine commerce did not commence till the following century. William Beukels, or Beukelens, of Biervliet, in Flanders, who died about 1447, has enjoyed the reputation of having first cured herrings; and Charles V. and his sister Mary are said to have paid a visit to his tomb, and to have offered up prayers for his soul as a benefactor of his country. It is certain, however, that the curing of herrings was known centuries before the time of Beukelens, though he may perhaps have intro-

¹ For the Hanseatic League, Sartorius, *Urkundliche Geschichte des Ursprunges der Deutschen Hansa*, edited by Lappen-

berg, Hamburg, 1830.

² Rymer, *Fœdera*, t. iv. pp. 147, 151, 188, &c.

duced some improvements into the process.¹ But, though industrious and enterprising, the Flemings were also sensual and luxurious. They delighted in banquets and festivals, and an extreme licentiousness prevailed among them; but at the same time the fine arts were not neglected, and music, architecture, and painting flourished. Thus Flemish life presented a strange contrast of magnificence and grossness, and has been not unaptly compared to the pictures of Rubens beside those of the Italian school, rivalling them in vigour of drawing and colouring, but deficient in grace and form.

France could offer nothing to match the opulence and splendour of Flemish life. Machiavelli has observed the want of money in that Kingdom;² and Louis XI., himself the plainest, not to say the shabbiest, of Kings in his way of life, restrained by foolish sumptuary laws the finery of his subjects. Yet in the first half of the fifteenth century, French commerce had received a wonderful impulse from the genius and energy of Jacques Cœur. The son of a skinner at Bourges, who gave him but little education, Cœur farmed, in 1427, the royal mint of his native town; and was, in 1429, accused of issuing a depreciated coinage, but dismissed on payment of a heavy fine. Cœur now directed his attention to foreign trade. He visited Italy, Greece, Syria, and Egypt, and determined to vie with the Italians in the commerce of the Levant. He established his counting-house at Montpellier, which city had received from Pope Urban V. permission to trade with the Infidels, and whence there was a communication by canal to the port of Lattes.³ He also established a subsidiary house at Marseilles. His business, which included banking operations, was conducted by 300 factors, and his establishments were planted over the coasts of the Mediterranean, whose trade he disputed with the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and the Catalans. No commercial operations have been seen in France on such a scale, before or since. Louis XI. patronized trade, which, under the paternal government of Louis XII. also made considerable progress. Lyon first began to be known as a manufacturing town in the fourteenth century, though it had long before been famed for its commerce and for its August fairs: and at the beginning of the sixteenth century it was still the centre of traffic between Italy, France, England, Flanders, and

¹ In 1339 King Edward III. ordered five lasts of red herrings at Yarmouth, which had long been famous for them: Macpherson, vol. i. p. 525. See also

Petit, *Chronique de Hollande*, t. i. p. 184.

² *Ritratti di Francia*.

³ Since superseded by Cette.

Germany. The Emperor, Charles V., in his war with Henry II., gave its prosperity a great blow by forbidding his subjects to visit its fair, and at the same time by opening the fair of Augsburg.¹ The manufacture of silk was introduced at Lyon about 1521, workmen being brought from Milan for the purpose.²

The English do not appear to have paid much attention to commerce till towards the close of the fifteenth century. All the great commercial operations seem in early times to have been carried on in that country by foreigners. Thus in 1329 the English customs were farmed by the Bardi of Florence for £20 a day; and London, with regard to foreign trade, was little more than a staple of the Hansa, and had a Teutonic Guildhall. Even so late as 1518 we find a riot in London because all the trade was monopolized by foreigners. Some progress, however, began to be made under Richard III., and out of fifteen acts passed by the only Parliament of that reign (1484) no fewer than seven relate to commerce. In 1485 we find an English consul appointed at Pisa,—a fact which betokens some Mediterranean trade. There appears to have been some commerce between England and the Levant as early as 1511, and in 1513 Henry VIII. appointed a consul at Scio.³ But on the whole, England, at the period which we are contemplating, though destined ultimately so far to outstrip the other European nations in a commercial career, seems to have been far behind most of them.

In mediæval times, maritime commerce was much infested by pirates; nor was piracy exercised by professional robbers alone. The temptation of opportunity, and the facility of escape in the then comparative solitude of the seas, were inducements to which even the regular trader frequently yielded when he found himself the stronger. The records that can be collected respecting maritime commerce in the Middle Ages display a succession of piracies and murders committed by the sailors of almost every country. The seamen of different ports often made war upon one another, although the States to which they respectively belonged were at profound peace. In 1309, two judges were appointed to assess the damages committed on one another at sea by the citizens of Bayonne, the subjects of King Edward II., and the Castilians, and to punish the offenders. In 1315 we find the people of Calais committing piracy near Margate. It

¹ Reumont, in Raumer's *Taschenbuch*, vol. ii. p. 59.
1841, S. 482.

² Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, pp. 40, 46, 52.

³ Macpherson, vol. i. pp. 508, 705; vol. ii.

must be confessed that England was not among the least offenders in this way. In 1311, the piracies and murders committed by the sailors of Lynn on the coast of Norway provoked retaliations on the part of King Hacon. The Cinque ports seem to have acted together as an independent maritime confederacy, and were often at war with the Flemings, when England and the Netherlands were at peace. In 1470, some Spanish merchants complained to King Edward IV. of piracies committed by the men of Sandwich, Dartmouth, Southampton, and Fowey. The extent of these disorders is manifest from the frequency of the treaties respecting them. Thus, for instance, we find in 1498 a treaty between Louis XII. and Henry VII., the ratification of a previous one, by which shipowners were to give security in double the value of their ships and cargo that they would not commit piracy; also a stipulation of the same kind in the treaty with Ferdinand the Catholic in 1500, for the marriage of Prince Arthur and the Infanta Catharine; another agreement to the like effect between Henry VIII. and Francis I., in 1518;¹ &c.

Barcelona has the credit of having promulgated the first generally received code for the regulation of the seas, the *Consolato del Mare*, supposed to have been published in the latter part of the fourteenth century.² According to M. Pardessus, it is not, however, an authoritative code so much as a collection or record declaring the customs of the maritime lands which surrounded the Mediterranean, in the same way as the *Jugemens* or *Rôles d'Oléron* became the rule for the nations situated on the Atlantic. The Mediterranean regions of France and Spain appear to have possessed codes of maritime jurisprudence before the *Consolato* was published; but being written in Latin, they were for the most part a dead letter to those seafaring and commercial classes for which they were intended. The compilers of the *Consolato* were deeply versed in Roman and modern maritime law, and as the *Consolato* was composed in a familiar and practical manner, and in a Romance dialect universally understood in those parts, it soon acquired general adoption. It was long thought to be of Italian origin, but M. Pardessus has shown that it originated in Catalonia, the earliest manuscripts of it being in Romance or vernacular language. Embracing not only the elements of civil contracts relating to trade and navigation, but

¹ For instances see Rymer, t. iii. pp. 112, 122, 131, &c.; t. xi. p. 671 sq.; t. xii. pp. 690, 741, &c.; t. xiii. p. 649.

² Pardessus, *Coll. des Loix maritimes*

antérieures au xiii^e Siècle, vol. ii. ch. xii.; Wheaton, *Hist. of the Law of Nations*, introd. p. 61.

also the leading principles of belligerent and neutral rights in time of war, it came to form the basis of French maritime jurisprudence, and especially of the great marine ordinance of Louis XIV. in 1681. The general code of the usages, or customary laws of Barcelona (*Código de los usages Barceloneses*), published in the reign of Raymundo Berenguer I., Count of Barcelona, in 1068, and therefore three centuries before the probable date of the *Consolato*, contained, however, some ordinances relating to navigation.¹ The maritime laws of Oléron consist of some fifty or sixty articles regulating average, salvage, wreck, crews, &c. By some they have been ascribed to King Richard I. (1197), but there is no sufficient authority for this assertion, and they were probably taken from the laws of Barcelona. Cleirac, however, an advocate of Bordeaux, in his *Us et Coûtumes de la Mer*, ascribes¹⁷² them, in their present shape, to the year 1266.²

Thus it appears that codes of maritime law were, from the necessity of the case, promulgated centuries before any system of international law to be observed on land had been framed. The need of the latter was not much felt till the modern European system had made considerable progress. It appears to have had its origin among the Spanish casuists, who were led to inquire more deeply into the principles of natural justice by questions arising from the relations of the Spaniards to the conquered natives of the New World.³ No tolerably consistent system on this subject was, however, promulgated till the latter half of the sixteenth century, and we shall therefore postpone the consideration of it.

We cannot close this chapter without adverting to the decay of Italy, amid the remarkable progress of most of the other countries of Europe. Italy, which from the close of the fifteenth century to the pontificate of Clement VII. had been the centre of European politics, seemed to have fulfilled her destined course, and after spreading her religion and her civilization over the rest of Europe, to be about to vanish from her former prominence on the scene. We have beheld both the spiritual and the temporal power of the Popes abridged by the Reformation and by the capture of Rome; Venice sinking at once under the burden of her wars and the loss of her trade; Milan become a mere dependency of the Empire, and Florence submitting irrecoverably to the yoke of the Medici. An acute observer of his own times has attributed the ruin of Italy to

¹ Capmany, *Memorias Históricas de Barcelona*, ap. Macpherson, vol. i. p. 300.

² The laws of Oléron have been published in English by Godolphin in the

Appendix to his *View of the Admr. Jurisdiction*.

³ Wheaton, *Hist. of Law of Nations*, p. 35.

the *condottieri*, who, in order to husband their resources, conducted their wars in a manner which extinguished all martial spirit. They discouraged infantry, which formed only a tenth part of their forces; they spared one another's lives, and contented themselves with making prisoners; they avoided nocturnal expeditions and winter campaigns; and hence, when the Spaniards, French, and Swiss appeared in Italy, the troops which had been accustomed to such child's play were unable to endure the stern realities of war.¹ The fall of Italy is, no doubt, partly attributable to this cause; but it was chiefly owing to the number of small States into which that peninsula was divided, all filled with hostile rivalries and jealousy of one another, and which could never have withstood the attacks of great and powerful realms, such as Spain, France, and the Empire. On the other hand, many small Italian States contributed to foster and spread civilization. Every capital was adorned with churches and palaces of great architectural beauty; every Prince had his library, and his little circle of literary men, who lived on his bounty and too often degraded while they promoted the profession of letters. The same capitals, however, were the scene of every vice and crime that can disgrace humanity—of petty, yet unholy ambition; of domestic treason, poison, and assassination; of revenge the most unrelenting and cruel against external enemies.²

Among the Italian States grew up that subtle and unprincipled policy, the worst legacy which they bequeathed along with their civilization to the rest of Europe. To this policy the Florentine Machiavelli has given his name, by having reduced it into a system in his book entitled *The Prince*. A needy man of genius, he was eccentric in his life as well as in his principles. He spent his days in low and dissolute company in mean taverns and dirty clothes. Towards evening he would dress for good society, by which he meant the reading of the best Latin authors. Banned from Florence as one of the *Piagnoni*, or followers of Savonarola, Machiavelli, under the pressure of necessity, ended by dedicating his manual of political slavery to one of that very family of Medici which Savonarola had helped to expel! The well-known atrocity of its principles has led some to consider it as a disguised satire upon Princes; a view which seems to have been first suggested by Gentili, in his treatise *De Legationibus*, but in which there is little probability. The model of *The Prince*—the pattern of a perfect

¹ Machiavelli, *Principe*, c. xii.

² For instances see Sismondi, *Rep. Ital.* ch. 100.

ruler—is no other than Cæsar Borgia, one of the greatest monsters of crime that ever disgraced the human form.¹ For two centuries before, the art of politics had been in Italy the art of ambitious adventurers how to seize and retain power, and in this school Machiavelli was educated. He had no idea of a State as States are now constituted, nor of a Prince as a magistrate. A strong government was to be a ruler's sole object, and as Machiavelli believed that all men were bad, he inculcated the necessity of meeting them with their own weapons. He had neither gratitude for his patrons nor love for anybody; yet, in spite of the craftiness of his principles, he does not appear to have been guilty of any base deed. His high authority was probably in great measure due to his incomparable Tuscan style. It has been remarked that Machiavelli has given a different character of his hero in his *Legations* from that which we find in *The Prince*. Borgia admitted Machiavelli only partially into his confidence, and that writer was consequently obliged to complete his portrait from imagination. In the *Legations*, Machiavelli paints Borgia as brilliant and ingenious during prosperity, but losing his self-possession in reverses, and venting his despair in vain complaints of destiny.² His description of his hero's end, already related,³ unconsciously conveys the most bitter satire on the vanity of all human counsels.

Some of the actions of Ferdinand, Francis, and other rulers, recorded in the preceding pages, show that the spirit of Machiavellian policy had passed the Alps.⁴ Nothing can equal the duplicity of European statesmanship in the sixteenth century. The example of a more honourable, and at the same time bolder and abler diplomacy was first given by the English statesmen of the reign of Elizabeth.

¹ "Io non saprei quali precetti mi dare migliori ad un principe nuovo, che l'esempio delle azioni sue" (*i.e.* di Borgia).—*Principe*, cap. 7.

² Michelet, *Renaissance*. See also a character of Machiavelli in Capponi.

Storia della Rep. di Firenze, lib. vi. cap. vii.

³ See vol. i. p. 253.

⁴ Charles V. was an assiduous reader of Machiavelli. Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. ii. S. 96.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IN the year 1546 the religious differences which had so long agitated Germany seemed to be drawing to a crisis. Not, indeed, that the Council then sitting at Trent—although both parties had, in the early days of the Reformation, referred the points in dispute to such an assembly—could be expected to settle them. The Lutherans had long outgrown the notion of submitting to a tribunal whose verdict was sure to be adverse; and in a meeting at Frankfort they had agreed formally to reject its jurisdiction, and to publish their reasons for taking such a course.¹ Even the Catholics themselves displayed no great zeal for the Council; and all parties seemed to be aware that the questions between them must at no distant period be left to the arbitrament of the sword. The conference held at Ratisbon towards the end of January, in pursuance of a decree of the Diet of Worms, had only further tended to demonstrate the hopelessness of expecting any settlement from discussion. The Emperor, whose object it seemed to be to break with the Lutherans, instead of appointing men of conciliating temper, like Contarini, had named some fierce bigots to manage the conference on the Popish side, and especially the Spaniard, Malvenda, a subtle scholastic disputant.

The Protestants were as violent on their side. A book of Luther's, entitled "*Against the Popedom of Rome, founded by the Devil*," in which he outdid himself in scurrility, was published on the occasion; while in a cut the Pope was represented with ass's ears, riding on a sow attended by devils.² But these virulent passions were not vented only in writing. At the instigation of Malvenda, one John Diaz, also a Spaniard, was murdered by his own brother, who had become a convert to the new doctrines whilst a student at Paris, and had accompanied Bucer to Ratisbon. Nothing had vexed Malvenda more than to see a native of orthodox Spain in the ranks of the heretics; and after some vain attempts

¹ This was done in two pamphlets, published in February and March, 1546. See Luther's *Werke*, B. xvii. S. 1112 ff.

² *Ibid.* S. 1278 ff.; cf. Sleidan, lib. xvi. For the Catholic view see Raynaldus, t. xiv. p. 160 sqq.

to bring Diaz back to the true faith, he notified John's heresy to his brother Alfonso, who was an officer of the Roman Rota. Alfonso beheld in his brother's heresy a scandal both to his family and country; and resolved to take his life rather than leave him among the German heretics. John Diaz was assassinated by Alfonso's servant; both fled, but were apprehended at Innsbruck. The Pope, however, rescued them from the secular arm, on the ground that they were clerks; and many years afterwards Alfonso Diaz related his brother's murder to the historian Sepulveda with a feeling of entire satisfaction. Such is the power of bigotry and fanaticism to stifle the holiest instincts of human nature!¹

The Diet held at Ratisbon a few months later brought matters to a crisis. Charles appeared in that city early in April, but the proceedings were not opened till June 5th. The assembly was thinly attended, as most of the Lutheran Princes kept away; and it was not till after a second pressing summons from the Emperor that there appeared Duke Maurice of Saxony, Duke Eric of Brunswick, the Margraves John of Cüstrin, brother of Joachim II. of Brandenburg, and Albert of Culmbach. None of these Princes, however, except the first, was of much political importance. Business was opened with the customary forms; nay, the Emperor even asked, as usual, the advice of the States on the affairs of religion, though it could hardly be a secret that he was making the most vigorous preparations for war. Recruits were raising among the German lanceknights, and places were assigned for their mustering; all Italy, from Naples to Tyrol, rang with the note of war; while Count Buren was assembling a third army in the Netherlands. Yet the Lutherans fell into the trap. On June 13th they made their answer to the Emperor, with the same ingenuous confidence as before. They rejected the Council of Trent, and renewed the proposition for a National Council; meanwhile, they observed, it was only necessary to maintain the resolutions of 1544, and allow them the enjoyment of peace. The simplicity of this proposal overcame Charles's customary gravity, and he was observed to smile. It was indeed somewhat ridiculous in the Lutherans to suppose that they should now obtain the same terms as when the Empire was in the greatest danger; they seemed to have forgotten that the Emperor,

¹ The story is related by Sepulveda (*Opera*, t. ii. p. 127 sqq. ed. Madrid, 1780), and by Senarelé, a young Savoyard, who was with Diaz the day before his murder (*Hist. vera de morte sancti viri Johannis*

Diazii, Hispani, &c., per Claudium Senarclæum, 8vo. 1546). The narratives of Melancthon and Lange, followed by Sackendorf, lib. iii. sect. 37, *init.* are not so correct.

by his peace with France and the Turks, as well as by the divisions of the Protestants among themselves, was no longer subject to those embarrassments which had formerly proved of so much service to their cause. At length they bethought themselves of asking against whom these warlike preparations were directed? Charles answered that it was his intention to reconcile the States of the Empire; that they who assisted him should experience his gracious favour, but that they who refused to obey should feel all the weight of his authority. And when the Rhenish Palatine Frederick II. asked who then were the disobedient Princes? Charles answered, they were those who practised against him under pretence of religion; who rejected the jurisdiction of the Imperial Chamber, secularized Church property, and abused it according to their pleasure. The mask had now fallen. Nothing was left to the Protestant Princes but to arm in turn.

Lutheranism had recently gained some accessions in Germany. The Archbishop of Cologne, whose Electorate had been one of the strongholds of Popery, had gone over; for which he was excommunicated by the Pope, and deprived of his ecclesiastical dignity (April 16th). Early in January, Frederick, the Elector Palatine, who had long been inclined to the new doctrines, seeing that they had been embraced by the greater part of his subjects, had also openly proclaimed his adhesion to the Reformation, though he declined to join the League of Smalkald.

Charles, on his side, had been some time endeavouring to strengthen himself by alliances, and he now succeeded in bringing several to a conclusion. He entered into a treaty with William, the reigning Duke of Bavaria, which house, at the accession of Frederick to the Palatinate, had renewed its pretensions to that Electorate; and the Emperor now promised, though loth to proceed against a kinsman, that if Frederick did not renounce his Lutheran principles, and submit himself to the Council, he would at once transfer the electoral dignity to Bavaria. The alliance was confirmed by a marriage between Albert, the Bavarian heir-apparent, and the Emperor's niece, Anne, eldest daughter of King Ferdinand; with the express condition that, on failure of male heirs of Ferdinand, the house of Bavaria should succeed to the Bohemian throne. Thus Charles postponed even his own line in favour of this alliance. Yet the Bavarian Duke did not promise much. He engaged to provide a small sum of money, together with some artillery, ammunition, and provisions, but on condition of being compensated at the peace; and he insisted on the treaty

being kept secret, that he might not be exposed to the revenge of the Lutheran Princes, with whom he was now in amicable relations, in case they should prove victorious. The Emperor was by no means averse to this stipulation, as a concealed enemy would be only the more dangerous to the allies of Smalkald. Charles further secured the Duke of Cleves by betrothing to him King Ferdinand's second daughter, Mary. He also attempted to form alliances with some of the Protestant Princes. With the Landgrave of Hesse he was not successful. Under protection of a safe conduct, Philip had an interview with the Emperor at Spire, while the latter was on his way to Ratisbon; but though he wheedled the Landgrave into a belief of his pacific intentions, he failed in procuring him as an ally. Philip was simple enough to think, till his eyes were opened by the proceedings at Ratisbon, that the Emperor's warlike preparations were only again intended against Algiers, or perhaps against Piedmont. Charles succeeded, however, in gaining over the Lutheran Princes whom we have already mentioned as attending the Diet. The Margrave John of Cüstrin formally renounced the League of Smalkald, of which he was a member; while Albert of Brandenburg-Baireuth had profited so little by his evangelical education as openly to declare that "he would take service under the Devil himself, provided he got good pay."¹ Eric of Brunswick also joined the Imperial party; while Charles could reckon at least on the neutrality of the Elector of Brandenburg and the Rhenish Palatine, who were by no means inclined to become martyrs in the Protestant cause.

But of all the evangelical Princes whose friendship he succeeded in securing, Duke Maurice of Saxony was by far the most important, not only from his power, but more particularly, in a war with the Smalkaldic League, from the situation of his dominions. The conduct of the Elector John Frederick towards his cousin had been impolitic; they had long been involved in trifling disputes, and the ambition of both was at present directed towards the Archbishopric of Magdeburg and the Bishopric of Halberstadt, vacant since the death of the Archbishop of Mentz. By a secret treaty concluded June 19th, the Emperor conferred upon Maurice the administration of those bishoprics; stipulating, however, that they should remain in the old religion, and that nobody disapproved of by the Emperor or King Ferdinand should be elected to them. Maurice, on his side, engaged not only to be a true and faithful subject of the Emperor, but also a devoted friend and

¹ Seckendorf, p. 622 (ed. 1694).

adherent of the house of Austria; to subject himself, so far as other German Princes, to the Council of Trent, and before its decrees were published to allow in his dominions no further religious innovations. Duke Maurice quitted Ratisbon immediately this treaty was concluded, by which the Emperor had at least secured his neutrality.¹ Besides these alliances with German Princes, the Emperor also concluded in June a treaty, long previously arranged, with the Pope, by which the latter engaged to furnish both men and money to reduce the refractory States, and bring them back to the bosom of Holy Church; while Charles was allowed to raise money by the sale of conventual estates in Spain, and by taxing the Spanish clergy.²

In the Papal bull the object of these preparations was openly avowed to be the extirpation of the new heresies, and indulgences were granted after the ancient fashion to those who took part in this new crusade; a proceeding which not only excited the indignation of the Germans, but was also very distasteful to the Emperor himself, who was yet neither completely prepared for a war, nor wished to see it placed in the light of a religious one.³ Charles endeavoured to give the whole matter a political aspect. On the 16th of June he issued circular letters to the Imperial cities of Strasburg, Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Ulm, as well as to Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, and Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, in which, keeping the religious question in the background, he complained of the insults offered to the Imperial authority, of the practices against him, and the expressed determination of taking up the sword. He announced his resolution to reduce to obedience the disturbers of the public peace, and strictly forbade the parties addressed to afford any succour to his adversaries.

The League of Smalkald seemed at this time to be on the point of dissolution: its term was expired, and no agreement had been come to respecting its renewal. But the hour of danger served to reanimate its more ardent members, who with uplifted hands promised one another to venture purse and person in the cause of religion and freedom. The two principal leaders, the Elector John Frederick and the Landgrave Philip, met at Ichtershausen, in the territory of Gotha, where they resolved to march against the Emperor at whatever point he should make his attack, without any thought as to the security of their own dominions; and

¹ The treaty is in Pontus Henterus, *Rerum Austriac.* lib. xii. c. vi. p. 290.

² Dumont, t. iv. pt. ii. p. 308.

³ The bull was published with a preface by Nicholas Amsdorf. See Luther's *Werke*, B. xvii. S. 1827.

they agreed to refer any difference of opinion that might arise between them to a council of war. Their intention was to unite their forces, in the following July, near Meiningen or Fulda, on the borders of the Thuringian forest. Meanwhile, in Southern Germany, the States of Würtemberg, Augsburg, Constance, and Ulm had assembled in the last-named city, to make preparations for the now inevitable contest. They despatched envoys to Venice with the request that the Republic would not permit any troops to pass through its territories to the help of the Emperor; and they likewise sent agents into Switzerland with the same prayer, as well as to raise troops for the service of the League. The recruiting went on with alacrity, and in the course of a week the cities had 12,000 men in the field, under command of Sebastian Schärtlin of Burtenbach, a veteran captain who had served under the Emperor Maximilian, and had been present at the sack of Rome.¹ The Duke of Würtemberg had also raised a considerable force, which he placed under command of Hans von Heideck. The Lutherans had thus the advantage of being first in the field. They could, however, with the exception of the Swiss recruits, hope for no assistance from without; while, among their natural allies, many had either deserted the League, or refused to join it. No help could be expected from the Rhenish Palatinate or Brandenburg, from the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, the Dukes of Pomerania and Mecklenburg, the Lutheran Dukes of Brunswick, the Princes of Anhalt, nor the wealthy burgesses of Nuremberg.

The SMALKALDIC WAR was opened by Schärtlin.² At day-break on the 9th of July, 1546, that commander, with the troops of Ulm and Augsburg, appeared before Füssen on the Lech, in hope of surprising and dispersing some troops which the Marquis of Marignano was there collecting for the Imperial service; but on Schärtlin's appearance they crossed the river and escaped. The town, however, fell into his hands, and he formed the scheme of surprising the Emperor at Ratisbon, where, in the midst of a fermenting Lutheran population, Charles had with him only about 400 men. But now appeared the advantage of his secret treaty with the Duke of Bavaria. That Prince, whom the Lutherans had hitherto reckoned upon as their good neighbour and friend,

¹ By this sack Schärtlin, then only a captain, acquired a large fortune. Seckendorf, who was a descendant of Schärtlin's, has given some account of him. *Comm. de Lutherismo*, lib. ii. p. 69.

² Authorities for this war, besides the usual historians of the period, are Schärt-

lin's *Leben und Thaten*; the *Historia Belli Smalcaldici*, in Menckenius *Scripp. Rer. Germanic.* tom. iii., which has been attributed to the same author; Camerarius, *Smalcaldici Belli Origo*, &c., in Freher, *Germanic. Rer. Scripp.* t. iii.

sent a message to Schärtlin, that he would declare against them if he ventured to enter Bavarian territory. Thus foiled, Schärtlin formed the plan of penetrating into Tyrol, driving the assembled Fathers from Trent, and, by occupying the roads, preventing the Emperor's Italian auxiliaries from marching into Germany; and with this view he surprised and seized the castle of Ehrenberg, which commanded the pass leading to Innsbruck. But this plan was defeated by the war council at Ulm, who, from an absurd doubt as to which side King Ferdinand would espouse, forbade Schärtlin to offend that Sovereign by invading Tyrol. Schärtlin therefore returned to Augsburg, and having joined the Würtembergers under Heideck, took the free town of Donauwörth, where he awaited the arrival of John Frederick and Philip.

These events enabled the Emperor to pursue his preparations unmolested. In the midst of the festivities for the marriage of his two nieces with the heir of Bavaria and the Duke of Cleves, Charles published at Ratisbon, July 20th, the ban of the Empire against the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, without any previous process or judgment. This step, which was taken in consequence of certain manifestoes published by those Princes, was contrary to the capitulation agreed to by Charles at the time of his election, as well as to the constitution of the Empire, by which no Prince could be put under the Imperial ban without the sanction and authority of a Diet; nor could the Emperor assign any valid grounds for his act, as he was unwilling to appeal to those which concerned religion. Meanwhile he pressed on his warlike preparations, in which he was assisted by the neighbourhood of the Austrian lands. Artillery, ammunition, and provisions were forwarded up the Danube from Vienna, and at the beginning of August he felt himself strong enough to leave Ratisbon, in order to form a junction with the troops that were arriving from Italy. Thus the ancient order of things seemed to be reversed, and the Italians, who had so often suffered from the incursions of the northern nations, were in turn crossing the Alps to make conquests in Germany. The allied forces met at Landshut, August 12th, when Alessandro Farnese, in all the pride and pomp of Gonfalonier of the Church, presented himself before the Emperor, his father-in-law, who placed round his neck the Collar of the Golden Fleece. Charles's forces now amounted to about 34,000 foot and 5,000 horse; and though by his capitulation he had agreed to introduce no foreign troops into Germany, nearly half his army was composed of them: namely, 10,000 Italians,

mostly from the Papal dominions, and 8,000 Spaniards, part of which last had been withdrawn from service in Hungary. With this force he returned to Ratisbon, now threatened by the Lutheran allies, where he had left his artillery.

The Elector and the Landgrave had met at Meiningen, whence they proceeded to Donauwörth, and joined the forces of Southern Germany, when the united army amounted to some 50,000 picked troops. But it was soon apparent that there were too many leaders. Plans were formed, discussed, abandoned, and the time that should have been employed in action was frittered away in fruitless consultations. It was necessary to secure the towns on the line of the Danube, and the Lutherans had made themselves masters of Neuburg and Rain. The most important of them was the Bavarian town of Ingolstadt, which had been strongly fortified a few years before; but the fear of disturbing the neutrality of Duke William, again led the Elector and Landgrave to reject Schärflin's proposal to storm that place; and, leaving it untouched, they proceeded down the left bank of the Danube towards Ratisbon.

The Emperor's operations, conducted under himself by the Duke of Alva, were more decisive. He did not wait to be attacked, but leaving Ratisbon on the approach of the Allies, he marched up the Danube on the opposite bank, and crossing it (August 24th), took up nearly the same position near Ingolstadt which the Lutherans had quitted. As the communications of the latter with Suabia were thus threatened, they were obliged to hasten back; and they fortified themselves in an entrenched camp near the Castle of Nassenfels, over against the camp of the Emperor. Here Charles was exposed two days to a cannonade from the Landgrave Philip, said to have been one of the most dreadful since the invention of artillery; but though it occasioned considerable damage, and though a ball fell in Charles's tent while he was consulting the astronomer, Peter Apian, on the course of the planets,¹ yet, as no assault was ventured, he did not think fit to change his position. The Lutheran leaders here sent to him an insulting paper, in which they addressed him as "Charles, calling himself the Fifth, Roman Emperor;" and they dared him to come out and carry his ban into execution.

Meanwhile, Count Buren had crossed the Rhine without opposition, and was hastening to the Emperor's assistance with 10,000

¹ Not, however, out of any astrological superstition, from which Charles was free.

He was fond of studying astronomy. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. v. S. 107.

foot and 7,000 horse. The Lutherans marched out to intercept him; but the Count, having intelligence of their movements, avoided them by taking a circuitous route towards Würzburg, and without encountering any material obstruction, he succeeded in forming a junction with the Emperor (September 17th). Thus reinforced, Charles felt himself strong enough to be in turn the assailant; and, after taking Neuburg, he prepared to carry the war into Suabia. With this view, after much marching and countermarching, he proceeded towards Nördlingen, the Landgrave following in the same direction in order to support the town; when, a fog suddenly clearing away, the two armies unexpectedly found themselves in presence. Fortunately for the Lutherans, they were on the higher ground; and they took up so strong a position, that the Imperialists hesitated to attack them, although it was St. Francis's Day (October 4th), on which, it had been prophesied, the Emperor should become master of Germany. As the allies would not quit their position, although Donauwörth and other places in the neighbourhood had been taken, the Emperor marched towards Ulm. The Elector, however, had anticipated him, and, by throwing in some troops, prevented the capture of that important place. November was now come, yet little had been done; and the effects of the climate and bad weather began to make great havoc among the Italians in the Imperial army, and still more so among the Spaniards. The Lutherans observing the Emperor's somewhat distressed condition, made proposals for peace; but Charles answered that he would hold no communication with them till they submitted unconditionally to his grace and mercy. His firmness sprang from a policy of which the Lutherans were unaware, and which was now beginning to develop its effects.

For some time after his departure from Ratisbon, Duke Maurice had retained the mask of neutrality; and he appeared, at first to listen to the applications of his cousin's family for help against King Ferdinand, who was assembling troops on the Bohemian frontier with the view of invading Saxon territory. Had Maurice made an attack upon Bohemia, there can be no doubt that he might have decided the war in favour of his brother Lutherans, and he might, perhaps, also, seeing the great numbers of the Bohemian Utraquists, have procured for himself the Crown of that country. But his views lay in another direction. Charles had sent him instructions to carry the ban against the Elector into execution, and even warned him that his neglecting to do

so would make him an accessory to his kinsman's crimes, a proceeding intended, doubtless, only to give an excuse and colour to Maurice's contemplated usurpation. He did not, however, venture to take any open step, till he had secured the consent of his clergy and States. At a Diet held in October, at Freiberg, at that time the residence of Dukes of Saxony, he produced an engagement from the Emperor, that the Saxons should not be molested in their religion, which appeased all scruples on that head. Still great reluctance was manifested to attack the dominions of a neighbouring and friendly Prince: the Diet was a stormy one, yet Maurice at length succeeded in his purpose, by representing how dangerous it would prove, if the execution of the ban against the Elector should be intrusted to any other Prince, and especially to King Ferdinand. Maurice, having thus secured the consent of the Diet, immediately hastened to Prague, where he concluded with Ferdinand a treaty, which settled the conditions on which they should jointly occupy the Elector's territories. Thus, while John Frederick was employed in defending Suabia and Würtemberg against the advancing Emperor, his own dominions were about to be seized by that very kinsman on whom he had counted for their defence. Charles signed an instrument (October 27th), deposing the Elector, and transferring his dignity and dominions to Maurice. Ferdinand's army now entered the Saxon lands; his hussars, trained to war in many a bloody skirmish with the Turks, easily overthrew, on the heights of Adorf, the hastily-collected peasantry of the Voigtland and Thuringia; and Maurice, who had joined the Bohemian and Hungarian troops, received, in rapid succession, by promising to protect their religion, the submission of several towns of the Electorate.

The news of these events reached the Imperial camp at Giengen, November 6th, and was received with salvos of artillery. Charles's whole policy now stood revealed, and Duke Maurice had signified, in a letter to John Frederick, his intention of taking possession of the Saxon Electorate. The cause of the Lutherans seemed nearly hopeless. The same evils which had afflicted the Imperial army, had not been without effect on that of the Allies; in addition to which their money was exhausted, and the lance-knights, who had received no pay for two or three months, were deserting in numbers. The Lutherans were now forced to resolve on a separation, though they had long foreseen that such a step would prove fatal, and on the 23rd November they were in

full retreat. Thus the Imperialists suddenly found themselves raised from the depths of despair to the exaltation of victory; a consequence which must be chiefly attributed to the firmness and fortitude displayed by Charles in the course of this short campaign.

Being thus master of Southern Germany, the Emperor proceeded to reduce and punish the refractory cities and principalities. In December the citizens of Ulm made their submission. They were amerced in a fine of 100,000 florins, part of which was paid in artillery and ammunition, and compelled to abandon the League but they were secured in the exercise of their religion. Proportionate fines were imposed on other towns. At Heilbronn Charles dictated terms to Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, for whom the Elector Palatine acted as mediator. The Duke was sentenced humbly to entreat the Emperor's mercy; to pay a fine of 300,000 florins, half within a fortnight, the remainder in twenty-five days; to surrender to the Imperial troops, for an indefinite term, his castles of Hohenasperg, Schorndorf, and Kirchheim, and to answer any claims which might be made upon him by King Ferdinand. The Emperor subsequently received the personal submission of Ulrich at Ulm (March 4th, 1547). Augsburg was also obliged to submit. Although Schärtlin engaged to defend it for a year, the Fuggers and other merchants deprecated resistance; and the city was sentenced to pay 150,000 florins, to deliver twelve pieces of artillery, and to receive an Imperial garrison. Frankfurt, trembling for the safety of its fairs, had disgracefully surrendered to the troops of Count Buren (December 29th), although they were in miserable plight, and unprovided with siege artillery; and on January 21st, 1547, the citizens took a fresh oath of allegiance to the Emperor. At the same time the affair of Cologne was brought to a conclusion. The Archbishop, Hermann of Wied, had been in communication with the Lutherans during the campaign, nor had the Emperor, till assured of success, attempted to enforce the Papal sentence against him. In June the States of the Electorate were assembled in the cathedral of Cologne; Hermann was solemnly deposed, and the coadjutor, Adolf of Schaumburg, installed in his place. The Popish worship was now restored, but not without some violence. The rest of the cities of Southern Germany, with the exception of Constance, were also reconciled with the Emperor. Strasburg had to pay 300,000 florins, but its religious privileges were respected.

Meanwhile, the two chief captains of the League, on the breaking up of their camp, had departed for their respective homes, unpursued by the Imperial forces; the Landgrave by the nearest way, while the Elector took a circuitous road by Heilbronn, Mentz, Aschaffenburg, and Fulda; on which places he levied heavy contributions. About the middle of December, 1546, he arrived in his Thuringian territory with 20,000 men, and not only dispersed without much difficulty the small bodies of troops which Duke Maurice had stationed there, but also took a number of small towns and fortresses on the frontiers of Maurice's own dominions. Early in 1547, John Frederick arrived at Halle, which he entered in great state, surrounded by his nobility. The antique statue of Roland was placed out before the Red Tower, and the Elector rode round it, according to an ancient custom betokening the authority of the Burggrave. At Halle he received homage from the feudatories of the bishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, and sanctioned the introduction of Lutheran worship into the cathedral of the former place. He then directed his arms against the dominions of Maurice, the greater part of which he speedily overran; being assisted in this enterprise by the favour borne him by the inhabitants, which was so marked that Maurice durst not levy troops among them, lest they should join his enemies. The Elector, however, received a check at Leipsic, which he could not reduce, though he lay before it three weeks. But most of the towns in North Germany declared in his favour. Bohemia was the scene of a movement still more marked and threatening, occasioned by King Ferdinand's attempt to convert that country into an hereditary monarchy, in open contempt of the acknowledgment he had made of the right of the States to elect their King. The citizens of Prague refused to serve against the Elector; at Leitmeritz, where Ferdinand had ordered his vassals to muster for the invasion of Saxony, he was joined only by the Catholic nobles; while, on the other hand, the Utraquists assembled in great numbers at Prague; patriotic and religious songs and hymns were sung; a Diet was formed, and an army raised to prevent the invasion of the "foreign and unchristian Spaniards." Instead of entering Saxony, Ferdinand found that he had scarcely more troops than were necessary for his own defence, and he could despatch only a few to Maurice, who had taken up a strong position at Chemnitz.

The success of Maurice's ally, Margrave Albert of Culmbach, at Rochlitz, led them to form the plan of uniting their forces and

marching against the Saxon Elector, who had pitched his camp near Altenburg. But John Frederick, who had obtained intelligence of this scheme, surprised Albert in Rochlitz (March 2nd), captured him, and compelled his men to take an oath not to bear arms for six months. Maurice was now obliged to shut himself up in Königsberg, and the Elector, master of the whole district of the Elbe, opened communications with the Bohemian States. The conjuncture called for decisive and vigorous action. John Frederick must now be all or nothing—an Emperor of the Lutheran principalities and cities, perhaps also King of Bohemia—or lose his own dominions. His foreign relations were favourable. The peace concluded in the previous year between France and England had enabled those countries to devote more attention to the affairs of Germany; Francis had engaged to pay the Elector monthly a considerable sum, and the Council which had assumed the administration in England after the death of Henry VIII., had done the like. But John Frederick lacked the ability, rather than the ambition, required by the occasion. His military talent was small; and the Bohemian alliance proved the *ignis fatuus* which lured him to his destruction. Abandoning his first and safer plan of defending Wittenberg and Gotha, and retiring himself to Magdeburg, he took up a position near Meissen, where the Bohemians might the more readily join him; and in the full confidence of their aid, he weakened his army by despatching to them some of his troops over the frontier mountains.

Meanwhile Charles, alarmed at the threatening aspect of affairs in Bohemia, had resolved, in spite of ill health and the remonstrances of his physicians, to take the field in person. On the 24th of March he arrived at Nuremberg, round which town his army had assembled; a few days after, he was joined at Eger by his brother Ferdinand and Duke Maurice, whence, directing his march upon Meissen by Plauen, Altenburg, and Kolditz, he not only came directly upon the Elector, but also cut him off from his Thuringian lands. John Frederick was thus caught in a very unfavourable position. He was at a considerable distance from his fortified towns; by supplying garrisons and sending out detachments his army had been reduced to about 6,000 men; while the Bohemians had abandoned the idea of giving him any succour. On the Emperor's approach with a fine army of 17,000 foot and 10,000 horse, no alternative was left but to retreat. John Frederick accordingly crossed the Elbe at Meissen, and breaking the bridge after him, began to descend the right bank

of that river towards Wittenberg. At Mühlberg he took up a strong position, in full confidence that the Emperor would also cross the river at Meissen. It was Sunday, April 24th, and the Elector, imagining that Charles was far in his rear, was led by his devotional feelings, as well as by his natural phlegm, to attend the morning service and hear the sermon; after which he leisurely resumed his march towards Wittenberg. This act of piety cost him his Electorate. Charles resolved to cross the Elbe in his face. Early in the morning Maurice and the Duke of Alva had discovered a miller, who pointed out to them, nearly opposite to Mühlberg, a ford, which, with a little swimming, was practicable for cavalry. Over this passed 4,000 hussars and light horse, carrying with them on their cruppers 500 arquebusiers. At the same time some Spaniards swam across and seized, with small resistance, a bridge of boats which the Electoral forces were conveying down the stream with them. The bridge was soon put into order for the passage of the infantry and heavy cavalry; meanwhile Maurice and Alva pushed on with their hussars after the retreating enemy, with whom they soon came up. The Elector, who imagined that only the troops of his cousin Maurice were upon him, twice turned and repulsed them; but at length found it necessary to halt near Cossdorf. With his cavalry and light artillery he might easily have escaped, and would have arrived that evening at Wittenberg; but he could not endure the thought of abandoning his faithful infantry, and he therefore drew up his men on the verge of a forest, the infantry and some field-pieces in the middle, with some cavalry on both wings. Charles, who in the field seemed to have regained all his strength and vigour, immediately ordered an attack, and hastened forward with his chosen troops to be present at it himself. About four in the afternoon the engagement was begun by a charge of more than 2,000 of the Imperial cavalry, with cries of "Spain!" and "Empire!" uttered in various tongues. At the same time Charles's whole army appeared in the distance, and it was now but too plain with whom the Elector had to deal. His cavalry broke and fled; that of the Imperialists got possession of the wood; and the Elector's infantry, seeing themselves enveloped on all sides, threw down their arms, and sought safety in flight. Such was the battle, or rather the rout, of Mühlberg, for all was over in a few minutes. John Frederick, after receiving some wounds while bravely defending himself, at length surrendered to Thilo von Trotha, a nobleman of Maurice's

court, to whom he gave his ring. Bleeding, tired, and dejected, he was led towards the Emperor, mounted on the very horse which he had ridden at Spires in 1544, and which, associated as it was with so many disagreeable reminiscences, Charles immediately recognized. "Mighty and gracious Emperor!" exclaimed the Elector, as he sought to kiss Charles's hand. "Oh!" interrupted the latter, "so you now recognize me for a Roman Emperor?" "To-day," rejoined John Frederick, "I am nothing but a poor prisoner, yet your Imperial Majesty will treat me, I trust, as a born Prince." "I shall behave to you," answered Charles, "as you have behaved to me." "You are a nice gentleman," interrupted Ferdinand, "to seek to drive me and my children out of our possessions." After this ungracious reception, the Elector, together with Duke Ernest of Brunswick and some other nobles who had been captured, was handed over to the Duke of Alva to be conveyed to the Imperial camp.

The Elector was now led with the Imperial forces before his own capital of Wittenberg. It was earnestly debated whether he should not be put to death for his double crime of rebellion and heresy; the Emperor's confessor warmly pressed for his execution, and sentence of death was actually recorded against him. During this trying period John Frederick showed the most imperturbable fortitude. His death-warrant, it is said, was delivered to him whilst he was playing at chess with Duke Ernest; when, reproving the latter for his emotion, he insisted on finishing the game. Wittenberg, however, was found to be strongly fortified and abundantly victualled; and the advice of the Duke of Alva and the Bishop of Arras, a son of Granvelle's, ultimately prevailed, that the Elector's life should be spared on condition of his surrendering Wittenberg and his other fortresses.¹

The Bishop of Arras, who was appointed to treat with the Elector, found him absolutely intractable in all matters of conscience; he would neither acknowledge the authority of the Council of Trent, nor submit to the Emperor's ordinances respecting religion. In worldly matters he was more pliable, and agreed to subscribe to whatever might be arranged between the Emperor, King Ferdinand, and Duke Maurice. On May 19th

¹ The story of Charles having frightened the Elector's wife, Sibylle, into a surrender of the city, by threatening to cut off her husband's head if she refused it, which is related by Robertson (*Charles V.* bk. ix.), and made the subject of a heavy charge against the Emperor, is devoid of

foundation. Bugenhagen, a Lutheran priest, who was in Wittenberg during the time of its investment, and who has left a minute account of what happened, does not mention any such message (Hortleder, Th. ii. B. iii. c. 73).

he signed the Capitulation of Wittenberg, by which he gave up all his princely rights to the Emperor, surrendered Wittenberg and Gotha, relinquished his pretensions to Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and Halle, and promised obedience to the Imperial Chamber. His possessions were to be divided between King Ferdinand and Duke Maurice, the latter undertaking to pay an annual pension of 50,000 florins to the Elector's children; who were also to retain several towns, the chief of which were Eisenach, Weimar, and Jena; also Gotha, after the fortifications should have been razed, and the district of Saalfeld. There was no article about religion. John Frederick was to remain at the Court of the Emperor, or of his son the Prince of Spain.¹

The day after this capitulation was executed, John Frederick directed Wittenberg to surrender, an order which was obeyed with great reluctance by the commandant; and the town was immediately occupied by a garrison of German Imperialists. On the following day, Sibylle, John Frederick's consort, visited the Imperial camp, to implore Charles's mercy towards her husband, and to beg that he might be permitted to live with her in Saxony; but though the Emperor treated her with great respect and kindness, this request was refused. Next day Charles, surrounded by his guards, entered Wittenberg to return Sibylle's visit. That town contains little to arrest the attention, except the memorials of Luther; yet Charles could not have passed its gates without emotion, when he reflected that he was now in the very citadel of Protestantism, whence the arch-reformer had shaken the Roman throne to its foundations, and for so many years rendered his own uneasy. After visiting the castle, Charles entered the castle church, and remained some time in earnest contemplation before the grave of Luther. How many events had been crowded into that quarter of a century since its now silent occupant had stood before him at Worms! When at last it seemed in his power to enforce the Edict then promulgated, the object of it had escaped from all earthly tribunals to that of the Almighty. Such reflections chasten and improve the heart. When Alva and the Bishop of Arras suggested that the bones of the arch-heretic should be dugged up and cast into the fire, "No," said Charles, "let him lie; he has his Judge:" and he silenced their further importunities by observing, "I war with the living, not with the dead."

In Lower Saxony an Imperial army of 29,000 men, under

¹ Hortleder, *l. c.* S. 582 ff.

Christopher of Wrisberg and Duke Eric of Brunswick-Calenberg, laid siege to Bremen. But that place, agreeably to the anticipations of John Frederick, made a vigorous defence; and in the beginning of April the towns of Magdeburg, Brunswick, Hamburg, and Bremen, having entered into a new alliance, Christopher of Oldenburg and Albert of Mansfeld, at the head of the army of the League, which had also been joined by the troops detached into Bohemia by John Frederick, marched to Bremen, compelled Duke Eric to raise the siege, and on the 23rd of May completely defeated him near Drackenburg. Next day, however, Wrisberg captured the military chest of the Allies; and the news of John Frederick's capitulation arriving soon after, the troops of the Lower Saxon League dispersed themselves, and the leaders submitted one after another to the Emperor. The council and guilds of Magdeburg, where Lutheran worship had been recently introduced, alone resolved to stand on their defence. They had refused to obey a summons, sent them by Duke Maurice, April 29th, 1547, with the news of the Elector's capture, as well as another from the Emperor himself from his camp before Wittenberg. Charles, however, finding that most of Lower Saxony had submitted, thought it not prudent to waste his time at Magdeburg, but rather to proceed to Upper Germany, whither he was called by more important events, and especially by his relations with the Pope. But Magdeburg remained a thorn in his side.

On his march southwards the Emperor entered Halle in great state, which town had submitted to Duke Maurice immediately after the battle of Mühlberg. In Charles's train was the captive Elector, who only a few months before had himself entered Halle with almost Imperial pomp by the opposite gate. The citizens did not forget him in his adversity; but together with the presents which they made to the Emperor and his nobles, sent him three and a half casks of Rhenish wine and a barrel of Torgau beer. At Halle the Emperor declared null and void the transfer of the bishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt to Electoral Saxony, and bestowed the administration of both on Frederick, second son of the Elector of Brandenburg, in reward for the latter's faithful services. These bishoprics have since remained almost uninterruptedly under Princes of the House of Brandenburg, and are become at last part of their actual possessions.

It was at Halle that the Emperor received the submission of the Landgrave Philip. The manner in which it was brought

about is not altogether plain, and has been the subject of some mistakes. Philip seems to have been the victim of the blundering but well intended mediation of the Elector of Brandenburg and of his own son-in-law Maurice. Their proposals to the Emperor show plainly that the two mediators were at first contented with a stipulation that the Landgrave should suffer neither corporal punishment nor perpetual imprisonment.¹ This, however, they appear to have forgotten, and in their subsequent communications with the Landgrave, they assured him that he might come and go unmolested, and sent him the draft of a capitulation resembling that granted to the Duke of Würtemberg. Philip was to submit himself unconditionally to the Emperor; to beg pardon on his knees, and promise future obedience; to pay a fine of 150,000 florins; to demolish all his fortresses, except either Ziegenhain or Cassel; to deliver up his artillery, and to dismiss Duke Henry of Brunswick and his son, as well as the other prisoners whom he had taken. The Landgrave's children, nobles, and subjects were to ratify these articles, which were guaranteed by his two sons-in-law, Maurice and Duke Wolfgang of Pfalz-Zweibrücken, and by the Elector of Brandenburg.² Assuming that the Landgrave was to enjoy his freedom, the articles seemed moderate enough, especially as the integrity of his dominions was assured to him. Philip believed that he should not be detained more than five or six days at Halle. Maurice and the Elector of Brandenburg seem, however, to have had some misgivings. On setting out for Naumburg to meet the Landgrave and escort him to Halle, they inquired of the Emperor whether he had resolved not to molest Philip beyond the terms agreed upon? To which Charles answered that it was not his custom to depart from his word. It is evident, however, that he was aware of the unaccountable mistake into which the negotiators had fallen; for in a letter to his brother, on the 15th of June, he expressed his determination to hold the Landgrave prisoner; and as he adds, that the Electors Joachim and Maurice could not take it ill, since it broke no assurance which he had given to them, it is plain that he knew they did not expect such a proceeding.³

¹ "Il se rendra aussi à S. M. en *genade* et *ongenade*, sans aucune condition; toutefois led. Marquis et duc Maurice adjoustent à cestuy article, qu'il leur est nécessaire d'avoir intelligence avec S. M. que telle condition ne tournera à peine corporelle ou perpetuel emprisonnement

dud. Landgrave."—Bucholtz, *Ferd. I. Th.* ix. S. 423.

² Hortleder, *Th.* ii. S. 579 ff.

³ "Me déliérant de quand il se viendra rendre, le faire retenir prisonnier: dont les dits Electeurs ne se pourront ressentir, puisque je ne contreviendray à l'assur-

Philip and the two Electors appeared before the Emperor, at the archiepiscopal palace at Halle, June 19th. Charles was seated on a splendid throne, covered with cloth of gold, and placed under a canopy; before it a large carpet was spread. The Landgrave had put on a doublet of black satin crossed with a red sash, the Austrian colours. He conversed cheerfully with his conductors, and as he knelt down on the floor before the carpet he was observed to smile; on which Charles is said to have exclaimed in Low Dutch, "Good! I'll teach you to laugh!" (*Wel, ik zal u leeren lachen*).¹ The Landgrave's Chancellor, Günterrode, who knelt by his side, then read his master's petition. It was answered by the Imperial Chancellor, whose words expressly intimated that the Landgrave should not be subjected to *perpetual imprisonment*; but amid the noise which prevailed in the apartment, the expression appears to have passed unnoticed.² After Günterrode had returned thanks, the Landgrave, thinking that the matter was concluded, rose from his knees, although the Emperor had delayed to give the signal, and stretched out his hand to Charles, who refused to take it. This circumstance, however, seems to have excited no suspicion; and Philip and the two Electors accepted Alva's invitation to sup with him in the palace. When the party was about to separate for the night, Alva, to the dismay and astonishment of the Landgrave and the Electors, intimated that Philip must remain in the palace. Remonstrance was in vain; it was too late to appeal to the Emperor, who had retired to rest; and all that the disconsolate Maurice could obtain by his intreaties was permission to remain with his father-in-law. Next day a stormy explanation ensued between the Electors and the Imperial councillors; the latter produced the articles by which they justified the step taken by the Emperor; the Electors were unable to dispute the authenticity of the document; and Philip, like John Frederick, was compelled to follow the Imperial Court, a prisoner under Spanish guard. It was not calculated to console him that, to his question how long his imprisonment, since it was not to be perpetual, might be expected to last, Alva replied, "If the Emperor should detain you fourteen or fifteen years, he would not act contrary either to his conscience or his word."

ance que j'ai donné, parlant de prison avec l'addition de perpétuelle."—Bucholtz, Th. ix. S. 427.

¹ Castrow, *Lebensbeschreibung*, Th. ii. Buch. i. c. 8.

² "Desgleichen auch dass S. F. G.

weder mit ewigem Gefängniß, noch mit Confiscation oder Entsetzung derselben Güter mehreres oder weiteres, dann die Artikel der Abrede inne halten möchte beschwert werden."—Hortleder, Th. ii. B. iii. K. 76.

In estimating the Emperor's conduct on this occasion, it does not appear that he can be charged with any breach of literal obligation.¹ In a declaration which the Electors themselves made at a Diet held at Augsburg a few months later, they attributed the matter to a misunderstanding in the negotiations with the Emperor's councillors, arising from insufficient acquaintance with the language in which they were conducted;² nor did Maurice impute deception to Charles in the manifesto which he published at the time of his subsequent revolt, although he adduced the treatment of the Landgrave as one of his motives. Yet it cannot be doubted that the Emperor acted against what he knew to be the real meaning and intention of the two Electors. Versed in all the subtleties of Spanish and Italian politics, he and his ministers were more than a match for the blunt honesty of the German Princes. The impartial voice of history, however, will decide that Charles's conduct towards Philip was quite as ungenerous, and still more unjust, than that which he had observed towards the captive Francis; and we may add that it was equally impolitic. He might have imagined, indeed, that the captivity of two Princes of the Empire would serve to overawe Germany by a display of his power; but it certainly rendered him unpopular among the Germans, who beheld in his conduct a violation of their constitutional rights. The two prisoners bore their misfortunes very differently. John Frederick never lost his equanimity for a moment, whilst the Landgrave could not conceal the indignant feelings excited in him by the Emperor's tyranny. It should be remarked, however, that the former was treated by the Emperor with much more kindness and respect than he displayed towards the Landgrave; and while John Frederick was allowed a good deal of liberty, Philip, who was left behind at

¹ The story of *enig* in the original draft of the treaty having been converted into *ewig* by a forgery, so that it read "nicht mit *ewigem* Gefängniß" (not with perpetual imprisonment), instead of "nicht mit *enigem* Gefängniß" (not with any imprisonment), on the truth of which Robertson avowed himself incompetent to pronounce (*Charles I.* bk. ix. vol. iii. p. 423 note), is now pretty universally rejected. The story seems to have owed its currency principally to the French historian, Thuanus, who charges the Bishop of Arras with the forgery ("Quod improbitati Atrebatensis præcipue tributum est, hominis callidi, qui literulæ unius inversa forma intercessores ipsamque adeo

Hessum deceperit."—*Lib. iii.*). It is also countenanced by a letter of William Prince of Orange, in 1574 (*Archives et Correspondance de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*, t. v. p. 63, 1^{re} sér.), who, however, was not over-particular about the charges which he made; and is adopted by the learned editor of that work, Groen van Prinsterer, as well as by Mr. Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, vol. i. pp. 120 and 437. But see Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. ii. S. 94; Von Raumer, *Gesch. Eur. B. i. S. 548*; Hortleder, *Th. ii. B. iii. S. 579*.

² Declaration in Hortleder, *Th. ii. B. iii. K. 84, S. 923 ff.*

Donauwörth during Charles's march southwards, was treated rigorously as a prisoner. Nor, in reflecting on their behaviour, should the circumstances attending their captures be omitted from our consideration. John Frederick was a lawful prisoner of war, and had even been condemned to death, while Philip had been seized through an artifice, if not by an absolute fraud.

While these things were going on, Ferdinand succeeded in restoring order in Bohemia. The defeat of John Frederick at Mühlberg broke the spirits of the Utraquists, and the army under Caspar von Pflug for the most part dispersed itself after the capitulation of Wittenberg. Ferdinand marched into Bohemia with his cavalry, and a considerable train of field artillery; while Maurice's brother, Duke Augustus of Saxony, brought him 1,000 horse, and twenty companies of foot, and all the neighbouring Princes proffered their assistance. On the promise of pardon, more than 200 nobles who had sided with the States, as well as the deputies of some towns, repaired to Ferdinand's standard at Leitmeritz. Prague itself, after an abortive attempt at resistance, surrendered on the 7th of June; and on the following day Ferdinand held his Court in the great hall of the Hradschin, before which were summoned the primates, burgomasters, and councilors of the three towns,¹ along with 240 of the principal citizens. A paper arraigning their treasonable practices having been read to them, they fell on their knees, declaring that they did not come to justify themselves, but to crave the King's mercy. The conditions imposed were rigorous enough. Prague was not only compelled to renounce all its alliances and deliver up its artillery, but also to relinquish its municipal privileges, its estates and tolls, and submit unconditionally to the direction of Ferdinand; who expressly added that he should punish capitally all who had taken any part in the insurrection. The other towns were subjected to a like sentence. At a Diet held in the following August, which was opened by some executions and corporal punishments, the States confirmed the proceedings of the King; and thus through this rebellion the House of Austria only obtained a firmer hold of power in Bohemia.

Meanwhile the Emperor had broken up from Halle and marched southwards (June 22nd). At Naumburg, where he held a review, a ridiculous anecdote is related of his parsimony. The morning proving rainy, Charles took off his splendid cloak,

¹ Prague consists of an assemblage of three towns, called in German the Altstadt, Neustadt, and Kleinseite.

turned it inside out, clapped under it his satin cap, and sent into the town for his felt hat and cloak, while the pelting shower descended on his bare head!¹ If this piece of economy was intended as a bait for popularity, it was marred by the spectacle of the two captive Princes, as well as by the sight of the Spanish troops, who had committed on their march the most detestable excesses. Charles arrived on the 23rd of July at Augsburg, where he had appointed a Diet to assemble on the 1st of September; but before relating the proceedings of that assembly, we must revert awhile to the general affairs of Europe, and especially to the state of the Emperor's relations with the Pope.

We have already adverted to the peace concluded between Francis I. and Henry VIII. The war around Boulogne had gone on during the winter of 1545-46, but without any memorable result; and both Kings were desirous of peace. Francis, disappointed, through the death of the Duke of Orleans, of the hopes which he had conceived from the treaty of Crespy, was willing to renew hostilities with the Emperor, when relieved from the war with England; while Henry VIII., who felt his health declining, and whose exchequer was drained without any corresponding advantage, was unwilling to bequeath to his successor a war at once with Scotland and France. A treaty was concluded, June 7th, 1546, by which Henry engaged to restore Boulogne before Michaelmas, 1554, on receiving two million gold crowns for arrears of old debts, and as indemnity for fortifications constructed, as well as the annual pension of 100,000 crowns, payable under the treaty of Moore.² Scotland was comprised in the pacification. Henry did not long survive this treaty. Oppressed by unwieldy corpulence, and tormented by an ulcer in the leg, the irritability of his latter days was vented in burning those who would not comply with his own peculiar form of religious faith, and in the legal persecution of his other subjects, and especially of his nobility. The Earl of Surrey had already lost his head on the scaffold, January 19th, 1547, and the execution of his father, the Duke of Norfolk, was to follow on the 29th, when it was fortunately prevented by the death of the tyrant himself on the previous night. As his son Edward VI. was only in his tenth year, Henry had by his will appointed sixteen executors to carry on the government with the assistance of a council of twelve. One of the first acts of the executors and councillors

¹ Sastrow, *Lebensbeschr.* Th. ii. K. 9.

² Rymer, t. xv. p. 92.

was to appoint the Earl of Hertford, the King's maternal uncle, Protector; and he was soon after created Duke of Somerset.

The life of Francis I., alternately the rival and the ally of Henry, was also drawing to a close. The latter days of the French King were not only embittered, like those of Henry, by bad health, the result of his profligate life, but also by the ill success which had attended all his enterprises, and by the factions with which his Court was rent. A terrible result of these factions was the murder, for such it must be called, of Francis's favourite, the Count of Enghien, in the preceding February. At the Château of La Roche-Guyon, where the King was then staying, a mock battle with snow-balls had been got up by the young men of the Court, during which a box full of linen was thrown from a window on the head of the unfortunate Enghien, who died in a few days of the injuries which he received. There is but too much reason to believe that the act was committed by the Count of Aumale, afterwards the great Duke of Guise, by order of the Dauphin himself: but all inquiry into the matter was carefully hushed up.¹ Already had arisen that rivalry between the Guises and the Bourbons, which was for so long a time to distract France.

The closing period of the reign of Francis, was, like that of Henry VIII., marked by religious persecutions, conducted under the advice of Cardinal de Tournon, who then possessed his confidence. Meaux, where, twenty years before, the principles of the Reformation had been introduced by the amiable and enlightened Bishop Briçonnet, and where a small congregation of Protestants continued to exist, was the chief scene of these persecutions. Their meetings were observed and denounced. The house of a citizen named Mangin was surprised by the police, September 8th, 1546, and a congregation of sixty persons apprehended, fourteen of whom were sentenced to the flames in the following month. These executions were the signal for a renewed persecution throughout France, and several persons were burnt at Paris, Sens, and Issoire.²

The death of the English King inflicted a severe blow upon Francis, who had contemplated the promotion of his political views through a firm alliance with that Sovereign. The decease of a Prince of nearly his own age and complexion seemed, moreover, to presage the fate that would shortly overtake himself. Yet in the

¹ Thuanus, lib. ii. (t. i. p. 73).

² Beza, *Hist. Eccl.* t. i. p. 32 sqq.; Sleidan, lib. xviii. p. 513 (ed. 1610).

midst of this dejection, Francis displayed some symptoms of his former vigour and activity. In the beginning of 1547, he was, as we have seen, supporting the Lutheran Princes of Germany against the Emperor. With a like view he was negotiating in Italy and Denmark, as well as endeavouring to persuade Solyman to break his truce with the House of Austria and invade Naples or Hungary.¹ In February, however, he was seized with a slow fever, which, though it did not at first prevent him from travelling about, or even enjoying the pleasures of the chase, yet went on increasing till it put an end to his life. He died at Rambouillet, March 31st, 1547, in the fifty-third year of his age.

Francis I., like Henry IV. and Louis XIV., is one of the Sovereigns to whom the French look back with pride, and he must be allowed to present no unfavourable specimen of the national character. His manners were agreeable, his conversation often brilliant; he had a good memory, and could tell the chief characteristics of every country in Europe, its resources, products, roads, navigable rivers, &c.;² if not an able general, he was at least a gallant soldier, and his address was frank and open, whatever may be thought of some parts of his conduct. He must also be allowed the praise of having been a patron of literature; a merit accorded to him even by Protestant writers.³ His love and appreciation of art were shown by his patronage of Leonardo da Vinci. The terrible calamities which desolated France for half a century after his death were, doubtless, favourable to his memory, and caused men to look back to his reign with a feeling of regret. Yet on the whole he can hardly be considered equal to the stirring times in which he lived, and the great part which he was called upon to fill. His handing over the reins of power to his mother, during the earlier part of his reign, should perhaps rather be ascribed to idleness and luxury, than, with Gaillard, to filial piety;⁴ and his neglect of the most important affairs, in his later years, can certainly be attributed only to his profligacy and dissipation. His gallantry towards women might not injure his reputation with his countrymen; yet, carried as it was to a profligate excess, it became not only a moral crime, but also a public misfortune.⁵

¹ Ribier, t. i. p. 595 sqq.

² Michelet, *Reforme*, p. 400.

³ Beza, *Hist. Eccl.* t. i. p. 42; Sleidan, lib. xix. p. 529 sq. Sleidan, however, who was secretary of the Smalkaldic League, received from Francis a pension of 100 crowns. See *Letter* of Cardinal du Bellay in Ribier, t. ii. p. 50.

⁴ *Hist. de François I.* t. viii. p. 113.

⁵ The profligacy of the French Court in the reign of Francis was frightful. "François I. ayant séjourné peu de temps avec sa cour dans la ville de Nantes, le fléau (la vérole) y fut si intense qu'il fallut sur le champ y fonder un grand hôpital."—Michelet, *Renaissance*, notes,

His political conduct exhibits such a tissue of contradictory motives and double-dealing, as displays an entire absence of principle; and we need scarcely here recall to the reader's recollection his burning of the Protestants at home, while he was supporting them abroad; his alliance with the Turks against the Christians; his perfidy with regard to the treaty of Madrid, and other circumstances of the same description.

Henry II., who now ascended the throne of France, had just completed his twenty-eighth year. In person he was tall, robust, and somewhat corpulent; his complexion was dark, his hair and beard were black. He was a good horseman, and fond of all bodily exercises, in which he excelled; his manners were graceful and affable;¹ but he was wholly incapable of mental application, and it was evident that the reins of government would be abandoned to favourites and mistresses.* Foreseeing this, Francis on his death-bed had cautioned his son against Montmorenci, the Guises, and St. André, and had recommended as his ministers the Admiral d'Annebaut and Cardinal de Tournon. The advice was thrown away. On the very day that his father expired, Henry hastened to St. Germain-en-Laye to meet the Constable Montmorenci, whom he immediately placed at the head of affairs. By the Constable's advice the council of Francis was dismissed, and a new one appointed, consisting of the following members:—Henry d'Albret, King of Navarre; Antony of Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme, first Prince of the blood; Cardinal John of Lorraine, and two of his nephews, viz. Francis, Count of Aumale, and Charles of Guise, Archbishop of Rheims; Montmorenci himself; St. André, the King's favourite; and his father, the Chancellor Olivier; Robert de la Marck, Lord of Sedan, son of Fleuranges, and son-in-law of Diana of Poitiers, with a few others. Of all these, none had been in the service of Francis except Montmorenci and Olivier. A love of literature and the friendship of the Chancellor de l'Hôpital had procured for Olivier a reputation for talent and integrity which seems to have been hardly deserved.

* In the interior of the palace a greater influence ruled, that of Diana, created in the following year Duchess of Valentinois, but

p. 320. Thomas Hubert, who was ambassador from the Elector Palatine to Francis, in 1535, said that he had then lost his palate, and articulated with difficulty. *Id. Réforme*, p. 401. See also Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. vii. p. 478 sq.

¹ The English ambassadors despatched to Rome in 1554, to take the oath of

obedience to the Pope, who were graciously received by Henry II. on their way, thus describe his person: "The King is a goodly tall gentleman, well made in all the parts of his body; a very grim countenance, yet very gentle, meek, and well beloved of all his subjects"—Lord Hardwicke's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 68.

now called "la Grande Sénéchale," being the widow of Louis de Brezé, Grand Seneschal of Normandy, who had died in 1531. At the age of forty-eight, Diana had preserved her charms in a manner so remarkable as to be attributed by the vulgar to philtres and incantations. The ancient mistress of Francis pretended that her friendship for his son was merely Platonic, though it can hardly be doubted that she had had a daughter by Henry as early as 1537; and she still supplanted the youthful Queen, Catharine de' Medici, in his affections, who meekly followed the triumphant chariot of her rival. Eleanor, the Queen-dowager and sister of the Emperor, feeling herself a stranger at court, withdrew to Brussels to her sister the Queen of Hungary, although she had a dowry assigned to her in Touraine and Poitou. The Duchess of Etampes, the former mistress of Francis, also made her escape, but not before Henry had had the meanness to seize the jewels presented to her by his father, which he gave to Diana. Among the ministers of Henry, the Constable, the Guises, and the St. Andrés were predominant; the King of Navarre and the Duke of Vendôme were habitually absent in their lands. With Montmorenci we are already acquainted. It was sad that the destinies of France should be intrusted to such a man: greedy of money and authority; without elevation of mind or even integrity of character; destitute of talent, yet so proud and so jealous of his opinion that he piqued himself on never adopting that of others. The Guises monopolized all the ability of the new administration; and as this remarkable family will play a prominent part in the scenes that are to follow, it will here be proper to give some account of it.

The Guises sprang from Claude first Duke of Guise, fifth son of René II., Duke of Lorraine, and this Claude, with his brother, Cardinal John of Lorraine, was at the head of the Guise house at the accession of Henry II. Properly, therefore, the family was a Lorraine one, a duchy at that time belonging to the Empire. Claude's elder brother Antony had succeeded to the duchy of Lorraine on the death of their father; and being thus as it were neutralized between the Empire and France, Antony and his descendants fell into peaceful obscurity, whilst the younger branch obtained dignities and power in France. Claude, who had married Antoinette of Bourbon, daughter of Francis, Count of Vendôme, had (among others) five sons, who, like himself, played an important part in France: 1. Francis, Count of Aumale, surnamed *le Balafre*, from a dreadful face wound received at the siege of St. Dizier, who became Duke of Guise on the death of

his father in 1550 ; 2. Charles, Archbishop of Rheims, afterwards Cardinal of Lorraine ; 3. Claude, who became Duke of Aumale ; 4. Louis, also a Cardinal ; and 5. René, Marquis of Elbeuf. Duke Claude was the founder of the family greatness ; first, by marrying his daughter, the widow of the Duke of Longueville, to James V. of Scotland, through whose daughter, Mary Stuart, the Guises may be said to have subsequently reigned in Scotland ; and secondly by obtaining the favour of Montmorenci and Diana of Poitiers, at the accession of Henry II. Francis Count of Aumale was the private friend of that King ; while Claude, the third son, was married to Louise de Brezé, a daughter of Diana's. The Guises pretended to represent the royal branch of Anjou, from which they were descended by Yolande, daughter of René d'Anjou. They claimed all the rights of that house in Provence, the Sicilies, and other places ; and Francis in 'his marriage contract' boldly styled himself François d'Anjou. With different qualities, all the Guises were clever, brilliant, ambitious. Of elegant and commanding manners, they could accommodate themselves to all classes and conditions of persons : could be supple and caressing with Diana ; familiar with St. André ; affectionate, with dignity, towards the rude and overbearing Montmorenci ; affable to their inferiors, popular with the multitude. Francis, who at the time of Henry's accession, was twenty-eight years of age, possessed some great qualities ; he was a good captain, magnanimous in success, but terrible and implacable in reverses. His next brother, Charles, partook more of the character of the Romish ecclesiastic : he was learned, subtle, witty, eloquent, but hypocritical ; insolent in good fortune, abject and cowardly in adversity. One of the secrets of the family success was, that all had the same views. Without possessions in France, their aim was to combine the prerogatives of French Princes with the independence of foreigners, and above all to supplant the Princes of the blood.

The mediocrity of the Bourbons promised to render the latter object no difficult task. This house was now divided into two branches, those of Vendôme and Montpensier. Antony, Duke of Vendôme, the head of the former, who was at this time twenty-eight years of age, possessed indeed personal courage ; but his character was feeble and undecided, nor had he a clear conception of his own interests. In October, 1548, he married Jeanne d'Albret, the heiress of Navarre, by whom he became the father

¹ He married, in December, 1549, Anne d'Este, daughter of Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, and of Renée de France.

of Henry IV. Anthony had three brothers; the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Count of Soissons, and Louis Prince of Condé; the last, the only one of the family who possessed any ability, was now only seventeen years of age. The younger branch of the Bourbons, consisting of the Duke of Montpensier and his brother, the Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, were altogether without credit or importance. There were thus four distinct parties let loose to prey upon the vitals of the Kingdom: Diana with her daughters- and sons-in-law; Montmorenci and his five sons; the family of the Guises, and the two St. Andrés. One of the first acts of the King was to abandon to his mistress the fines due at the beginning of a new reign from corporations and the holders of purchased offices for a renewal of their privileges. Diana also obtained the power of appointing to ecclesiastical benefices, and by causing one of her confidants to be made treasurer of the *Epargne*, or royal treasury, she seized, as it were, the keys of the national coffers. The Count of Aumale was created a Duke and Peer in spite of the remonstrances of the Parliament of Paris; and both he and St. André, who was made Grand Chamberlain and a Marshal, received large gifts from the royal domains. To the third Guise, at the instance of his mother-in-law Diana, Henry abandoned all the vacant lands of the Kingdom, authorizing him to reclaim them from all occupants who could not produce their title; a step which necessarily excited great and widespread discontent. For the Archbishop of Rheims, the King procured from the Pope a Cardinal's hat. In like manner Montmorenci obtained many posts of honour and emolument for his family. In short, the weak Henry suffered his realm to become the prey of his rapacious courtiers; and when the holders of rich benefices, abbeys, or other offices, did not die fast enough, it is even said that their physicians were frequently bribed to despatch them with poison.¹

On the 23rd of May the body of Francis, as well as those of his two sons, the first Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, were deposited with great pomp in the Abbey of St. Denis. Henry occupied a window in the Rue St. Jacques to see the procession pass from Notre-Dame on the previous day. As the funeral train approached, overcome for an instant, by an emotion of natural tenderness, and unable to restrain his tears, he would have moved away; but M. de Vieilleville consoled him, by pointing out what he called the goodness of Providence towards him in removing so many obstacles to his greatness; and he especially dwelt on the

¹ *Mém. de Vieilleville*, liv. ii. c. 10.

enmity borne to him by the Duke of Orleans, who, had he lived, would have been his most formidable enemy. Reassured by these remarks, Henry, as the bier of the Duke approached, who, as being the youngest, was carried first in the procession, is said to have exclaimed, "Here, then, comes the rascal who leads the van of my prosperity."¹

Henry II. was crowned at Rheims, July 27th, 1547. He had summoned Charles V. to appear and do homage as Count of Flanders; an impotent explosion of envy and hatred, to which Charles replied, that if he came it would be at the head of 50,000 men. Pope Paul III. entered into a close alliance with Henry, and brought about a marriage between his grandson Orazio Farnese and a natural daughter of the King's. There was now much talk of a league between France, Venice, and the Pope against the Emperor; but Henry was too much occupied with the pleasures of his Court and the intrigues of his courtiers, to devote much attention to the affairs of Germany, even if he had been in a situation to interfere with effect. Thus the death of Francis had occurred at a fortunate moment for Charles, as it allowed him to prosecute, without molestation, the policy which he had adopted in Germany.

Such was the state of England and France. With the Pope, the relations of the Emperor had been for some time on an unsatisfactory, or rather a hostile footing. The main subject of their discord was the COUNCIL OF TRENT, to the meeting of which, in December, 1545, we have already adverted.² The assembly was small, consisting of only twenty-five prelates, four generals of orders, and a few of the lower clergy, for the most part either Spaniards or Italians, with a large proportion of monks, especially Dominicans, and a few Jesuits. Not a single Lutheran appeared, and even among the Catholics the Council excited but little interest. The form of it, however, was legitimate and unexceptionable; and the Lutherans, by absenting themselves, incurred the reproach of renouncing the important right of assisting in the adjustment of the doctrines and constitution of the Church.

¹ "Voilà donc le belitre qui mène l'avant-garde de ma félicité." — Mem. de Vieilleville, liv. ii. c. 11.

² The principal works on the Council of Trent are, Fra Paolo Sarpi, *Storia del Concilio Tridentino* (translated into French by Courayer); Pallavicino, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*. These two writers are diametrically opposed to each other. Fra Paolo was the leader of the

Catholic opposition to the Pope. He never owned his book, which was first published in England by Dominic of Spalatro. The object of Pallavicino, a Jesuit, was to confute Sarpi. His work appeared in 1656. In the Church of S^{ta}. Maria Maggiore, in which the Council sat, is a picture of it, with contemporary portraits.

It is plain that, with the exception, perhaps, of the extreme section of the monkish, and especially the Dominican theologians, the Council represented nothing but the temporary union of the Pope and Emperor for their political purposes. But the views of the Pope and the Emperor were not in accordance. We have seen that at the outbreak of the Smalkaldic war, the Emperor wished to represent it as undertaken merely for objects of State, while the Pope endeavoured to place it in the light of a religious crusade. The same respective views had prevailed throughout. The Emperor was anxious not to exasperate the Lutherans, by the help, or through the neutrality, of a portion of whom he hoped to subdue the rest; and with this view he had endeavoured to impress on the Pope the necessity that the Council should reform the abuses in the Church and in the Court of Rome before it proceeded to settle points of doctrine. The Council, however, over which presided a Papal Legate, and in which, as it voted *per capita*, and not by nations, the Pope's party, through the preponderant number of Italian prelates, formed the majority, adopted the opposite course, and some of its first decisions, in April, 1546, were in condemnation of the tenets of Luther. It declared that the authority of tradition was equal to that of Scripture; that the Latin Vulgate must remain the standard Scriptural text, otherwise, mere grammarians might set themselves up as teachers of bishops and theologians; that the books of either Testament were equally genuine; of which, to avoid mistakes, a list was made out, including the apocryphal books of the Old Testament. It forbade any one to wrest the words of Scripture to his own meaning, reserving the right of interpretation to the Church alone; and made other decrees of a like nature.

In their subsequent sittings the Council proceeded to consider the doctrines of original sin and justification; and in order to show some deference to the wishes of the Emperor, they discussed the question respecting the residence of bishops in their dioceses. This led to an inquiry whether such residence depended on Scripture or on canon law, and ultimately to a still more difficult one, namely, whether bishops derived their office immediately from Christ, or whether they received it mediately from the Pope. The Spanish prelates, by defending the former opinion, awakened the jealousy and suspicion of the Papal Legates, who, on pretence of the danger to which Trent was exposed in the war then breaking out, besought the Pope to transfer the Council to

some other place. This, however, Paul demurred to do without the consent of the Emperor, whom he was fearful of offending; and as Charles gave the project a most decided negative, the sittings were continued at Trent. The breach, however, between him and the Pope went on increasing. The Papal Nuncio was not consulted in the capitulations granted by Charles to the towns of Upper Germany, in which concessions were granted with respect to religion which could not but be displeasing to the Papal Court; and his ambassadors often threatened that when he had settled the affairs of Germany, he would go to Trent to conduct the proceedings in person, and to carry out the resolutions respecting the reform of the Roman Curia. The Pope, to avoid such a consummation, hastened on the publication of the dogmatic decree, respecting the doctrine of justification, which separated the two Churches for ever (January 13th, 1547); and at the same time, as the six months of service agreed upon in the treaty with the Emperor were expired, he recalled his troops from the Imperial camp.¹ Having thus decided on his policy, the Pope threw himself into the arms of France, and endeavoured to do Charles all the injury in his power. Paul's son, Pier Luigi Farnese, who was also exasperated by the Emperor's refusal to invest him with Parma and Piacenza, took the same course; and the conspiracy which broke out at Genoa in January, 1547, must be attributed to the machinations of the house of Farnese as well as of the French Court.

Andrea Doria, the head of the Genoese Republic, now in his eightieth year, was regarded by many citizens as the mere lieutenant of the Emperor, whom they considered as the real tyrant of the State. Among those who entertained such opinions was Gian Luigi Fiesco, Count of Lavagna, both by his birth and his possessions one of the principal nobles of Genoa. Fiesco was devoured with a secret jealousy of Doria's greatness, and he readily listened to the instigations of Farnese, and of the agents of France, to which party his house had always belonged, to organize a conspiracy against the admiral, in which personal hatred and ambition might be disguised under the veil of patriotism. Fiesco's position at Genoa, his handsome figure, his reputation for valour and generosity, and his affected zeal for the popular cause, all fitted him for an undertaking of this desperate nature; whilst on the other hand Andrea Doria, fast sinking into the decrepitude of age, had destined for his successor his great-

¹ Ribier, t. i. p. 602.

nephew, Giannettino Doria, whose haughty and overbearing temper had rendered him to the last degree unpopular. Fiesco concealed his hatred and his designs till his plot was ripe for execution, and continued till the last moment on terms of apparent friendship with the Dorias. A plot for the assassination of the admiral and his grand-nephew having failed, Fiesco, under pretext of fitting out a privateer against the Turks, introduced the boldest of his men, into the city; and on the night of the 2nd of January, 1547, he gave a great entertainment, to which were invited all those who from their youth and courage, as well as from their political sentiments, were likely to second his design. The guests were astonished to find the precincts and chambers of Fiesco's palace filled with men armed to the teeth; but when he revealed to them his plot, and informed them at the same time that all was ready for its execution, the whole assembly came at once into his views. Bands were immediately formed, headed by Fiesco's brothers and confidants; the harbour and the gates of the town were seized; Giannettino Doria was slain as he was hastening to appease the tumult; and the aged admiral himself was obliged to mount a horse and fly. But now, when the conspiracy had succeeded, the conspirators looked round in vain for their leader. During the tumult a revolt had broken out among the slaves in the capitan galley; Fiesco was in the act of boarding the vessel to restore order, when the plank on which he trod suddenly giving way, he fell into the water, and being encumbered with heavy armour, he sank to rise no more. Discouragement and alarm seized his adherents. Instead of vigorously pursuing their designs to a successful issue, they began to parley with the government, and an amnesty being granted to them, they retired from the city. But the capitulation was not respected: some of the leaders were besieged in Montoglio, captured, and put to death, while others succeeded in escaping into France.¹

The troubles which broke out at Naples in the following May, though occasioned by an attempt of the Viceroy, Don Pedro de Toledo, to introduce the Spanish Inquisition into that kingdom, were also fomented by the house of Farnese and by the French. The Neapolitans, inspired by a natural horror of such a tribunal, rose in arms; and though in no country in Europe was the separation between the nobility and the people so marked, or the mutual

¹ Thuanus, lib. iii. init.; Muratori, *Ann. d'Ital.* t. xiv. p. 352 sq.; De Retz, *La conjuration du Comte de Fiesque*.

hatred greater, yet on this occasion all ranks united to repel the dreaded institution. At the sound of the alarm-bell they all assembled; each noble gave his hand to a burgess, and in this fashion, and with shouts of "Union!" walked in procession to the cathedral. The French engaged to help them with a fleet commanded by one of the Fieschi, the Genoese refugees; but this promise was not fulfilled; and as the Spanish troops were marching upon Naples, the malcontents found themselves compelled to submit. Don Pedro de Toledo, in order to keep alive the animosity between the two classes, would treat only with the burgesses, to whom he gave a written promise that the Inquisition should never more be heard of, and that all processes should be stopped. Some of the leaders of the revolt were executed; others, it is said, were taken off by poison; and the city was condemned to pay a heavy fine.¹

Meanwhile, in spite of the Emperor's remonstrances, the Council had been transferred from Trent to Bologna. In the next sittings was to have been discussed the doctrine of the Eucharist; but before that subject came on, most of the Fathers, to whom the residence in Trent had long been irksome, left that town (March 12th), and either dispersed themselves or proceeded to Bologna. The motive for this step was assigned to the breaking out of a pestilential disorder, which however does not appear to have been severe enough to justify it; and a small minority, consisting of eighteen prelates of the Imperial party remained behind. Charles heard of this event at Nördlingen, while on his march into Saxony; and he immediately despatched to Rome the messenger who brought the news, with the strictest commands to his ambassador there to effect the speedy return of the Council to Trent, and to prevent by all means the holding of it at Bologna. Paul in his answer pretended that he had no power to compel the Fathers to return to Trent; but he ordered those who had assembled at Bologna, and who held a sitting there on the 21st of April, to adjourn till September 6th. The Emperor, however, was persuaded that the Pope meant to deceive him; and this persuasion had considerable influence in inducing him to grant more favourable terms to the conquered Lutherans.

Such was the state of Charles's foreign relations at the time of the Diet of Augsburg, to which we must now revert.

¹ Ribier, *Lettres de Guillart*. t. ii. p. 20, 28; Muratori, *Ann.* t. xiv. p. 357; Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 270.

CHAPTER XIX.

AS the Emperor approached Augsburg the magistrates came a mile or two out of the town to meet him, and received him on their knees. He entered the city at the head of his Spanish and Italian troops, and took up his residence at the house of the Fuggers in the Wine Market. One of his first steps was to cause the cathedral, and another of the principal churches, to be purified from the defilement they had suffered by the exercise of the Lutheran worship; after which the Popish service was re-established in them with extraordinary pomp.

Had Charles been so inclined, he might now, perhaps, have rendered his authority despotic in Germany; yet he showed a wish to respect the constitution of the Empire; and all his views seemed directed to the appeasing of the religious dissensions. A marked change was observed in his appearance and conduct. During the late campaign he seemed to have become all at once an old man. His hair was grown completely grey; his countenance was pallid, his voice weak, and all his limbs were affected with a lameness. The constitutional melancholy which he inherited from his mother appeared to be much increased. Already, in the year 1542, he had expressed to the Duke of Gandia, afterwards General of the Jesuits, his intention of abandoning the Court and the world so soon as his son should be capable of assuming the reins of government.¹ It was remarked that he mingled not in the festivities and amusements in which his brother Ferdinand and the other princes assembled in Augsburg indulged. He took his meals in solitude and silence; and it was seldom that the Court jesters, who at that period entertained the leisure of the great, could extract from him the faintest smile.² It was to such a man, now for the first time truly Lord of Germany, that princes and nobles, and the deputies of many great and wealthy cities, came to do homage on bended knees and with downcast eyes.

¹ Schmidt, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. i. S. 277.

² Sastrow, *Lebensb.* B. ii. S. 84.

The Diet was very fully attended. All the seven Electors were there, as well as a large number of princes, prelates, and burgesses. After some trouble, especially with the deputies of cities, the Emperor brought the three Colleges to a unanimous decision on the subject of the Council—or rather he surprised their consent by assuming it—so that he could tell the Pope that the Electors, the spiritual and temporal Princes, and the Imperial cities, had submitted themselves to the synod “at Trent.” In this resolution the stress laid upon the designation of the place contained, in fact, a protest against the removal of the Council. There still remained, however, the more difficult task of persuading Paul to restore the Council to Trent; a difficulty increased by an occurrence which further widened the breach between the Emperor and the Pope.

Paul's son, Pier Luigi Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, was a tyrant of the old Italian stamp; in lust and cruelty a Cæsar Borgia in miniature. The hatred of his subjects produced a not unusual catastrophe: Farnese was assassinated by a band of conspirators, at the head of whom was Count Agostino Landi. Ferrante Gonzaga, Governor of Milan, appears to have been acquainted with the plot; nay, there are even strong suspicions that it had received the sanction of the Emperor himself.¹ However this may be, Gonzaga occupied Piacenza with his troops, and Charles continued to hold possession of it, on the ground that he had never granted investiture to the murdered Duke. The rage of the Pope at the death of his son and the seizure of his domains knew no bounds. He was ready to call the Turks, nay, hell itself, to his assistance. Among other things, he contemplated a league with France, with the view of making the Duke of Guise King of Naples. On the 20th of September he addressed an angry epistle to the Emperor, demanding that the assassin should be punished, and that the town should be restored to Ottavio Farnese, the son of the murdered Duke and son-in-law of the Emperor.² To which demand the Emperor returned an evasive answer.

These events rendered the breach as to the Council irreparable. The Pope could not, indeed, out of respect to public opinion, flatly

¹ Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. v. S. 11. In another passage Ranke observes: “Es wird schwerlich an Tag kommen, ob er zu der Ermordung Pier Luigis seine Einstimmung gegeben hat oder nicht.”—*Ibid.* p. 109. Sismondi does not hesitate to

describe the murder as “publiquement autorisé par le premier monarque de la chrétienté.”—*Hist. des Français*, t. xii. p. 139.

² Raynaldus, t. xiv. p. 270.

reject the proposals respecting the return of the Council, which were laid before him by Madrucci, Cardinal of Trent; but he contrived that his answer should be equivalent to a refusal. He replied that he must consult the Fathers assembled at Bologna, the very persons against whom the Emperor protested. These declared that the first step must be the reunion with themselves of the Fathers who had remained behind at Trent. They then wished to know whether the German nation would recognize and observe the decrees already made at Trent; whether the Emperor did not mean to alter the form hitherto observed; and whether a majority of the Council might not definitively decide respecting either its removal or its termination. The Imperial plenipotentiary perceived from this answer that all hope of an accommodation was at an end, and immediately left Rome. Charles despatched two Spaniards, the licentiate Vargas and Doctor Velasco, to Bologna, who, on the 16th January, 1548, made a solemn protest against the translation of the Council, and all that it had subsequently done, as null and void; at the same time declaring that the Emperor must now assume the care of the Church, which had been deserted by the Pope. The Legate del Monte replied, that he should answer only to God for what he had done, and could not suffer the temporal power to arrogate the direction of a Council. In short, it was a declaration of spiritual war.

It being now evident that no arrangement could be effected with the Pope, the Emperor determined upon a scheme for the settlement by his own authority of the religious differences which agitated Germany. With this view he commissioned three divines, Michael Helding, Suffragan of the Archbishop of Mentz, Julius Pflug, Bishop of Naumburg, and John Agricola, Court preacher of Joachim II., Elector of Brandenburg, to draw up some articles which were to be observed till the questions in dispute should be settled by a properly constituted and generally acknowledged Council. The first of these divines, represented the old Catholic party; the second its more liberal, or Erasmian section; while Agricola, though he had sat at Luther's table, was the exponent of the peculiar notions of his Sovereign. From their labours was expected a code that should satisfy all parties; but, as commonly happens in such compromises, they succeeded in pleasing none. They drew up a formula consisting of twenty-six Articles, which, as it was intended only to serve a temporary purpose, obtained the name of the INTERIM. Most of the articles were in favour of the Catholics, the only concessions of any importance to Lutheran

views being the celebration of the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and permission for married clergy to retain their wives. The College of Princes adopted the opinion of the spiritual Electors: that Church property should be restored; that a dispensation should be necessary for the marriage of priests and for receiving the cup in the Lord's Supper; above all, that the formula should not affect those who had remained in the old religion, but be applicable solely to the Lutherans. The Emperor found himself obliged to accept this last condition. On the afternoon of the 15th of May, 1548, the Colleges of the States were summoned to the Imperial apartments, where the Emperor and King Ferdinand sat enthroned. Although many wished that the subject should be fully discussed, the Archbishop of Mentz stood up after the reading of the Interim, and without any authority from his brother Electors, or from the assembly, thanked the Emperor for his unwearied endeavours to restore peace to the Church; and in the name of the Diet signified their approbation of the plan proposed. The assembly was struck with astonishment at the impudence and presumption of the speaker, but nobody had the courage to contradict him; and the Emperor accepted his declaration as a full and constitutional ratification of the instrument: copies of which were now first distributed to the States, so that there was no opportunity for discussion.

One of the first to oppose the Interim was the new Elector Maurice, whom Charles had solemnly invested at Augsburg with the Saxon Electorate. The investiture was conducted with all the ancient ceremonies: a stage, with a throne for the Emperor, was erected in the Wine Market; the other six Electors in their robes of state assisted at the solemnity; while John Frederick, the deposed Elector, looked on from the window of his lodgings with an undisturbed and even cheerful countenance. On the day after the publication of the Interim, Maurice handed to the Emperor a written protest against it. He remarked at the same time that he had been hindered from expressing his opinion; complained of the hasty and untimely speech of the Elector of Mentz; reminded Charles of the promises made to himself at Ratisbon; and expressed his dissatisfaction that the Lutherans alone were to be subjected to the new formula. Charles affected surprise at the Elector's separating himself from the other States; but he promised to consider his protest, and two days after Maurice quitted Augsburg. The Elector Palatine and Joachim of Brandenburg accepted the Interim; Ulrich of Wür-

temberg also caused it to be published, and enjoined his subjects to obey it. There were, however, other malcontents besides Maurice. The Margrave John of Cüstrin remonstrated against it; and the deputies of several Imperial cities alleged that they must await the instructions of their constituents. With the cities, however, Charles adopted a more peremptory tone, treating with each separately, and beginning with Augsburg, the municipal council of which was brought by the threats of Granvelle to accept the Interim. The preachers were compelled to put on the vestments appointed in that formula; and it was ordered that a Mass should be said every Sunday in the evangelical churches. Granvelle proceeded in like manner with the deputies of the other cities, and he even went so far as to threaten some of the more obstinate with the flames.¹

With the steadfast John Frederick the Imperial minister found more difficulty. Charles was desirous of obtaining the adherence of the deposed Elector, both for the sake of his influential example and on account of what possessions still remained in his family; and with this view Granvelle, with his son the Bishop of Arras, and the Vice-chancellor Seld, were deputed to him. John Frederick kept the ambassadors to dinner; after which he caused his Chancellor Minckwitz to read to them a strong protest against the Interim, and concluded by desiring them to hand it to the Emperor. For this act of honest contumacy a paltry vengeance was taken. The ex-Elector's servants were disarmed; his steward and cook were directed not to prepare any flesh dinners on fast days; and what annoyed him more than all this, he was deprived of his Court preacher and of his books; among which were a splendidly illuminated Bible and the works of Luther, in whose writings he found his chief solace, and which, as he expressed himself, "went through his bones and marrow." He consoled himself, however, with the reflection that they could not be torn from his memory and heart. The Landgrave Philip, whose conduct forms a strong contrast to that of John Frederick, experienced even worse treatment. He wrote a very submissive letter to the Emperor from Donauwörth, in which, although he expressed his opinion that all the contents of the Interim could not be established from Scripture, he promised obedience and implored the Emperor's mercy. But he was only treated with still greater harshness and contempt.

As the Emperor had been obliged to exempt the Catholics

¹ Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. ii. S. 156.

from the operation of the Interim, he carried out the wishes he had long entertained for the amendment of the Church by a separate edict of reformation, which was read June 14th, and published after the close of the Diet. It contained many excellent rules respecting the election of the clergy, their preaching, their administration of the sacraments and ceremonies, their discipline and morals. Pluralities were abolished, visitations appointed, the German hierarchy reconstituted, episcopacy restored in Meissen and Thuringia, together with many other regulations of the like description. Never was an ordinance of such a nature drawn up with more wisdom and moderation. Even the advocate of the Roman Curia allows that it contained much that was good; but asserts that it was necessarily abortive because a temporal Prince had presumed to interfere in spiritual affairs.¹

Charles also displayed his authority in this Diet by re-establishing the Imperial Chamber, by renewing and amending the *Landfriede*, or Public Peace, by sumptuary laws and new ordinances of police, and especially by the reconstitution of the Imperial Circle of Burgundy by the addition to it of the Netherland provinces of Utrecht, Overysse, Gelderland, Zutphen, and Groningen, fallen to the house of Austria since 1521. Artois and West Flanders, released from French suzerainty since 1526, were also now parts of the Emperor's Burgundian dominions. The Imperial States were not consulted respecting this arrangement, with which they ventured not to find fault, although it was regarded with great dislike and suspicion. It was plain, indeed, that the whole gain of the measure would belong to the House of Austria, and that the Empire would be called upon to defend the Low Countries against the enemies of that house.² Charles proceeded still more arbitrarily with several of the Imperial cities, by depriving them of their municipal privileges and remodelling their government according to his will.

It was hardly to be expected that the Lutherans, who had just thrown off the trammels of the Pope, should quietly submit to the dictation of a temporal Prince in matters of conscience. Wherever, indeed, the authority of the Emperor prevailed, he compelled at least an external observance of the Interim, but the discontent was deep and universal. At Nuremberg, the only priest who said Mass was obliged to go to church attended by a guard.³ More

¹ Pallavicini, lib. xi. c. ii. s. 1. The Imperial *Formula Reformationis* is pub-

² Pfeffel, t. ii. p. 166.

lished in Goldast, *Constit. Imperial*, t. ii. p. 325 sqq.

³ Calvin, *Epist.* No. 84.

than 400 pastors are said to have been expelled from Suabia and the Rhenish lands for rejecting the Interim;¹ and although it was forbidden to write against it, under pain of death, no fewer than thirty-seven attacks upon it appeared, including one by Calvin, whose situation, however, did not expose him to much risk of incurring the penalty.² The towns of Lower Saxony entered into a league to resist the Interim; but it was Magdeburg and Constance that chiefly distinguished themselves by their opposition. The former, as we have seen, lay already under the ban of the Empire; on the 6th of August, Constance, although it had done no more than other towns, was subjected to the same penalty; but it had always been obnoxious to the House of Austria. A body of Spaniards attempted to surprise the city on the very day of the publication of the ban; the enterprise was frustrated by an act which may be paralleled with that of Horatius Cocles. Two Spaniards were hastening over the bridge that spans the Rhine to seize the open and unguarded gate; a citizen engaged them both, and finding himself likely to be overpowered, grappled with them, and dragged them after him into the stream. At length Constance was obliged to surrender to the forces of King Ferdinand, October 14th; and though an Imperial city, it was seized by that Prince for the House of Austria. After its capture the exercise of Lutheran worship was forbidden there on pain of death. To the reduction of Magdeburg, a longer and more difficult enterprise, there will be occasion to revert. This city was now become the stronghold of Protestantism; and it was chiefly here that were published the numerous pamphlets, songs, caricatures, &c., in which the Interim was abused and ridiculed.

Maurice was very ill received on his return to his dominions. The States assembled at Meissen refused to accept the Interim, and seemed to be already turning towards Maurice's brother Augustus. All eyes were directed towards the Elector and his theologians, the successors and representatives of Luther, and especially towards Melanchthon, whom Maurice had recalled to Wittenberg; for the University there had been dispersed by the war. Melanchthon had published a pamphlet about the Interim, which had excited the minds of the Saxons against it; and the Elector's embarrassment was increased by a rescript from the Emperor requiring obedience, and calling upon him to banish Melanchthon. That reformer, however, was not made of the same

¹ Adamus, *Vita Melanch.* p. 344.

² Dyer's *Life of Calvin*, p. 232 sqq.

stern, unyielding stuff as Luther; and in this conjuncture it was perhaps fortunate that he was not so. Allowance must be made for the difficult position in which he was placed. He had to choose between the restoration of some unessential ceremonies and the appearance of an Imperial army in Saxony, which, as it had done in Suabia, might carry matters to a still greater extremity.¹ Under these circumstances, he and a few other divines who acted with him, consented to the resumption of certain usages and ceremonies, which they called *adiaphora*, or things indifferent, as not involving any points essential to salvation: such as the use of the surplice, lights, bells, unction, fast days and festivals, and the like; while they retained all the doctrines which they considered of vital importance. That this was a retrograde step cannot be denied: but the question was, whether they should make these concessions for the sake of conciliation, or run the risk of being still more harshly treated: From these considerations, a formula was drawn up in December, 1548, which obtained the name of the LEIPSIĆ INTERIM, and was published in the following July. The concessions it contained drew down upon Melancthon a storm of obloquy from those more violent and bigoted reformers whose situation exempted them from feeling the motives which actuated him; and particularly from Matthias Flaccius, a young divine, who had some motives of personal enmity against Melancthon, as well as from Calvin himself, in their safe retreats in Magdeburg and Geneva.²

The Interim caused as much displeasure at Rome as among the reformers, and was anathematized at once by Geneva and the Jesuits. Violent treatises were published, both in Italy and France, as well against the concessions made to the Lutherans as against the sacrilegious intervention of the temporal power in the affairs of religion. The Roman ecclesiastics compared the Emperor's conduct with that of Henry VIII., to which, indeed, it bore considerable resemblance; and they denounced his deed as equally guilty with that of Uzzah, who had touched with unhallowed hand the Ark of God. Paul himself, with more sagacity, perceived

¹ See his letter to Joachim Moller, apud Matthes, *Leben Melancthons*, p. 308, in which he explains his motives.

² Ranke, who condemns the conduct of Melancthon on this occasion (*Deutsche Gesch.* B. v. S. 86 f.), says that the letter which Calvin addressed to him (*Epist.* No. 117) must have rent his heart. It appears, however, to have excited a feeling of indignation rather than sorrow, for

Melancthon tore it up in the presence of some third parties. (See Calvin's *Epist.* No. 141.) Calvin himself afterwards repented of his letter, as appears from his *Life*, written by his disciple and successor Beza. ("Philippo etiam officii admonito, quem nonnulli ut in eo molliorem accusabant; immerito id quidem, ut accuratius postea Calvinus cognovit."—*Vit. Calv.* ann. 1549).

the weakness of the foundation on which the Emperor had built. By joining either of the parties, Charles might have crushed the other; by attempting to steer between them he lost the control of both.

Meanwhile the French party was active in Italy. In his foreign policy Henry II. was directed by the Guises rather than by Montmorenci; both these parties in the cabinet were strongly anti-Protestant, but the Guises were also anti-Imperial. While persecuting the reformed religion with the most implacable virulence at home, Henry, like his father, would willingly have assisted the German Lutherans against the Emperor. That party, however, was too much humbled to attempt anything; and the French King was fain to content himself with insidious attacks upon the power of the Emperor. In the summer of 1548, Henry, surrounded by a brilliant court, paid a visit to Turin; where, by assembling the garrisons distributed through Piedmont, he might, in a few days, have converted his escort into an army. His object was to support various conspiracies against the Emperor in Italy, which had been chiefly hatched by Cardinal du Bellay, the French ambassador at Rome.¹ Of these conspiracies, no fewer than three were directed against Genoa, and involved the assassination of Andrew Doria. The first, in which the brothers of Fiesco were concerned, with Giulio Cibo, Marquis of Massa Carrara, failed through Cibo's being denounced by his own mother. When arrested, letters were found upon him from the Cardinal of Guise, which showed that the latter was privy to the plot, and had communicated it to Henry II.² The two other conspiracies, at the head of which were Paolo Spinola and a monk named Barnabò Adorno, also failed. At Parma, two plots for the murder of Gonzaga, Governor of the Milanese, were likewise discovered and frustrated, and the authors of them put to death. In their examination, these men declared that they had been employed by the sons of Pier Luigi Farnese, the murdered Duke; that the French King was aware of their designs, and had come into Italy for the purpose of taking advantage of the disturbances which might follow on their accomplishment. From a letter of Cardinal du Bellay, it appears that there was a further plot for massacring the Viceroy and Spanish garrison at Naples, and seizing that city.³ These enterprises had not been supported with the expected

¹ Letter of Du Bellay, Rome, Feb. 18th, 1548, in Ribier, t. ii, p. 110.

² *Ibid.* and p. 114; Adriani, *Istoria de'*

suoi tempi, lib. vi. p. 243, ed. 1583; Thuanus, lib. iii. (t. i. p. 80).

³ Ribier, t. ii. p. 130.

vigour by Paul III. After the first transports of rage had subsided, fear had taken their place in the bosom of the sly and subtle, and now aged, Pontiff, who began to renew his negotiations with the Emperor; and after a short stay at Turin, Henry was recalled to France by an insurrection of the peasantry of Saintonge and Guienne, on the subject of the *gabelle*, or salt-tax, and the extortions and oppressions of the revenue officers. The insurgents acted with great barbarity; but though their forces are said at one period to have numbered 50,000 men, they had no competent chief to direct them, and could not venture to oppose the royal troops, under the Constable Montmorenci and the Duke of Aumale. At their approach, the citizens of Bordeaux, who had taken part in the insurrection, so far from attempting to resist, despatched a magnificent barge for the conveyance of Montmorenci within their walls; but the rugged Constable declared that he meant to enter in another fashion, and battered down a breach with his artillery. He treated the citizens with the greatest harshness and cruelty. During more than a month, the executions succeeded one another with frightful rapidity, and without any formal trial. More than 140 persons were put to death, some with the most dreadful tortures, as by fire, wheel, or dismemberment by four horses. Two of the ringleaders were crowned with red-hot crowns, in mockery of their sovereignty, and then broken on the wheel. Such were the barbarities still allowed to those who had the power and the heart to execute them. The citizens were compelled to disinter with their nails the body of Tristan de Moneins, Lieutenant of the King of Navarre, and a kinsman of the Constable's, who had been brutally murdered at the beginning of the revolt. Bordeaux was condemned to lose all its privileges and liberties; the jurats were compelled to burn its charters with their own hands; the town-hall was ordered to be demolished, and a fine of 20,000 livres was exacted. The impolicy of these penalties, however, in case of a war with England, caused them soon afterwards to be remitted. The more prudent Aumale acquired a popular reputation by tranquillizing Saintonge and the Angoumois without enforcing any punishment. But the brutality of Montmorenci had done its work. His crimes raised an indignant voice, whose echoes may still be heard. That very year, in sight of the scaffolds erected by the Constable, Etienne de la Boëtie, of Sarlat in Périgord, a young man of eighteen, the friend of Montaigne, wrote his *Contr'un*, or *Discours de la Servitude volontaire*, one of the most burning and brilliant declamations ever launched

against tyranny. The doctrines there laid down regarding the true principles of civil liberty, and the right of popular resistance, are remarkable for the period, and show as great an advance in politics as the Reformation did in religion. But they were destined to be stifled for more than two centuries, and to accumulate, by repression, that fearful venom which burst forth at the French Revolution.¹

After the conclusion of the Diet, Charles left Augsburg for the Netherlands (August 13th, 1548), dragging with him in his train the two captive Princes. The Landgrave he sent to Oudenarde, while he carried John Frederick with him to Brussels. One of Charles's objects in proceeding to the Netherlands, where he remained till the spring of 1550, was to cause his son Philip, now in his twenty-first year, to be recognized by his future subjects in those provinces, as well as to complete his education by initiating him under the paternal eye in all the arts of government. The Emperor had also a design, which we shall explain further on, to procure, after the death of his brother Ferdinand, the Imperial Crown for Philip; and with this view, Philip, in order that he might become acquainted with the Germans, was directed to pass through Germany on his way into the Netherlands. Charles having secured the obedience of most part of Germany, and feeling his health declining, was anxiously considering how he might best perpetuate the greatness of the House of Austria. He and his brother now held between them Spain, the Netherlands, Naples, Milan, Hungary, Bohemia, and the Empire; but the lapse of a generation or two would sever the intimate connection between these possessions, unless care were taken to prevent such a result.

Philip's absence was unpopular in Spain. The national spirit, however, had been considerably broken during the reign of Charles; and though some discontent was manifested by the Castilian Cortes, the opposition was neither well conducted nor persevering. The Duke of Alva, in assembling the Cortes, excluded the prelates and nobles, and summoned only the deputies of towns.² It was also some satisfaction to the Spaniards, that during Philip's absence the government was intrusted to the Archduke Maximilian, the Emperor's nephew, whom he had recently married to his daughter Mary. Charles

¹ La Boétie, who was a counsellor of the Parliament of Bordeaux, died in 1563, in the arms of his friend Montaigne, at the early age of thirty-two. His treatise is

published at the end of Montaigne's Works.

² See above, p. 90.

directed his son, before leaving Spain, to remodel his Court after the Burgundian fashion, which was much more splendid and ceremonious than that of Castile. The young Prince embarking at Barcelona, proceeded to Genoa, and thence to Milan, where he spent some time in a round of festivities. The whole journey from that place to Flanders—through Tyrol, and by Munich and Heidelberg to Brussels—was performed on horseback. At Trent, Philip was met by the Elector Maurice, who accompanied him some way on his journey. The young Prince took evident pains to render himself popular with the Germans; but to conciliate affection lay not in his nature. His cold, haughty, and repulsive manners disgusted them as well as the Flemings.¹

The Emperor, in order to find employment for the French arms, and prevent them from being directed against himself, would willingly have embroiled France and England in a war; and during the revolt of Guienne, he endeavoured to persuade Protector Somerset to revive the pretensions of England to that province.² But although the policy of France, directed by the Guises, was well calculated to provoke hostility, yet the factions with which England was then distracted, as well as the dangerous intrigues of his own family, made Somerset desirous of peace. To foment hostilities between England and Scotland was the natural policy of the Guises, as well from considerations of religion as from the far more powerful motive of family interest. After the accession of Edward VI. the reformed religion had been established in England; and the views of Somerset, a zealous Protestant, were directed to extend the reformation to Scotland, where there was already a considerable Protestant party, and by a marriage between Edward VI. and Mary, the young Queen of Scots, to effect a union of the two Crowns. This, however, would have been fatal to the ambition of the Guises, who were desirous of forming a marriage between their young niece and the Dauphin Francis, son of Henry II. And as a union between England and Scotland would have deprived France of a means she had often employed to harass and weaken the former country through the latter, they did not find much difficulty in persuading the French King to refuse the ratification of a treaty concluded at London, March 11th, 1547, respecting Boulogne, and for regulating the affairs of Scotland.³ The Scotch

¹ There are some curious particulars of Philip's haughty behaviour at Trent in Saxtrow's *Lebensbeschreibung*, Buch xi. Kap. i.

² Thuanus, liv. v. (t. i. p. 164).

³ Rymer, t. xv. pp. 135, 139, 149.

Parliament and the Regent Arran had also declined to ratify the previous treaty between Henry VIII. and Francis I., in which Scotland had been included. Party differences in that country were hot and rancorous. The adherents of the reformed religion were for the English marriage and alliance, while the Catholics found their rallying point in France. The latter party had been led by the savage and bigoted Cardinal David Beaton, the Scottish Primate, detested by the Protestants for his cruelty, and even by the Catholic nobles for his overbearing arrogance, which at length caused his destruction. A private quarrel with Norman Leslie, son of the Earl of Rothes, led that young nobleman, with sixteen companions, to effect his murder in the castle of Saint Andrews, a little before the conclusion of the treaty just referred to. Mary of Guise, the Queen-mother, now the head of the Catholic party in Scotland, in vain attempted to secure the conspirators, who, with the aid of about 150 men who were not in the plot, succeeded in holding the Castle of Saint Andrews against her; upon which she applied to her brothers for assistance, and with the aid of twenty-one French galleys and some French troops, the Castle was forced to capitulate, July 3rd, 1547. The Protector Somerset, advancing with an army of 18,000 men, inflicted a terrible defeat on the Regent Arran, who had much superior forces, at the battle of Pinkie, September 10th, 1547. Somerset was prevented from pursuing his victory by disturbances in England, which compelled his return; but this defeat diminished the consideration of the Regent Arran, and increased the influence of the Queen-mother. She saw no safety except in a French alliance, and through the influence of her brothers she succeeded in arranging a marriage between her daughter Mary and the Dauphin Francis. The prospect of securing the Crown of Scotland in his family had induced Henry II., although at peace with England, to assist the Scotch. Mary, the young Queen of Scots, was carried into France for her education till the time should arrive for the celebration of the marriage; and 6,000 French troops which had been landed in Scotland helped in repulsing the attacks of the English. The latter having rejected a summons to desist from these hostilities, France in 1549 declared open war. A French fleet, under the command of Leone Strozzi, a Florentine refugee, issuing from Havre de Grâce, defeated the English fleet near Guernsey. Towards the end of August Henry II. in person approached Boulogne with an army, and captured some of the neighbouring forts; but the siege of Boulogne itself was deferred

till the following year. The French arms were helped by the distracted state of England. The Earl of Warwick and his party, who had succeeded to the power of Somerset, though they had condemned the Protector for desiring a peace with France, found themselves compelled to adopt that measure; and a treaty was signed, March 24th, 1550, by which Boulogne was surrendered to the French for 400,000 crowns, instead of the 2,000,000 stipulated by the treaty of 1546.¹ It was, indeed, too expensive to be kept.

During this period the religious persecutions in France were continued with the utmost severity. The policy of the Guises, and the despotism which with the Constable was an instinct, united in favour of persecution; and Diana, who had been personally affronted by an enthusiastic reformer, inclined the same way. The splendid fêtes given in Paris at the coronation of Henry's Queen, Catharine de' Medici, in June, 1549, were concluded by an *auto-de-fé*, in which four wretches convicted of Lutheranism were burnt at a slow fire. The hunting down of heretics was profitable to the French courtiers. They were put on the same footing as usurers, and it was not unusual for a favourite to obtain a royal *brevet* granting him the estates of such persons, throughout an entire province.² The Protestants lost about this time one of their best friends and protectors, Margaret, Queen of Navarre, who died in Bigorre, December 21st. Her daughter, Jeanne d'Albret, though evangelically inclined, was yet too young to afford them much assistance.

Pope Paul III., who had attained the great age of eighty-two, died a little before (November 10th). He may be said to have fallen a victim to his ambition, the ruling passion of so many Popes. During the latter months of his life he had attempted to mollify the Emperor by concessions; he had first suspended, and then dissolved, the Council of Bologna (September, 1549), but had obtained nothing by this conduct. Paul had, in the summer, demanded back Piacenza from the Emperor, and on Charles's refusal, the Nuncio, with a rhetoric amounting to blasphemy, cited the Pope, the Emperor, and Granvelle to appear within six months before the throne of God.³ Fearing that Parma would fall, like Piacenza, into the hands of the Emperor, Paul had brought that Duchy under the direct rule of the Holy See,

¹ Rymer, t. xv. p. 211; King Edward VI.'s Journal.

² Vieilleville, liv. iii. c. 19.

³ Letter of Marillac, June 20th, 1549 in Ribier, t. ii. p. 217.

offering his grandson, Ottavio Farnese, the Duchy of Castro, in exchange for it. But to this arrangement Ottavio would not accede, and with his brothers actually entered into a league with Ferrante Gonzaga, their father's reputed murderer, for the purpose of recovering Parma. This news threw the aged Pope into so violent a fit of rage, that he fell senseless on the floor; and, though he survived three weeks, it can hardly be doubted that the agitation of his spirits contributed to hasten his end. He had occupied the chair of St. Peter fifteen years, and was esteemed for his talent and sagacity.

The Conclave for the election of Paul's successor, agitated by the intrigues of France, of the Imperial party, and the Farnese family, lasted three months. The new Pope was at length chosen by a sort of accident, or caprice. Five or six Cardinals were standing round the altar of the chapel, discussing the difficulties of the election, when Cardinal del Monte suddenly exclaimed, "Choose me, and you shall be my companions and favourites."¹ His election was effected, and Del Monte, who had been chamberlain to Julius II., assumed the title of Julius III. The Roman prelates of that day were not in general remarkable for morality, but of all the Sacred College, Del Monte, a profligate and a cynic, was, perhaps, the most unfit for the office to which he was called. One of his first acts was to make the keeper of his apo a cardinal; a young man whose relations to his patron cannot be named. Some Cardinals asking Julius what great merits he had found in this person to justify such an elevation? he retorted, with an audacious modesty, "And pray what qualities did you observe in me deserving of the tiara?"

Del Monte, who as President of the Council of Trent, had taken the lead in transferring that assembly to Bologna, was naturally obnoxious to the Emperor; yet, as Julius III., he preferred the Imperial alliance to that of France, and one of his earliest measures was to conciliate Charles by authorizing the reopening of the Council at Trent. The Emperor had summoned a Diet to meet at Augsburg on the 25th of June, 1550, and in May he left Brussels to proceed thither with his son Philip. He was now much more embittered against the Lutherans than he had appeared to be during the Smalkaldic war; or rather, perhaps he thought it no longer necessary to wear the mask. The German reformers might infer from his proceedings in the Netherlands what they had to expect in the event of his obtaining absolute

¹ Ranke, *Popes*, vol. i. p. 276.

power. Before leaving that country, where he had already established a modified Inquisition, he published, at Brussels, a most cruel and tyrannical edict against the Protestants (April 29th). To buy, sell, or possess any Protestant books, to hold any secret meetings for discussing the Scriptures, to speak against the worship of the Virgin and Saints, was prohibited on pain of death and confiscation of goods. As it was suspected that the enthusiasm of women might cause them to despise death by decapitation, the penalty prescribed for the male sex, it was ordained that females guilty of these offences should be buried alive, or burnt at a slow fire. The power of the Inquisitors was augmented, and informers were encouraged in their hateful office, by receiving part of the property of the victims.¹ Under this horrible decree a mother, who had not denounced her son for reading the Bible, was buried alive at Mons.

The Diet of Augsburg was opened July 26th. There was a very full attendance of prelates; but of temporal princes, only Duke Albert of Bavaria, and Henry, the younger, of Brunswick, were present in person; the rest sent representatives. The town was so filled with Spanish soldiers that the assembly obtained the name of "the Armed Diet." Charles was able to announce in his speech the consent of the Pope to the re-opening of the Council at Trent. That Council, however, would be useless unless the Lutherans could be brought to submit to its decrees; and to enforce this submission was one of the Emperor's objects in summoning the Diet. He regarded most of the principalities and cities of Germany as being now either subdued, or attached to his policy from inclination; and in the latter class he ranked the Elector Maurice, who had always shown himself subservient to his views. But Maurice had now attained the object of his wishes, and was disposed to take a very different view of matters than when he needed the Emperor's help to despoil his kinsman. He was sagacious enough to perceive that it was Charles's object to establish in Germany an absolute and hereditary tyranny, as he had done in his paternal dominions; in which case the Elector's own power and authority would dwindle to a mere name, and perhaps be entirely extinguished. He saw that Lutheranism was the chief safeguard for the political privileges of the German Princes; he had reason to suspect that the Emperor would not tolerate that faith any longer than he was compelled; in his heart, too, Maurice preferred the Lutheran faith to the Catholic.

¹ Edict in Sleidan, lib. xxii. *sub init.*

Moreover, he was not without cause for personal enmity against the Emperor. He felt that he had been deceived by Charles respecting the treatment of his father-in-law, the Landgrave of Hesse; and his pride, if not his affection for his relative, had been wounded by the neglect with which all his entreaties and remonstrances on that subject had been received. To be the head, moreover, of the Lutheran party, was a more glorious part than to be the mere lieutenant of the Emperor; and the reproaches of his brethren in religion, if they did not afflict his conscience, mortified at least his self-esteem. But he had a very difficult game to play. He was aware that he was suspected by the Lutherans, without whose help he could not hope to stand against the Emperor; while, on the other hand, any steps he might take to gain their support would be sure to awaken the suspicion and anger of Charles. Maurice met these difficulties with that uncommon mixture of boldness and duplicity which marked his character: he determined to side with the Lutherans on the subject of the Council, and with the Emperor on that of the Interim. The Saxon ambassador at the Diet was instructed to protest that his master would never submit to the Council, except on condition that the decrees already made at Trent should be reconsidered; that the Lutheran divines should be allowed a deliberative voice; and that the Pope should renounce all idea of presiding over and conducting the proceedings. Charles, however, fancied that the Elector, in thus acting, merely wanted to preserve his credit with his party. When, therefore, the States, at the instance of the Emperor, made provision for the war against Magdeburg, and further recommended that Maurice should conduct it, Charles readily assented. He had neither health, money, nor leisure to begin another German war himself: and he even considered it a high stroke of policy to engage the Lutheran Princes in the reduction of a city regarded as the stronghold of their faith. The rigid divines of Magdeburg, however, looked upon Maurice as an apostate from their creed, and overwhelmed him with calumnies. Accompanied by Lazarus Schwendi, as Imperial commissary, he appeared before that town with his troops in November, 1550, and we shall revert, a little further on, to his proceedings.

During the sitting of this Diet Charles endeavoured to carry out the project, to which we have already referred, that Ferdinand should procure the succession of the Infante Philip to the Imperial Crown, after his own decease, to the prejudice of his

son Maximilian; although the latter, when Philip should have attained the Imperial Crown, was to be made King of the Romans, and the Empire was thus, eventually, to remain in Ferdinand's line.¹ To discuss this important project, Queen Mary proceeded from Brussels to Augsburg, and Ferdinand recalled his son Maximilian from Spain. Ferdinand had at first given a flat refusal; but at length, after long and secret negotiations, a contract was made between Ferdinand and Philip, March 9th, 1551, by which the former engaged, when he should become Emperor, to procure the election of Philip as King of the Romans.² The other part of the plan, that Philip, when Emperor, should do the like by Maximilian, was secured only by Philip's promise, as it was thought that the Electors would not entertain a scheme founded on so remote a contingency. The recess of the Diet of Augsburg was published February 14th, 1551. The States had been brought to recognize the Council, though in very general terms, and to remit to the Emperor's discretion the question concerning the restitution of ecclesiastical property. During this assembly Charles lost his ablest minister, Nicholas Perrenot de Granvelle, his Chancellor, who died at Augsburg, August 28th, 1550. Charles bestowed the chancellorship on Granvelle's son, Antony, Bishop of Arras, who possessed all the diplomatic ability of his father, and subsequently became a Cardinal.

Meanwhile the clouds of war between France and the Emperor were silently gathering. Besides political reasons, the French King was instigated by personal enmity. Though of weak judgment and easily governed, Henry II. was constant in his affections and implacable in his resentments, and he had never forgiven Charles the sufferings inflicted on him during his captivity in Spain. For some time he had been preparing for war. In June, 1549, the ancient league of France with the Catholic Cantons of Switzerland had been renewed, in which also two of the Protestant ones, Bâle and Schaffhausen, were included. An intimate alliance was contracted with England at the time of the peace already mentioned. Henry sent to Edward VI. the collar of his order of Saint Andrew, and negotiations were entered into for a marriage between Edward and the French

¹ It was never contemplated that Ferdinand himself should waive his claim to the Empire, as asserted by Robertson and other historians. The plan was the postponement of Ferdinand's son Maximilian in favour of Charles's son Philip.

(See Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. v. 122. Cf. Menzel, B. ii. S. 177.)

² *Acte d'Accord*, ap. Ranke, *ibid.* S. 125. It is not certain that this treaty was ever ratified, and it was never carried out; but it serves to show the intention.

King's daughter Elizabeth, then only five years old ; which was eventually concluded by the treaty of Angers in July, 1551. The peace was proclaimed in England May 28th, 1550. Apprehension of the Emperor's plans was a motive with the English Court to keep on friendly terms with France. Credible information was received that Charles designed to carry off his kinswoman, the Lady Mary, to Antwerp, and to endeavour to place her on the English throne by means of a domestic conspiracy assisted by an Imperial army : and the coast of Essex was strictly watched in order to prevent her escape.¹

The views of France were also extended towards Italy. Although the Emperor was master of the Milanese and dominant in Genoa, the possession of the Duchy of Parma was still necessary to him in order effectually to exclude the French from central and southern Italy. Pope Julius III. had, on his accession, reinstated Ottavio Farnese, the son of Pier Luigi, in the possession of Parma, to be held as a fief of the Church. Charles, who still kept Piacenza, offered the Republic of Siena in exchange for Parma, and even engaged to hold the latter under the Pope, as suzerain, and to pay an annual quit-rent. Julius was naturally averse to accept so powerful a vassal ; but after hesitating some time between the menaces of the Emperor and those of the French King, he at length submitted to Charles. Ottavio upon this threw himself on the protection of France, and Henry II., by a treaty signed in May, 1551, engaged to assist him with troops and money. At this news the Pope, who was now completely governed by Charles, declared Ottavio a rebel, and despatched an army against him ; while the Emperor sequestered the dowry of his own natural daughter Margaret, the wife of Ottavio ; and towards the middle of June directed Gonzaga, Governor of the Milanese, to attack Parma. Two small armies of Italians in the pay of France succeeded, however, for some time in defending that city ; till Henry II., weary of being merely the auxiliary of the Duke of Parma, ordered Marshal de Brissac, Governor of Piedmont, to attack the Imperial possessions, though without any previous declaration of war. On the night of September 3rd, the troops of Brissac surprised and captured the towns of S. Damiano and Chieri, but an attempt on Chierasco failed. At the same time a fleet of forty galleys under the Baron de la Garde, issuing from the ports of Provence, captured some Spanish merchant vessels, and in concert with another squadron

¹ Edward VI.'s *Journal* (13th July, 1550).

under Leone Strozzi, prevented Andrew Doria from issuing out from Genoa. The approach of winter, however, put a stop to these operations. Another means of assailing the Emperor was to revive against him the hostility of the Turks. Notwithstanding Francis I.'s experience of Turkish friendship at Nico and at Toulon, it remained a fixed idea in France that the power of Charles must be checked through that of the Sultan; and hostilities between the former and the celebrated pirate-captain, Torg-hud or Draghut, a genuine successor of Hayraddin, afforded a pretence for inciting Solyman to take up arms.

For some years Draghut had been the terror of the Mediterranean. His squadron, which sometimes numbered forty swift-sailing vessels, appeared at the most unexpected points, captured richly-laden merchantmen, plundered the coasts, and bore off all the inhabitants that could be seized into slavery. An anxious look-out was kept from cliff and castle for his dreaded sails, the approach of which was signalled by columns of smoke. At length, partly by fraud and partly by force, Draghut succeeded in seizing the town of Afrikia, or Mehdiä, near Tunis, where the Moors and Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal had established a sort of Republic. This proceeding roused the anger of Charles, who, with the aid of some Papal and Florentine galleys, and of the Knights of St. John settled at Tripoli, wrested Afrikia from the hands of Draghut. Baron d'Aramon, the French ambassador at Constantinople, took advantage of this incident, which he represented as a breach of the truce existing between the House of Austria and the Porte, to incite the Sultan to action; and early in 1551 Solyman despatched a fleet into the Mediterranean with the design of recovering Afrikia. The plan failed; but after a fruitless attempt upon Malta, the Turks succeeded in taking Tripoli, which was but poorly defended by the Knights (August 14th). At this time D'Aramon, who had been to France for instructions, was at Malta on his way back to Constantinople, whither he proceeded in the Turkish fleet, a circumstance not calculated to refute the reports then prevalent of the participation of France in these affairs.

Besides all these hostile intrigues and demonstrations, Henry II. also opposed the Emperor in his favourite project of the Council. After obtaining an assurance from Henry that the French prelates should repair to Trent to counterbalance the influence of the Imperialists,¹ Julius III. had published a bull

¹ Sarpi, lib. iii. p. 286 (*Op. t. i.* ed. Helmstat, 1761).

for the reassembling of the Council at that place on May 1st, 1551; which was, however, on account of the small number of Fathers then present, adjourned to September 1st. At this second session appeared on the part of the French King, Jacques Amyot, the celebrated translator of Plutarch, to protest against the legality of the Council. This step was followed up by several other acts of hostility against the Pope. The French prelates were forbidden to appear at Trent; the remitting of money to Rome, or any place subject to the Roman See, was prohibited; and to obviate any censures which the Pope might fulminate against him, Henry II. instructed his Keeper of the Seals to enter an appeal to a future Council. He also persuaded the Swiss Cantons to refuse to recognize the Council of Trent.

Charles, on the other hand, was straining every nerve to maintain the Council and to make its authority respected. He persuaded the three ecclesiastical Electors to proceed to Trent, and compelled several of the German prelates to appear there, either in person or by proxy. He also exhorted the Lutheran Princes to send their divines thither to explain and defend their tenets; though at the same time he was acting as if the Council had already given a decree against them; and the places of the expelled Lutheran clergy in Suabia were supplied with their most bitter and bigoted adversaries, nominated by the sole authority of the Emperor. After these acts of tyranny Charles set out for Innsbruck, in order that he might be at hand to superintend the proceedings of the Council, as well as for the sake of easy access in case his affairs should call him either into Germany or Italy.

But the French King, not content with the hostile measures already related, had also entered into correspondence with the Emperor's domestic enemies, the German Lutherans, and particularly the Elector Maurice. We have already mentioned that Maurice had been intrusted by the Emperor with the siege of Magdeburg, and that he had invested that city in November, 1550: yet he had sent an agent to the French King as early as the preceding July, with assurances of extreme friendship;¹ and the allied Lutheran Princes had engaged that, on the next vacancy of the Imperial Crown, they would elect to it either Henry himself, or some Prince who might be agreeable to him. We shall not describe the long siege of Magdeburg, which Maurice purposely conducted with little vigour. Suffice it to say that on the

¹ Raumer's *Briefe aus Paris*, Th. i. S. 23.

3rd of November, 1551, he granted the citizens a capitulation, which, though it involved the surrender of the town, was, in fact, a peace on favourable conditions. Nominally, indeed, they were to submit to the pleasure of the Emperor, and were to pay a fine of 50,000 florins; but they were assured that their liberties and privileges, both civil and religious, should be respected. Maurice entered the town November 7th, and preserved the same moderation which he had displayed during the siege; yet he managed the whole affair with so much address that Charles suspected no fraud or collusion, nor hesitated to ratify the terms of the capitulation.

Only a month before, however, Maurice had already concluded a formal treaty with France. Henry had sent Jean de Froissac, Bishop of Bayonne, into Saxony, who, as the result of some secret negotiations at the Castle of Lohe, conducted partly by Maurice in person and partly by Heydeck as his representative, signed a treaty (October 5th), of which the following are the principal articles: that Maurice should be the commander-in-chief of the German Confederates; that he and his associates should furnish 7,000 horse and foot in proportion, and attack the Emperor; that the King of France should provide 240,000 crowns for the pay of the army during the first three months, and afterwards 60,000 crowns a month; that he should seize the French-speaking towns of Cambray, Toul, Metz, and Verdun, and hold them as Vicar of the Empire; and that at the next vacancy, either he himself or some Prince whom he approved of, should be elected to the Imperial Crown. The motives assigned for concluding the treaty were to liberate the Landgrave of Hesse from his five years' captivity, as well as to free Germany from a "bestial, insupportable, and perpetual servitude," and restore its ancient liberties and constitution.¹ John Frederick was also to be liberated, but on condition that before he was reinstated in the dominions still left to him, he should bind himself towards Maurice by such pledges "as the common good demands"—that is, of course, that he should not require back the Electorate. A treaty of great historical importance, especially as regards the claims of France to the towns of Metz, Toul, Verdun, and Cambray. The parties to it, besides the Elector Maurice, were George Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg-Culmbach, John Albert, Duke of Mecklenburg, William of Hesse, son of the Landgrave Philip, and the King of Denmark. But though the King of

¹ Dumont, iv. pt. iii. p. 31.

France was already engaged in hostilities with the Emperor in Italy, the idea of attacking him in Germany caused Henry to pause before he ratified the treaty. Maurice secretly despatched into France, under an assumed name, his friend and ally, the Margrave Albert, to persuade Henry to consent. The French King sent for Schärtlin, the former commander of the Suabian troops, who had lately entered his service; and for nearly two months consultations were nightly held at the courts of Paris, Orleans, and Blois. When the German negotiators were conducted through the rooms, the Margrave followed Schärtlin as his attendant, under the name of Captain Paul of Biberach. At length, on the 15th of January, 1552, Henry signed and swore to the treaty at the Castle of Chambord, near Blois.¹

In December Maurice had made another attempt to procure the liberation of the Landgrave, by sending to Charles at Innsbruck a solemn embassy, whose demand to that effect was supported not only by the King of Denmark and many Princes of the Empire, but also by the Emperor's own brother, King Ferdinand. Charles returned an evasive answer, as indeed Maurice had hoped and expected; whose sole intention in sending the embassy was to place the Emperor's unfeeling conduct in a hateful point of view, and to obtain a plausible pretext for the blow he was about to strike. Charles on his side did not believe that Maurice was in earnest. He had seen some years before at Augsburg how little the young Elector really cared about the liberation of his father-in-law, and he and his ministers, from Maurice's dissolute life, had contracted for him a sort of contempt. Charles imagined that he only made the application in order to please the Landgrave's family, and all Maurice's conduct was calculated to lull the Emperor into a false security. He had directed Melanchthon and other divines to proceed to Trent, with a Confession of Faith to be laid before the Council there assembled; and he carried his dissimulation so far as to order a house to be prepared for himself at Augsburg.² Nay, he actually began his journey towards that place, attended by a minister whom Granvelle had bribed to be a spy upon his actions; but, after travelling a few stages he pretended to be taken ill, and sending forward the minister with the intelligence that he should arrive in a few days, he mounted his

¹ Schärtlin's *Leben und Thaten*, p. 82 (ed. Münster, 1858). Schärtlin dates the treaty on 2nd February; but the 15th

January is the true date.

² Arnoldi, *Vita Mauricii*, ap. Mencken, t. ii. p. 1229.

horse as soon as the spy had departed and hastened back to join his army in Thuringia.¹

Before he actually declared war against the Emperor, Maurice made a last appeal to him for the liberation of the Landgrave, March 27th, 1552; and this time his request was accompanied with complaints respecting the proceedings of the Council of Trent, which he denounced as an unfair and prejudiced tribunal, wholly influenced by the Pope. The intention of the Allies to procure the Landgrave's release had already been declared to the Saxon States assembled at Torgau and to those of Hesse at Cassel. Early in March the Hessian troops, under the Landgrave's son William, assembled at Kirchhain, and after an abortive attempt to surprise Frankfort, took the high road to Fulda. Maurice meanwhile was leading his men, who had been cantoned in the neighbourhood of Mühlhausen, through the Thuringian forest into Franconia, while the Margrave Albert was advancing with a third body. All these three armies, uniting at Rothenburg, on the Tauber, took the road to Augsburg.

As soon as he had openly taken up arms, Maurice published a manifesto in which he declared his objects to be the security of the evangelical religion, the preservation of the laws and constitution of the Empire, and the liberation of the Landgrave of Hesse. This manifesto was artfully contrived to secure as many adherents as possible, Catholic as well as Lutheran, the former as well as the latter being interested for the liberties of the Empire. A more violent manifesto was published by Albert, and a third by the King of France. On the last, in which Henry declared himself "Protector of the Liberties of Germany and of its captive Princes," he had caused to be engraved a cap of liberty between two daggers: little dreaming that such an emblem would one day portend the fall of the ancient monarchy of France.

Maurice entered Augsburg without a blow, the Imperial garrison retiring on his approach. The Emperor and his Spanish troops had left a hateful memory in that city. On their quitting it the previous year, a handbill had been posted up to the effect that the King of the Romans requested that the tears shed on the departure of the Emperor's Majesty, his son, and the Spaniards should be carefully collected; the Emperor having need of them for medicine, would pay for them dearly with Indian gold.² Maurice reinstated the magistrates whom Charles had deposed,

¹ Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 25 (ed. 1735).

² Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. v. S. 199.

and restored the churches to the Lutheran ministers, as he had done in the other towns through which he had passed.

The Emperor, who was still at Innsbrück, was overwhelmed with surprise and alarm at the breaking out of this formidable conspiracy. The false security in which he had been wrapped seems almost unaccountable. The treaty between the German Lutherans and the King of France was known at the smallest Courts; yet it made no impression on Charles, who remarked that one ought not to be disturbed at every rumour. So far from making any provision against such an attack, he had dismissed part of his troops, and despatched others into Hungary and to the war in the Duchy of Parma. His treasury was exhausted, the troops about him hardly sufficed for a body-guard. In this forlorn condition Charles earnestly inquired of his brother what assistance he could expect at his hands in the common danger? Ferdinand answered, what was in fact the case, that he had need of all his resources against the Osmanlis in Hungary. The Emperor was equally unsuccessful in his application to the Augsburg bankers, who refused him all advances even on the most advantageous conditions. Alarmed and agitated by uncertain counsels, Charles, who imagined a universal conspiracy against him, was utterly at a loss what step to take next. His first idea was to seek a refuge with his brother, who, however, dissuaded him from that purpose. He then thought of flying into Italy; but the war in that quarter had not proved favourable to his arms, and it might be dangerous with his small escort to venture on the Italian roads. At last he resolved to make for the Upper Rhine and the Netherlands. At midnight on the 6th of April, he left Innsbruck very secretly, attended only by his two chamberlains, Andelot and Rosenberg, and three servants. On the following day at noon they reached Nassereith, near the pass of Ehrenberg; for which they set off after a short rest, hoping to find it open and so to take the high road to Ulm. On the way, however, they learnt that they would be running into Maurice's hands, who was to occupy Füssen that very day, and they were therefore compelled to return to Innsbruck.¹

It was fortunate, under these circumstances, that Ferdinand had remained on a good footing with Maurice. Those Princes met at Passau on the 26th of May, where a truce was arranged till the 10th of June, to afford an opportunity for negotiating a peace. Charles, not much relying on the truce, had contrived to

¹ Charles's Letter to his sister, May 30th, 1552, in Bucholtz, B. ix. S. 544.

scrape together some money in the course of April, and began to arm. Troops were mustering for his service at Frankfort, at Ulm, and especially at Reutte, the frontier town of Tyrol, where they had taken possession of the pass of Ehrenberg. The Allies were well enough acquainted with the Emperor's character to know that if he again found himself at the head of an army they should look in vain for any concessions; and Maurice determined to strike a decisive blow. Orders were given to advance; the Imperial camp at Reutte was attacked and dispersed (May 18th); on the following day the pass and castle of Ehrenberg were stormed and taken without much resistance, when nine companies of Imperialists surrendered. The allied Princes now determined, as they said, "to seek the fox in his hole," and march to Innsbruck. But at this critical moment Maurice was detained by a dangerous mutiny of some of his troops, who claimed the usual gratuity for storming the castle; and as he had not the means of satisfying their demand, it was some time before he could appease their clamours by promising them compensation at Innsbruck. This delay of a few hours secured the safety of the Emperor. On the afternoon of the 19th May Charles summoned John Frederick into the garden of the castle, and told him that he was free, intimating, however, that he must follow the Court a little longer. At nine in the evening, Charles, who was still suffering from the gout, ascended a litter that had been prepared for him, and commenced his flight by torch-light, accompanied only by his Court and a small body of Spanish soldiers. The night was cold and wet, the mountains covered with snow; yet the little band pushed on, breaking down the bridges behind them, and after traversing almost impassable mountain-roads, arrived at length at Villach in Carinthia. When Maurice entered Innsbruck May 23rd, he found that the fox had stolen away. The Emperor's effects and those of his courtiers, which had been left in the hurry, were abandoned to the soldiers; but all that belonged to the King of the Romans was rescued from the general plunder. The lanceknights strutted in Spanish dresses, and called one another "Don." On the other side of the Alps, the Council of Trent had fled as precipitately as the Emperor. Already, at the first news of the rising in Germany, the Pope had decreed, with secret satisfaction, a suspension of the Council, and this resolution had been adopted by a majority (April 28th), although some of the stauncher adherents of the Emperor remained till the news arrived of the taking of the pass.

Great was then the confusion. All believed that the Lutherans would march upon Trent; and not only the Fathers but the inhabitants also, took to flight in all directions. The Legate Crescenzo, though dangerously ill, also fled, and died on arriving at Verona.¹ The prorogation of the Council, which had been for a term of two years, was afterwards extended to ten, and it did not reassemble till 1562.

Meanwhile Henry II., taking advantage of this diversion, and in conformity with his treaty with the German Princes, had ordered a considerable army to assemble at Châlons. In a *lit de justice*, held in the Parliament of Paris, February 12th, 1552, he appointed his Queen, Catharine de' Medici, Regent of the Kingdom during his absence; but to guide and control her actions, he associated with her Bertrandi, Bishop of Comminges and Keeper of the Seals, and the Admiral d'Annebaut: a surveillance of which Catharine loudly complained. Before he set out on this expedition, Henry caused a number of heretics to be burnt at Agen, Troyes, Lyon, Nîmes, Paris, and other places; he had also established a severe censorship of the press, and a strict supervision of all books imported, especially from Geneva;² and having thus done all in his power to suppress Protestantism in his own dominions, he set out to assist the Protestants of Germany. The French army, under the command of the Constable Montmorenci, being reinforced by some German mercenaries, crossed the Meuse, and summoned Toul, which surrendered without a blow. The French next appeared before Metz. This Imperial city was a sort of Republic, enjoying peculiar privileges; among which was exemption from receiving troops within its walls, whether Imperial or others. The magistrates offered the army provisions, as well as to admit the King and Princes, but not the troops. The Bishop, however, Cardinal Robert de Lenoncour, a Frenchman, persuaded the principal inhabitants to allow the Constable to enter with a guard of about 600 men, which Montmorenci clandestinely increased to the number of 1,500 picked troops; and when the citizens attempted too late to close their gates, they were pushed aside, and the whole army entered. The ancient capital of Austrasia thus fell, by a fraud, under the dominion of France, and Henry made his solemn entry into it, April 18th.

After these successes, the French marched towards the Vosges

¹ Raynaldus, t. xiv. p. 475 sqq.

² Bezâ, liv. ii. p. 54; Edict, June 27th, 1551, in Isambert, xiii. 189 sqq.

mountains and Alsace, leaving Verdun to be occupied on their return. They passed without much difficulty through Lorraine; but in the purely German land of Alsace their insolence excited the alarm and hatred of the inhabitants. The consequence was that the country was deserted; the French were often obliged to go four or five leagues to obtain forage and provisions, and if they were found in bodies of less than ten men, they were sure to be massacred. Montmorenci, who had a great contempt for the Germans, boasted that he would enter Strasburg and the other towns on the Rhine, "like so much butter;" and he attempted to take Strasburg by the same gross stratagem which had succeeded at Metz. He asked permission for the ambassadors of the Pope, of Venice, Florence, and Ferrara, "just to see the town," but selected 200 of his best soldiers to accompany them as an escort, who were to seize the gates. The Strasburgers, however, were alive to his designs, and received the troop with a discharge of artillery, which killed ten or twelve, and made the rest fly. Henry penetrated as far as Hagenau and Weissenburg, which he entered. But provisions were beginning to fail; he was among a hostile population; and the news that the Queen of Hungary had despatched from the Netherlands a large body of troops under Van Rossem, who had taken Stenai and ravaged all the country between the Meuse and the Aisne, determined him to retreat. On the 13th May, Henry began his retrograde march, pretending that he did so only to gratify his allies the Swiss, who had sent to beg that he would spare the towns in alliance with them; but, with a ridiculous bravado, he caused the horses of his army to be watered in the Rhine, as if he had accomplished some hazardous and distant expedition. The retreating army, after again traversing Lorraine and occupying Verdun, crossed the Sarre and invaded Luxembourg. The towns of Rodemachern, Yvoy, Damvilliers, Montmédy, and others fell into Henry's hands, and were treated with the greatest rigour. The booty, however, was bestowed, not on his army, but on his courtiers and captains, who were execrated at once by the inhabitants and by their own soldiers. Henry concluded the campaign by taking the Duchy of Bouillon, which the Emperor had given back to the Bishopric of Liège, but which was now restored to its later masters, the house of La Marck: after which he disbanded his army (July 16th). It appears to have been in this campaign that the French began to make topographical maps to facilitate military

operations. Carloix attributes the invention to his master, Marshal Vieilleville, but he is not always to be believed on such points.¹

The campaign in Piedmont and the Parmesan, though it has been the subject of voluminous memoirs, is hardly worth relating. The most remarkable incident was an attempt by the Marshal de Brissac to surprise the Castle of Milan, by means of men who had arrived singly through the Grisons, and had been received in the house of a traitor in Milan; but the enterprise failed through the ladders which had been prepared not proving long enough. The war of Parma and Mirandola was brought to a conclusion. The Pope, alarmed by the prodigious expense, as well as by the suspension of the revenues derived from France, the prospect of the loss of that Kingdom to the Holy See, and the menace of Henry II. to assemble a General Council, had entered early in the year into negotiations for a peace, which were hastened on by the success of the Elector Maurice and the danger of the Emperor; and a truce of two years between the Pope, the Duke of Parma, and Henry II., was signed at Rome, April 29th, 1552.²

Maurice, who did not think of pursuing his success further than Innsbruck, determined to attend a conference at Passau (May 26th). The Emperor seemed to have been sufficiently humbled. At a meeting at Heidelberg of the Princes of Upper Germany, it had even been debated whether he should not be deposed; but the victory over him had been achieved through a surprise, and he had still great means at his disposal. At Passau appeared King Ferdinand and his son Maximilian, the Imperial ambassadors, the Elector Maurice, Albert III. Duke of Bavaria, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and the Bishop of Eichstedt; while the remaining Electors, the Dukes of Brunswick, Cleves, Pomerania, and Württemberg, the Margrave John, and the Bishop of Würzburg, sent representatives. Maurice renewed the demands made in his manifesto, nor were they deemed unreasonable even by King Ferdinand, and by the Catholic Princes

¹ Authorities for this period are the *Memoirs* of contemporary captains. Those of Vieilleville, written by his secretary, Vincent Carloix, a base flatterer, whose only aim was to puff off his master, are not very trustworthy; his dates and facts are often wrong, but his piquant and dramatic anecdotes display the manners of the times. François de Rabutin is, and pretends to be, nothing but a soldier; he does not even understand the plans of

the campaigns, but his pictures are graphic. Blaise de Montluc wrote his memoirs in his old age with *naïveté* and originality, but with all therodomontade of a Gascon. The Baron du Villars is more of a statesman than the rest, and is interesting by the light which he throws on the factions and weakness of the Court. Sismondi, *Hist. des Franç.* t. xvii p. 461, ed. 1833.

² Ribier, t. ii. p. 360 sqq.; Muratori, *Ann.* t. xiv. p. 385.

of the Empire, who feared that Charles's plans were directed not only against the Lutheran religion but also against their own civil liberties. Maurice had brought with him the Bishop of Bayonne as French ambassador, who offered no opposition to the contemplated peace. Henry II., indeed, whose only object was to create disturbance in Germany, had found another and less costly ally in Albert of Brandenburg, who, refusing to accede to the truce, had detached himself from the army of Maurice, and was ravaging Germany on his own account at the head of 8,000 men. The Emperor, however, showed at first no disposition to accede to the proposed terms. He agreed indeed to release the Landgrave, but required security for the consequences of such an act, which it was difficult to provide; and above all he would not yield on the subject of the Council. In this state of things King Ferdinand made a journey to Villach to mollify his brother; while Maurice, resorting to a rougher mode of persuasion, marched to Frankfort with his army, where troops were mustering for the Emperor, and bombarded that city, though without much effect. At length Charles, principally from his brother's representations of the danger impending from the Turkish war, consented to more moderate terms, and Maurice having again returned to the conference, a treaty was signed, August 2nd, 1552, which, under the name of the PEACE OF PASSAU, marks an epoch in the history of the Reformation. The chief articles were in substance: That the confederates should dismiss their troops by the 12th of August, or enrol them in Ferdinand's service for war against the Turks; that the Landgrave of Hesse should be set at liberty on his promising submission for the future; that a Diet should be summoned within six months for settling religious disputes, and also for considering alleged encroachments on the liberties and constitution of the Empire; that in the meantime the Lutherans should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, engaging in turn to leave the Papists unmolested; that Lutherans as well as Catholics should be admitted into the Imperial Chamber; that an entire amnesty should be granted for all past transactions; and that Albert of Brandenburg should be admitted into the treaty provided he immediately laid down his arms. The King of France was invited to state his grievances against the Emperor, so that he might be included in the general pacification. And as it was foreseen that the coming Diet might fail in bringing about the desired settlement, it was agreed in a separate treaty that in that case the peace should remain in full force till a

final accommodation should be effected.¹ This latter agreement Charles refused to sign ; but it was not anticipated that he would endeavour to disturb it.

Thus ended the first religious war in Germany, arising out of the League of Smalkald ; by which, whatever we may think of the duplicity of Maurice, he was certainly the means of saving the liberties of the Empire, as well as the Protestant religion, from the assaults of Charles V.

¹ The treaty is in Hortleder, Th. ii. B. v. K. 14.

CHAPTER XX.

THE Turkish war in Hungary, to which we have referred in the preceding chapter, had been brought on by Ferdinand's own intrigues. The infant son of John Zapolya had been committed to the guardianship of Martinuzzi, or Brother George, Bishop of Grosswardein.¹ Sultan Solyman, however, regarded himself as the protector of the son of his "slave," Zapolya, and had sent him, together with his mother Isabella, into Transylvania, where Martinuzzi resided with them at Lipppa. The hood which Brother George continued to wear, though it was long since he had troubled himself about the rules of the cloister, was no check either on his ambition or his military ardour; but was flung aside at the sudden outbreak of war, when his shining helm and waving plume might be seen afar, amid the thickest of the combatants. Martinuzzi was also overbearing and tyrannical. His dictatorial conduct towards Isabella was so unbearable, that she complained of him to the Sultan, who bade him respect the wishes of the Queen. For this affront to his authority Martinuzzi determined on revenge. He entered into negotiations with King Ferdinand, and agreed to throw Transylvania into his hands. Ferdinand could not forget the treaties by which the dominions of Zapolya were to have reverted to him on the death of that Prince, and in 1551 a formal treaty was entered into to effect that purpose. Isabella, in exchange for some domains in Silesia, surrendered the sovereignty of Transylvania to Ferdinand, who received the Crown of Hungary, and the homage of the States at Klausenburg; while for this act of treachery, Ferdinand procured for Martinuzzi a Cardinal's hat, and bestowed upon him the government of Transylvania. But the anger of Solyman was roused; and although the five years' truce was not yet expired, he ordered Mohammed Sokolly, Beylerbey of Roumelia, to enter Transylvania with his forces; several towns, including Lipppa, fell before the Turkish arms, which, however, failed in an attempt upon Temesvar. On the other hand, Martinuzzi and Ferdinand's

¹ Above, p. 101.

commander, Castaldo, were active in the field; they recovered Lippa before the close of the campaign, but dissensions soon broke out between them. Castaldo could not endure the overbearing arrogance of the Cardinal; it is surmised also that he had cast a longing eye upon his treasures; however this may be, he accused Martinuzzi to Ferdinand of a treasonable correspondence with the Turks, denounced his restless ambition, and advised his assassination. To this base proposal Ferdinand consented.¹ On the 18th of December, 1551, the Castle of Alvinz, where Martinuzzi resided, was entered by Spanish soldiers; the Cardinal received his first wound from the hand of Castaldo's secretary, and was soon despatched with more than sixty bullets. Ferdinand was universally accused of this cold-blooded murder; and two ambassadors sent by Isabella to demand an explanation died soon after from some unknown cause.²

The Turks renewed the campaign in Hungary, early in the spring of 1552, under the conduct of the eunuch Ali, Sandjak of Buda, who took Wesprim and several other mountain towns, captured the Austrian captain Erasmus Teufel, and led him back in triumph to Buda. In May, Ali was supported by the Vizier Ahmed, with the army of Asia, and the cavalry assembled by the Beylerbey of Roumelia. Temesvar and the other fortresses of the Banat, were now captured, and Turkish rule established there, which lasted till 1716. In the north, however, the little town of Erlau resisted three furious assaults of the Turks, and kept them at bay, till Maurice, after the peace of Passau, arrived at Raab, with an army of more than 10,000 men. The rumour of his approach, as well as the lateness of the season, caused the Turks to raise the siege of Erlau, and prevented them from making any further progress; but Maurice could not recover what they had already seized. He had for his colleague, Castaldo, the murderer of Martinuzzi, whose jealous and suspicious temper led him to regard Maurice with the same aversion as he had formerly displayed towards the Cardinal: and at the end of the campaign they separated with feelings of the bitterest enmity.

¹ Ferdinand's instructions to Castaldo were: "Si tamen intelligeret rem aliter transigi non posse quam quod aut manum sibi inferri pateretur, aut ipse fratri Georgio tam nefaria molienti manum inferret, tunc potius ipse eum præveniret et tolleretur e medio, quam quod primum istum expectando, ab ipso præveniretur." — Bucholtz, B. ix. S. 600. They are given somewhat differently by Istuanfi in

Katona, t. xxii. p. 88: "Si Castaldus, sublato monacho, res in tranquillo futuras censeret, ageret quod e republica fore videretur."

² For the affair of Martinuzzi see the letters of De Selve, the French ambassador at Venice, to Henry II., and Montmorenci, in the *Négociations*, &c. t. ii. p. 172 sqq.

The Emperor meanwhile, issuing from his inglorious retreat at Villach, proceeded into Germany, where a considerable army had been collected for him. At Augsburg he dismissed the ex-Elector John Frederick, on his promise not to enter into any religious league, nor to molest those who adhered to the old faith; and he was likewise required to confirm, and to cause his sons to ratify, the agreement with Maurice respecting the partition of the Electorate. He and the Emperor parted with some regret, as adversaries who had learned to respect each other. The Landgrave Philip, agreeably to the treaty of Passau, was also restored to his dominions in September. He troubled himself no more with religious questions and foreign alliances, and the chief regret he is said to have expressed was that in his absence the rascally peasants had ruined his hunting-grounds.¹

Whatever temptation Charles might have felt to try his fortune once more against the Lutherans, he resolved to observe the peace of Passau; and having recruited his forces at Augsburg with several battalions dismissed by the confederate Princes, he directed his march towards the French frontier. On the 19th of September he entered Strasburg, whose inhabitants he thanked for their brave and loyal defence. He was now advised by some of his captains to penetrate into the interior of France, and to dictate such another peace as that of Crespy. But Charles's pride was offended by the occupation of Metz by the French, and in spite of the advanced season, he determined to lay siege to that city, on the assurance of Alva that such an undertaking was still practicable. First of all, however, it was necessary to conciliate Albert of Brandenburg, who having refused to recognize the peace of Passau, and having recruited his forces with part of the troops discharged by the allied princes, was carrying on a war of brigandage for his own benefit on pretence of being the ally of the King of France, who had indeed supplied him with money. Albert had extorted large sums, as well as territorial concessions, from the city of Nuremberg, and from the Bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg; thence he entered the Electorate of Mentz, put Worms and Spire under contribution, and advanced upon the Moselle, carrying pillage, devastation, and terror in his train. At last he took up a position between Metz and Diedenhofen, and it seemed for some time doubtful to which side he would incline. The French, however, having failed to keep their promises to him, the Bishop of Arras succeeded in gaining him for

¹ Schmidt, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, Th. vi. B. i. S. 20^r.

the Emperor; and Albert falling unexpectedly on a body of troops commanded by the Duke of Aumale, completely routed them, and carried off the Duke himself among the prisoners. For this service the Emperor granted him a full pardon, and the territories which he had seized during the war.

Metz was invested by the Imperial army, October 19th. Francis, Duke of Guise, who was in the town with several of the French princes and a garrison of 10,000 men, had made the most vigorous preparations for its defence. The beautiful suburbs had been levelled with the ground, and all the inhabitants expelled, with the exception of some priests and about 2,000 skilled mechanics. Charles, who had been laid up several weeks with gout at Landau and Diedenhofen,¹ appeared in the camp November 20th, and took up his quarters in a half-ruined castle in the neighbourhood. The siege was pushed on with vigour: Charles shared all its dangers and hardships, and declared his resolution either to take the place or die before it. But the defence was equally vigorous; the weather setting in cold and rainy, the Imperial troops, particularly the Spaniards and Italians, perished by hundreds, and early in January, 1553, the Emperor was forced to raise the siege without having risked a single assault. Metz now became completely French; the reformed doctrines were suppressed and all Lutheran books burnt. Thus the city was severed at once from Protestantism and, virtually at least, from the Empire.

The year seemed destined to be an unfortunate one for the Emperor, whose affairs were proceeding as badly in Italy as in Germany and France. Indigence compelled him to cede Piombino to Cosmo de' Medici for a loan of 200,000 crowns, and he thus lost

¹ Sir Richard Moryson, Edward VI.'s ambassador, had an interview with Charles at Spire, and gives the following account of him in his Despatch October 7th, 1552:—"I found the Emperor at a bare table, without a carpet or anything else upon it saving his clock, his brush, his spectacles, and his picktooth. At my coming in he willed me to go almost round the table, that I might stand on his right side. His Majesty received the King's Highness's letters very gently, putting his hand to his bonnet, and uncovering the better part of his head. . . . He was newly rid of his gout and fever, and therefore his nether lip was in two places broken out, and he was forced to keep a green leaf within his mouth at his tongue's end, a remedy, as I took it,

against such dryness as in his talk did increase upon him. He hath a face that is as unwont to disclose any hid affection of the heart as any face that ever I met withal in my life; for all those white colours that change have no place in his countenance. His eyes only do bewray as much as can be picked out of him. There is in him almost nothing that speaketh, besides his tongue, and that at this time, by reason of his leaf, sore lip, and accustomed softness in speaking, did but so so utter things. And yet he did so use his eyes, so move his head, and order his countenance, as I might perceive his great desire was that I should think all a good deal better meant than he could speak it."—Lord Hardwicke's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 54 sq.

all footing in Tuscany. Siena, a Ghibeline city, which had placed itself under his protection, alienated through the cruelty and haughtiness of the commandant, Don Diego de Mendoza, one of those stern and pitiless officers whom Charles was accustomed to select,¹ revolted, and with the help of some of the French garrison from Parma, drove out the Spaniards. At the same time Naples was exposed to the greatest danger. The Prince of Salerno, who had fled to the Court of France to escape the oppressions of the Viceroy Don Pedro de Toledo, suggested to Henry II. an invasion of Naples, and gave out that he could aid it through his influence. There was, indeed, much discontent in that city. Besides the malcontent nobles, many Protestants had sprung up there, formed in the school of Bernardino Occhini and Peter Martyr, and Don Pedro had put many of them to death. Solyman, moreover, at the instance of the French King, despatched the corsair Draghut with a fleet of 150 ships, who, after ravaging the coast of Calabria, cast anchor in the Bay of Naples. The aged Doria, having ventured to oppose the Turks with a fleet of only forty galleys, was defeated in an action off the isle of Ponza, and after losing seven galleys and 700 men was forced to fly; but the French squadron not appearing, the Turks returned homewards, August 10th. They had scarcely been gone a week when the Baron de la Garde arrived with the French fleet: but as he was neither strong enough to attack Naples by himself, nor could induce the Turks to return, he followed them to the isle of Scio, where they wintered together. In the following year the combined fleet returned to Italy, Draghut, however, bringing only sixty galleys, whilst the French squadron had been augmented. On this occasion the same inhumanities were perpetrated on the coasts of the Two Sicilies as in the preceding year, and with the connivance of the French. The fleet then attacked Corsica, although Henry II. was not at war with Genoa, to which Republic that island belonged. The French took several places, as Porto Vecchio, Bastia, San Fiorenzo, and Ajaccio; but Draghut, having quarrelled with La Garde for refusing him the plunder of Bonifazio, the corsair seized for galley-slaves all the inhabitants fit to handle the oar, and carried off several Frenchmen of distinction as pledges for the money which he pretended was due to him (September, 1553). Doria subsequently retook several of the places occupied

¹ Mendoza, however, is otherwise favourably known as the restorer of letters in Castile. He is distinguished by his

lyrical poems, his history of the war of Granada, and the romance of Lazarillo de Tormes. Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*.

by the French, but could not prevent them from retaining a footing in the island.

Meanwhile Germany was the scene of intestine discord. The Emperor, who had seen all his plans in that country frustrated, and whose thoughts were now principally directed towards the encroachments of France, encouraged Albert of Brandenburg as a counterpoise to Maurice; and after raising the siege of Metz, paid to Albert all the money due to him, and thus enabled him to make large additions to his army. The Imperial Chamber, on the appeal of the Bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg, annulled the conditions which Albert had extorted from those prelates; and as he disputed this decision, a league of the German Princes was formed against him, of which Maurice was declared generalissimo (April, 1553). Maurice raised an army about equal to that of his opponent; the two Princes met at Sievershausen in the Duchy of Lüneburg, and a battle ensued which was contested with the greatest obstinacy. The superiority of Maurice in cavalry at length turned the fortune of the day in his favour; but towards the close of the battle, as he was leading a body of horse to the charge, he received a bullet in the abdomen, which in two days put an end to his life, in the thirty-second year of his age and the sixth of his Electoral dignity. He will always be remembered as having worsted the most sagacious and politic as well as the most powerful Prince in Europe, in the very height of his success. The death of Maurice allowed Albert to rally his forces and to resume his marauding expeditions. Henry Duke of Brunswick now took the command of the allied army, and defeated Albert in another pitched battle near Brunswick, September 12th; and after some unsuccessful attempts to retrieve his affairs, Albert was compelled to take refuge in France, where he lived some years in a state of dependence and discontent. His territories were seized by the Princes who had taken arms against him, but on his death (January 12th, 1557) were restored to the collateral heirs of the House of Brandenburg.

Maurice was succeeded in the Saxon electorate by his brother Augustus, in whom it had been conjointly vested. John Frederick sent his eldest son to Brussels to request from the Emperor his restoration to the Electoral dignity and territories; but Charles refused to violate the stipulation which had been made in favour of Augustus. The latter, however, was inclined to interpret the capitulation of Wittenberg more liberally than his brother, and ceded to John Frederick and his heirs, in addition to what they

still held, Altenburg, Eisenberg, Herbsleben, and some other places, which enabled the Ernestine line of Saxony to appear at least as considerable Princes of the Empire. But though they have inherited the Thuringian principalities of Weimar, Gotha, Coburg, &c., the Electorate, and subsequently the Kingdom, of Saxony, has continued in the younger, or Albertine, branch of the family. * John Frederick died a little after the execution of this treaty (March 3rd). After these commotions Germany enjoyed a period of repose, and took but little part in the politics of Europe.

In the spring of 1553 the Emperor had renewed the war on the side of the Netherlands. * The French King, elated by his previous success, and thinking the power of Charles completely broken, was amusing himself and his Court with balls and tournaments in honour of the marriage of his natural daughter Diane with Orazio Farnese, Duke of Castro, when he was surprised by the intelligence that T rouenne was invested by an Imperial army; which town, considered one of the strongholds of France, fell after a two months' siege, and was razed to the ground. It is strange that this ancient town, situated in a populous country, and the seat of a bishopric, should never since have risen from its ruins. Hesdin was next invested and taken. At this siege Emmanuel Philibert, Prince of Piedmont, first displayed those military talents which enabled him to recover his hereditary dominions. During these operations the Emperor was confined several months at Brussels with so violent an attack of gout that he was at one time reported to be dead; but at a late period of the season, finding that Montmorenci had entered the Netherlands with a large army, Charles also, though scarcely able to bear the motion of a litter, put himself at the head of his troops. Both sides, however, carefully avoided a general engagement; till towards the end of September, Montmorenci was compelled by sickness to resign the command, and the autumnal rains setting in, the campaign was brought to a close without anything of moment having been accomplished. The campaign in Italy had been equally unimportant. In September Charles III., the unfortunate Duke of Savoy, who during the last eighteen years had been deprived of three-fourths of his dominions, died at Vercelli, at the age of sixty-six. A few days after his death Brissac surprised that place, and then retired with the effects of the deceased Duke, valued at 100,000 crowns. Charles was succeeded by his son, Emmanuel Philibert.

The death of Edward VI., the youthful King of England

(July 6th, 1553), not only retarded the progress of the Reformation in that country, but also gave a new direction to European politics. The fatal ambition of the Duke of Northumberland, his attempt to procure the English Crown for his daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane Grey, which ended only in her destruction as well as his own, and the triumphant accession of Queen Mary, are known to every reader of English history. A success so complete and unexpected, and which promised such splendid results for the See of Rome, quite overpowered Pope Julius III., and he burst into tears of joy at the news.¹ He immediately despatched his chamberlain, Commendone, to England, who obtained a secret interview with Mary, in which she acknowledged her desire to restore her people to the Roman Church. When Julius communicated these glad tidings to the Consistory, the assembled Cardinals approved his design of sending Cardinal Pole as legate to the Emperor and to the French King, as well as to Mary, and 2,000 crowns were furnished to him to defray the expenses of his journey. He was to devise the best means of accomplishing the great revolution, respecting which he was also to consult the Emperor. Above all, he was enjoined to avoid doing anything that might alienate from Rome the mind of Mary, on whom alone rested the realization of the project, especially as the greater part of the nation hated the Holy See, and the Queen's schismatic and heretical sister was in the heart, as well as in the mouth, of many an Englishman.²

Charles V. had also his own plans at this juncture, and he did not suffer it to pass unimproved. The English Queen, his cousin, had always listened to his counsels; she relied on his support for extirpating heresy in her Kingdom; and to draw the connection closer, and add, if possible, another land to his already vast dominions, the Emperor resolved to procure Mary's hand for his son Philip. That Prince was now a widower, his consort Mary, daughter of John III. of Portugal, whom he had married in November, 1543, having died a few days after giving birth to a son, the unfortunate Don Carlos, July 8th, 1545. It was believed that Mary's eyes had been turned towards her kinsman, Cardinal Pole, now between fifty and sixty years old; and more warmly still on Edward Courtnay, son of the Marchioness of Exeter, whom, soon after her accession, she created Earl of Devon. Her union with an English nobleman would have grati-

¹ Quirini, *Ep.* iv. ap. Turner, vol. iii. p. 399.

² *Ibid.* p. 112.

fied the nation, but Mary soon dismissed all thoughts of it. In September, 1553, the Emperor directed his ambassadors to make to her a formal proposal of his son. Charles stated that had he not been elderly and infirm, he should himself have sued for her hand; but, as she knew, he had long resolved to remain single, and he could not propose to her any one dearer to him than his own son.¹ No objections arose on the part of the cold and calculating Philip, though Mary was eleven years older than himself, and destitute alike of bodily and mental charms. Mary, too, although the Spanish match was opposed by her council and by the nation, had fixed her heart upon it. On the night of October 30th she sent for Renard, one of the Imperial envoys, to her private apartment; when kneeling down before the Host, and after repeating the Veni Creator, she made a solemn oath that she would marry the Prince of Spain.²

The Emperor, who was jealous of Pole's pretensions, detained him till he was certain of his son's success.³ Early in 1554 the marriage was arranged, and the treaty concerning it drawn up. The Queen's Ministers insisted on certain articles for the security and advantage of the realm; the principal of which were, that the administration of the revenues, and the disposal of benefices, &c., should be vested entirely in the Queen; that in case of the death without issue of Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former wife, the children of the present marriage should inherit Spain, the Netherlands, and all the other hereditary dominions of the Emperor; that Philip should retain no foreigners in his service nor about his person; that he should attempt no alteration in the laws or constitution of England, nor carry the Queen, nor any of the children born of the marriage, out of the realm; that in case of the Queen's death without issue he should not lay claim to any power in England: and that the marriage should not involve England in the wars between France and Spain, nor have any influence on its foreign policy.⁴

The unpopularity of this match gave rise to three abortive insurrections in different parts of the Kingdom, headed respectively by Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir Peter Carew, and the Duke of Suffolk; the last of which occasioned the execution, not only

¹ His *Despatch*, *Ap. Turner*, vol. iii. p. 392. ² *Ibid.* p. 83 sq.

³ It was reported and believed in England that the cardinal had been proclaimed at Paris Duke of York and

Lancaster, and that he was about to make a descent on England. *Ambassades de Noailles*, t. iii. p. 169.

⁴ *Rymer*, t. xv. p. 377, 393; *Ribier*, t. ii. p. 498 sqq.

of Suffolk himself, but also of his innocent daughter, the Lady Jane Grey, and her husband, Lord Guilford Dudley. It is said that the execution of that unfortunate lady was counselled and solicited by Charles V., who likewise advised Mary, as a thing indispensable to her own safety and that of Philip, to put her sister Elizabeth to death, who was known to have been privy to Wyatt's rebellion.¹ Mary, however, resisted every importunity for that purpose, though she caused her sister to be confined in the Tower, and afterwards at Woodstock. Philip, to whom the Emperor had resigned, before his marriage, the Duchy of Milan and the Kingdom of Naples, in order that his rank might be equal to that of his consort, set sail from Coruña, July 11th, with a fleet of 100 ships, having a splendid suite and 4,000 troops on board. He landed at Southampton on the 19th, and on the 25th, being St. James's day, the Apostle of Spain, celebrated at Winchester his marriage with Mary. During his absence in England, and subsequently in the Netherlands, the regency of Spain was intrusted to his sister Joanna. That princess, who was eight years younger than Philip, had married the heir of Portugal; but his untimely death in January, 1554, had allowed Joanna to return to Spain at the summons of her father. Three weeks after her husband's decease she had given birth to a son, Don Sebastian, whose romantic adventures have procured for him a wide-spread celebrity.

Philip strove to make himself popular in England. So far from attempting to break through or evade the conditions of his marriage-contract, he did not even avail himself of all the privileges which they conferred upon him. He seemed to make it a point of honour to bestow rather than to receive. The expenses of his Court were defrayed with Spanish or Flemish gold; lines of sumpter horses and waggons laden with treasure passed through the streets of the capital to the Tower, and it is asserted that he bestowed on some of the English ministers and great nobles pensions of the yearly value of 50,000 or 60,000 gold crowns.² It cannot be doubted that his presence materially assisted the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in England, which was effected under the immediate advice of the Emperor. After the marriage of his son, Charles dismissed Cardinal Pole to England, and he kept a body of 12,000 men on the coast of Flanders to support Philip in case of need. Such Englishmen as had

¹ Prescott, *Philip II.* vol. i. p. 71.

terra, ap. Prescott, vol. i. p. 108, and ap.

² Giov. Michele, *Relatione d'Inghilterra*. — Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. v. S. 396.

shared the plunder of the Church, more than 40,000 in number,¹ were quieted with the assurance that they would not be required to restore what they had received; and in November, scarcely four months after the Queen's marriage, the Parliament and nation solemnly returned to their obedience to Rome. Into the horrible persecutions which followed that event, and which brought so many distinguished men to the stake, we shall not here enter, as they belong more particularly to English history. It is difficult to determine what part Philip took in them. According to some accounts, he was an advocate for clemency. It is certain, at all events, that he strove to avert from himself the odium attending these burnings; and his confessor, Alfonso de Castro, a Spanish friar, preached a sermon bitterly denouncing them.² But no conduct on his part could reconcile the English people to his sway; they would neither consent to help the Emperor his father against France, nor suffer Philip to be publicly crowned as King of England.

The French King had done all in his power to frustrate the marriage between Philip and Mary, and through his ambassador, Noailles, had secretly assisted in fomenting the rebellions against the Queen's authority; but finding all these attempts ineffectual, Henry II. assumed the part of Mary's hearty well-wisher, and sent to congratulate her on the suppression of those disturbances. Mary, on her side, offered her mediation between the Emperor and the French King, and sent Cardinal Pole to Paris to arrange a peace between them; but all his efforts proved abortive. In June, 1554, Henry II., assisted by the Constable Montmorenci, assembled a large force in the Laonnois, and along the frontiers of the Netherlands; Marienburg, Bovines, Dinant were successively taken and treated with great cruelty. The whole French army then advanced as if to attack Brussels or Namur. The Emperor, who lay at Brussels, had not been able to assemble a force equal to that of Henry. Although nominally master of so great a part of the world, his resources were in fact much less available than those of France. Germany, now emancipated from his yoke, contributed nothing to the French war; the Austrian revenues were absorbed by the struggle with the Turk; Italy, ruined and discontented, instead of furnishing troops to the Imperial standard, required to be kept in order by the presence

¹ *Letter of the Florentine ambassador*, ap. Ranke, *ibid.* 398.

² *Burnet's Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 612,

vol. iii. p. 459 (ed. 1829); *Strype's Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 332.

of an army; even the Netherlands and Spain, with the Indies, were almost exhausted by the Emperor's constant wars, and by the efforts which he had made in fitting out and supporting his son Philip. It was therefore fortunate for Charles that the French King made war in the spirit of a freebooter, rather than of a great captain. Instead of marching upon Brussels, Henry entered Hainault and ravaged and desolated the whole country, making a great booty. At Binche, which surrendered July 21st, the Queen of Hungary had a magnificent palace, adorned with tapestries, pictures, and ancient statues. Henry abandoned the town to be plundered by his troops, and after selecting from the palace what pleased him, caused it, as well as the town, to be burnt. He then continued his march towards the west by the Cambr sis, Artois, and the County of St. Pol, wasting all before him, till his progress was arrested by the town of Renty, which he was obliged to besiege. Here the Imperial army under Emmanuel Philibert, which had been hanging upon his rear, and which was now joined by the Emperor in person, came up, when a general skirmish, rather than a battle, ensued (August 13th) in the marshes around that town. Although the French had rather the advantage, the Imperialists maintained their ground, and, two days after, Henry, whose army was suffering from disease and want of provisions, raised the siege, returned into France, and dismissed his soldiers. Charles, whose sufferings from gout grew daily worse, then returned to Brussels; while the Duke of Savoy, advancing on the side of Montreuil as far as the river Authie, treated the country as barbarously as the French had done the Netherlands. Thus ended the campaign of 1554, in which a great deal of damage had been mutually inflicted, without any substantial advantage to either side.

In Italy the French were still less successful. Cosmo de' Medici, Duke of Florence, viewed with alarm their occupation of Siena, where they would form a rallying point for all who desired the re-establishment of the ancient republican government in Florence. Seeing that the Emperor, hampered by the war in the Netherlands, would be able to effect little or nothing in Italy, Cosmo offered to conduct a war against the French at his own expense, on condition of being allowed to retain his conquests till his disbursements were refunded; and, from the exhausted state of the Imperial finances, he hoped thus to come into the quiet and undisturbed possession of a considerable territory. Cosmo intrusted the command of his army to John James

Medecino, a soldier of fortune, who had risen from the lowest rank by his military talent, and was now become Marquis of Marignano. He was a native of Milan, and his brother, John Angelo, who had distinguished himself as a jurist, afterwards became Pope Pius IV. Medecino had the weakness of wishing to be thought akin to the Medici family, to which honour the only pretension he could allege was some resemblance in the name. Cosmo, by flattering this weakness, acknowledging Medecino as a kinsman, and allowing him to assume the family arms, secured his devoted affection and services; and as he was loved and admired by the leaders of the mercenary bands which still abounded in Italy, they flocked to his standard in great numbers.

Cosmo de' Medici's principal motive for this war was that Henry II. had bestowed the chief command in the Sienese, together with the title of a Marshal of France, on Pietro Strozzi, a Florentine exile, whose well-known aim it was to excite a revolution at Florence. Strozzi's father, captured in the attempt to expel the Medici in 1537, had died in a Florentine dungeon, and the desire of avenging him was the sole thought which filled Pietro's heart, the one object to which he devoted his immense fortune and his military talents. Marignano entered the Sienese with an army of 25,000 men, and invested the capital before Strozzi took the command (January, 1554); but the latter, having assembled his forces, acted at first with such vigour, that Marignano was compelled to raise the siege. Cosmo had ordered him to tame and reduce the Sienese Republic by violence and terror, and Marignano carried out these instructions to the letter. The châteaux and villages were burnt; the resisting inhabitants who escaped the sword were in general hanged; and such was the desolation inflicted on the country, that it became a pestilential desert, whose corrupted air proved deleterious or fatal to subsequent colonists.

Marignano having inflicted a decisive defeat on Strozzi in the battle of Lucignano, August 2nd, again invested Siena, and Strozzi, intrusting its defence to the Gascon Blaise de Montluc, retired to Montalcino, to wait for reinforcements from France, and at the same time to annoy the besieging army. But for the French succours he waited in vain. Meanwhile the situation of Siena became more and more deplorable. The inhabitants were decimated by famine and disease; several thousands who had been expelled as useless mouths, perished, for the most part, between the walls and the enemy's camp: yet the garrison, animated by

the exhortations of Montluc, as well as by the report of some French successes in Piedmont, held out till the 21st of April, 1555, when their provisions being exhausted, they were forced to capitulate. Cosmo de' Medici, who conducted the capitulation in the name of the Emperor, granted favourable terms; the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, while the citizens were assured that their ancient privileges should be respected, and a free pardon granted to all who had borne arms. Some of the more ardent assertors of liberty retired to Montalcino, where they maintained four years longer the image of a Republic. The French, supported by a Turkish fleet of eighty galleys, still occupied the ports of the Sieneſe Maremma. Duke Cosmo was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of Siena than he violated the capitulation, deposed the magiſtrates, and diſarmed the inhabitants. But he was for the preſent diſappointed in the hope of adding Siena to his dominions. The Emperor granted the inveſtiture of that place to his ſon Philip, and Francis de Toledo, being appointed Governor, diſregarded the former privileges of the Sieneſe, and treated them like a conquered people.

Marignano's troops had been withdrawn from the Sieneſe to augment the army of the Duke of Alva in Piedmont, who had been appointed generaliſſimo in that quarter, as well as Philip's Vicar-general in Italy. The Maſhal de Briſſac, as we have already hinted, had obtained ſome ſucceſſes in that quarter, and had taken Ivrea and Santià out of the hands of Suarez de Figueroa, the ſucceſſor of Ferrante Gonzaga in the government of Milan. He afterwards ſurprized Caſale, the capital of Montferrat, which, though belonging to the Duke of Mantua, had been occupied by the Imperialiſts. The Duke of Alva arrived in June, but in ſpite of the numerical ſuperiority of his forces, he recovered but few places; nay, the French commander even ſucceeded in capturing Monte Calvi and Vulpiano under Alva's eyes; and the latter was compelled to retire into winter-quarters with the diſgrace of theſe loſſes. He had conducted the war with the moſt horrible barbarity. Having taken Frassineto, he cauſed the governor to be hanged, the Italian ſoldiers to be ſabred, and the French to be ſent to the galleys. By ſuch acts of cruelty he thought that he ſhould ſtrike terror into his enemies. Marignano, who rivalled him in cruelty, died at Milan in November.

Pope Julius III. had taken no part in this ſtruggle, though it raged ſo near his dominion. Strozzi had ſucceeded in prolonging for two years the truce with the Pontiff, in ſpite of the

attempt of Cosmo de' Medici to draw Julius to his side, by giving one of his daughters in marriage to the Pope's nephew. Julius died before Siena fell, at the age of sixty-seven (March 24th, 1555). He had disgraced the Papal chair by his undignified demeanour, as well as by his scandalous life; and by way of amends the Conclave elected as his successor the severe and venerable Cardinal Marcello Cervini, in whose presence Julius had often felt constraint. Cervini assumed the title of Marcellus II., but enjoyed the Pontificate only three weeks, being carried off by a fit of apoplexy (April 30th). The choice of the Conclave next fell on John Peter Caraffa, whom we have already had occasion to mention as one of the founders of the Theatines, and the introducer of the Inquisition at Rome.¹ Caraffa, who had reached the age of seventy-nine, assumed the name of Paul IV.; and with his new name and power he also put on a new character. He who had hitherto been known only for his piety, his learning, and his blameless life, now discovered a boundless ambition, and the most passionate and inflexible temper. When his major-duomo inquired, after his election, in what manner he would choose to live, he replied, "As a great Prince:" for which station indeed a certain loftiness and grandeur of manners seemed to qualify him. He celebrated his coronation with unusual magnificence.² Though when a Cardinal he had zealously denounced nepotism, he now abandoned himself to that abuse, and gave a Cardinal's hat to his nephew, Carlo Caraffa, who had revelled in all the wild licentiousness of a soldier's life, and of whom Paul himself had said, that he was steeped in blood to the elbows.³ But Carlo had contrived to be surprised by his uncle kneeling before a crucifix in apparent remorse. The youth of Paul had belonged to the preceding century. Born in 1476, he remembered the freedom of Italy, and he was wont to compare his country in that age to a well-tuned instrument, of which Naples, Milan, the Papal States, and Venice were the four strings. He cursed the memory of King

¹ Above, pp. 133, 135.

² The English ambassadors sent to take an oath of obedience to the Pope on the return of the nation to popery, saw Paul go to vespers "in a chair of crimson velvet wrought with gold, and two servants going before him, crying *Abasso!* *Abasso!* which is to say, kneel down." When he went to mass at St. Peter's, "two triple crowns were borne before him of an inestimable value;" and two men

walked before "with great broad fans, made of peacocks' tails, to keep the sun and flies from his holy face." The cardinals had also the same kind of fans, and silver crosses and pillars were carried before them. Every time a cardinal passed over the bridge of St. Angelo, whether going to the Pope or not, a gun was fired from the castle. See Lord Hardwicke's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 97 sq.

³ Ranke, *Popes*, vol. i. p. 295.

Alfonso and of Lodovico il Moro, for disturbing this harmony ; and, both in his capacity of Pope, and as a Neapolitan of the French party, his hatred was now fixed on Charles V. He ascribed all the successes of the Lutherans to the Emperor, who had encouraged them out of jealousy to the See of Rome. While sitting over his *mangia guerra*, or black, thick, volcanic wine of Naples, he poured forth torrents of abuse against the Spanish heretics and schismatics, the spawn of Jews and Moors, the scum of the earth, and whatever other maledictory epithets came uppermost.¹ With such feelings it is no wonder that he speedily entered into an alliance with France, and picked quarrels with the Emperor.

The object of his enmity, however, was now about to disappear from the political scene. A disgust of public and even of social life, which had long been growing upon Charles, was confirmed as well by the miserable state of his health² as by the failure of all his favourite projects. So far from his ambitious dream of universal monarchy being fulfilled, he saw the Turks in possession of the greater part of Hungary, whilst, instead of reducing the Lutherans to obedience, they had dictated their own terms, after inflicting on him an ignominious defeat and flight. The proceedings of the Diet assembled at Augsburg in February, 1555, still further confirmed him in his project of abandoning the world.

According to the terms of the treaty of Passau, a Diet should have assembled within six months to settle definitively a public peace, but its meeting had been delayed by various causes till the period just mentioned. It was presided over by Ferdinand, as the Emperor was too unwell to attend. Ferdinand, alarmed by the attempts of his brother to wrest the Imperial Crown from his family, showed more disposition than usual to conciliate the Lutheran Princes. The latter, however, distrustful of his altered tone, especially as he was treating the Lutherans with rigour in his hereditary dominions, held a meeting at Naumburg in March, where the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the sons of the deceased Elector John Frederick, the Franconio-Brandenburgian princes, and the Landgrave Philip, under the pretext of confirming the treaty of mutual succession already subsisting between

¹ Ranke's *Popes*, vol. i. p. 292.

² According to the French despatches (Ribier, t. ii. p. 485) he had lost the use of one hand, and of two fingers of the other, and one of his legs was shrunk.

Very little was communicated to him, on account of his depressed state. His only amusement was pulling clocks to pieces and putting them together again, in which he would spend whole days.

their houses, entered into a new confederation for the defence of their religion. But Ferdinand was really more inclined to make concessions than they had supposed; and after discussions, which lasted several months, the terms of a RELIGIOUS PEACE were at length drawn up, and published with the recess of the Diet, September 26th. The principal conditions were, in substance, that any State, if it were so minded, might tolerate both Catholics and those who belonged to the Confession of Augsburg; but no other sect was to be included in the present peace. Moreover, any State might set up either form of religion to the exclusion of the other; and those who should be so inclined were to be allowed to sell their estates and emigrate. The Lutherans were to retain all such ecclesiastical property as they were in possession of at the time of the peace of Passau. On the other hand, every spiritual Prince who should forsake the old religion was to lose his office and its revenues.¹ The last-mentioned article, which was called the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*, gave great satisfaction to the Catholics, and in the sequel proved, in fact, the chief means of upholding that Church in Germany. These proceedings were in the highest degree unwelcome to the Emperor, for whom power had but few charms unless he could reign according to his own notions, and he announced to his brother his intention of abdicating.

The death of his mother Joanna, who expired at Tordesillas April 3rd, 1555, whom the Castilians had continued to regard as the reigning Queen, at length enabled him to dispose of the Crown of Castile. His constitutional melancholy had increased with age, and often, when engaged in prayer in his solitary chamber, he fancied that he heard the voice of his mother calling him away. The memory of his former life awakened in him the pangs of conscience. He confessed that he had done wrong in refraining, out of love towards his son, from a second marriage, and thereby falling into sins which he now wished to expiate, and to reconcile himself with God before his death.² He had communicated his plan of retirement to his sisters, the Dowager-Queens of Hungary and France, by whom they were approved and forwarded. Philip was recalled from England to Brussels, and as a preliminary step to receiving the sovereignty of the Netherlands, was made Grand-Master of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Three days

¹ The instrument is in *Lehmann's Acta Publica et Originalia de Pace Religionis*, p. 145 seq.

² Arnoldi, *Historische Denkwürdigkeiten*, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. v. S. 410.

afterwards, Charles having convoked the States of the Netherlands at Brussels, passed, after dinner, into the great hall of the palace, attended by the deputies, the councils, and an extraordinary concourse of princes, ambassadors, and nobles ; in whose presence he caused a Latin paper to be read, by which he made over to his son the sovereignty of all his hereditary Burgundian lands ; after which he recapitulated all his conspicuous actions since the age of seventeen, and concluded by saying, that feeling his strength exhausted by his labours and infirmities, he had resolved, for the public good, to substitute a young Prince in the vigour of health for an old man on the brink of the grave, and to consecrate the little time he had still to live to the exercise of religion. Then, having requested the assembly to pardon all the faults and errors which he might have committed during his government, he turned to his son, and recommended him 'before all things to defend the holy Catholic religion, to maintain justice, and to love his people. At these words, Philip fell on his knees, and kissing his father's hand, promised faithfully to observe all his precepts. Charles then placed his hand upon Philip's head, and making the sign of the cross, blessed him in the name of the Holy Trinity, and proclaimed him Sovereign of the Netherlands. Here the Emperor could not refrain from tears, which he hastened to excuse, on the ground that they were not caused by regret at surrendering his power, but by the thought of leaving his native land and so many dear and loving subjects. In the same assembly Queen Mary of Hungary abdicated the regency of the Netherlands, which she had held five-and-twenty years ; and Philip named Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, as her successor. Charles, however, still lingered nearly a twelvemonth at Brussels. On the 16th of January, 1556, having assembled in the same hall the principal Spanish grandees then in the Netherlands, in their presence and that of his two sisters, he also resigned his Spanish crowns to his son. The enumeration of the Spanish possessions in the act of abdication, will convey an idea of the extent of Charles's dominions. Besides the Spanish territories in Europe, are mentioned the Cape de Verd Islands, the Canary Islands, Oran and Tunis in Africa ; the Philippine and Sunda Islands, and part of the Moluccas in Asia ; Hispaniola, Cuba, Mexico, New Spain, Chili and Peru, in America.

Philip II., who thus succeeded to these vast dominions before the usual period, was now in his twenty-ninth year, having been born at Valladolid May 21st, 1527. In person he bore a striking

resemblance to his father.¹ He was somewhat below the middle size, of a slight but well-proportioned figure. His complexion was fair and even delicate, with blue eyes, and hair and beard of a light yellow colour. His eyebrows were rather too closely knit, his nose thin and aquiline; he had the Austrian lip, and a slight protrusion of the lower jaw. He was in all moral respects a Spaniard; Spain engrossed his thoughts and conversation; even the Netherlands he regarded as a foreign country. He had never displayed much buoyancy of spirit, and when still a youth he was self-possessed and serious, if not melancholy; stately and ceremonious, yet at the same time averse to parade and fond of retirement. He had acquired a tolerable knowledge of the Latin language, as well as some Italian and French; but he showed more taste for physical science than literature, was a fair mathematician, and fond of architecture.

Charles's abdication of the Imperial Crown in favour of his brother Ferdinand being a step in which the German Electors were concerned, and against which Pope Paul IV. protested, could not be so speedily effected. It was not till September 7th, 1556, when Charles was at Rammekens in Zealand, on the point of embarking for Spain, that he addressed a paper to the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, directing them to transfer their allegiance to his brother; which paper, together with the Imperial regalia, he delivered to the Prince of Orange and to Vice-Chancellor Seld. The Prince whom Charles thus selected to be one of the confidential instruments of the most solemn act of his life, was the celebrated William surnamed the Silent, destined one day to become the most redoubtable enemy of his house. With Seld, the Emperor entered for the last time into a discussion on political matters, which continued late into the night. When at length Charles dismissed his minister, it was found that all the lackeys had retired to bed, and the Emperor seizing a candle walked with it down stairs, commanding the astonished Seld to follow. On dismissing his Vice-Chancellor at the door he playfully remarked: "You will remember that the last act of the Emperor Charles, in whose service you have passed so many years, was to become in turn your servant."

It was not till February, 1558, that the Electors and Princes of the Empire met at Frankfort to receive from the hands of the

¹ "E il re Filippo la stessa imagine dell' imperatore suo padre—ma di minore statura." — Micheli, *Relatione d'Inghil-*

terra, ap. Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 114.

Prince of Orange the act of Charles's abdication. The accession of Ferdinand was not disagreeable to them; and they seized the occasion to require from him a capitulation, in which he engaged to observe the religious peace, as established in 1555, as well as the public peace, or *Landfriede*. Frederick swore to observe this capitulation in St. Bartholomew's Church, March 14; whereupon the Elector Joachim II. of Brandenburg, as arch-chamberlain of the Empire, delivered to him the golden crown. The other ceremonies of installation were completed on a stage erected before the choir; Seld read aloud the act of abdication, after which King Ferdinand was proclaimed Roman Emperor Elect. The religious service which concluded the solemnity was so contrived that both Catholics and Protestants might join in it. Pope Paul IV., when he first learnt the intention of Charles V. to abdicate the Imperial Crown, had declared in full Consistory that he had no right to take such a step without the consent of the Holy See; that he was *impos mentis*, and that some of the Electors were heretics; and he further announced that he would neither recognize the abdication nor the successor nominated by Charles.¹ Accordingly, when Ferdinand sent his grand-chamberlain Don Martin Guzman to Rome to notify to the Pontiff his accession to the Empire, and his desire to receive the Imperial Crown from the hands of his Holiness, Paul refused to give audience to the ambassador, who was compelled to remain at Tivoli; and he reproached the new Emperor with his presumption in assuming that title without the permission of the Holy See; which, as it alone enjoyed the right of deposing Emperors, so by a necessary consequence was the only power that could receive and sanction their abdication. He added that Ferdinand by the peace he had granted to the Protestants had disqualified himself for the Imperial sceptre; and he concluded by ordering him to resign it, and to submit himself implicitly to the will and pleasure of the Holy See. The Cardinals supported this attempt of the Pope to assert, under very altered circumstances, these almost obsolete pretensions. The Consistory declared all that had been done at the Frankfort Election null and void, because heretics had taken part therein, who, by their defection from the true Church, had lost all power as well as grace; and they required that Ferdinand should not only submit himself to the Pope's award, but also that he should do penance, and instead of sending an ambassador to Rome, should despatch an advocate to plead his cause. Philip II. in vain interfered to procure an

¹ *Letter of Cardinal du Bellay in Ribier, t. ii. p. 623 sqq.*

audience for Guzman, who was obliged to return with this vexatious answer. The Pope, however, by insisting on these pretensions only damaged himself. As Ferdinand, for fear of the Protestant Princes, could not submit to them, he assumed, like his grandfather Maximilian, the title of Roman Emperor Elect, which was recognized by all the European Sovereigns except Pope Paul; and from this period a coronation by the Pope was no longer contemplated. Germany on the whole must be said to have suffered by the reign of Charles V. The Imperial fiefs of Italy, for which so much German blood had been shed, were handed over to the Spanish Crown, while the border towns of Lorraine were irrecoverably lost by the fortune of war. The Netherlands, it is true, had nominally become a Circle of the Empire, but in their internal administration they were entirely independent of the Imperial government.*

The delay of Charles in the Netherlands incidentally contributed to bring about a truce between his son and the King of France. The campaign in the Netherlands in the year 1555 had not been marked by any events worth relating, except perhaps the attempt of a convent of Franciscan friars at Metz to betray that town to the Imperialists. The conspiracy was, however, discovered by Vieilleville on the very eve of its execution, and the whole of the friars, with the exception of six of the youngest, were condemned to death. In May an ineffectual attempt had been made to restore peace. The French and Imperial plenipotentiaries assembled at Marcq, in the English territory of Calais, whither Queen Mary despatched as mediators, Cardinal Pole, Bishop Gardiner, now Chancellor of England, and the Lords Arundel and Paget; but as neither of the Sovereigns was disposed to relax in the smallest tittle of his pretensions, nothing could be effected. Early in 1556 the efforts of Charles to bring the war to a close were attended with more success. Negotiations were opened at Vaucelles, near Cambray, and were conducted on the part of the Emperor and Philip by Count Lalaing, and on that of Henry II. by the Admiral Gaspard de Coligni, nephew of Montmorenci. The Constable had several reasons for desiring peace. He distrusted his own military talents, and was envious of the Guises, who, he feared, would reap all the glory from the continuance of the war. He also ardently wished for the liberation of his eldest son, who had been now nearly three years a prisoner. Henry II. at first hesitated to assent to the terms of the proposed truce, as being at variance with the treaty which he had entered into with

Pope Paul IV., and which had been effected under the influence of the Guises. But the Cardinal of Lorraine, who had negotiated that treaty, was absent at Rome; and Henry, who commonly listened to the last advice, was persuaded by Montmorenci, an opponent from the first of an alliance with Paul, to agree to the terms proposed. A truce was accordingly signed, February 5th, 1556, for a term of five years, on the basis of *uti possidetis*. Such a truce was undoubtedly in favour of Henry, since it gave him possession not only of the territories of the Duke of Savoy, but also of the three Lotharingian bishoprics, namely, Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Yet, such was the exhausted state of the Imperial dominions, Charles eagerly closed with the terms; and Philip, though dissatisfied and reluctant, did not presume to oppose his father's will.

Although Paul IV. had been included in this truce he was highly surprised and alarmed when he heard of it. It was also a severe check to the policy of the Guises, who had hitherto directed the French King, and who, building their hopes on the disposition of the Pontiff, had formed some audacious schemes for their own benefit in Italy. Only a few weeks before the Cardinal of Lorraine had concluded at Rome a treaty with Paul (December 16th, 1555), by which the French King, in whose name it was made, engaged to take the Caraffa family under his protection; and Paul and Henry agreed to attack the Spaniards either in Naples, Tuscany, or Lombardy, as well as to expel Duke Cosmo and re-establish the Republic at Florence. The Pope engaged to grant the investiture of Naples to one of the French King's sons, provided, however, that it should in no case be united with France. Under this treaty, which appeared to forward only the national interests of France, the Guises had concealed and promoted the objects of their own personal ambition. In the general confusion of Italy Duke Francis hoped to find a chance of seizing the Neapolitan sceptre, which he claimed as representative of the House of Anjou; and though the treaty vaguely promised that realm to one of the French King's sons, yet the feeble health of Henry's children seemed to flatter Guise with no remote prospect of the succession. The Cardinal of Lorraine, on the other hand, was aspiring to the tiara; and as the advanced age of Paul promised a speedy vacancy of the Pontifical throne, the presence of the French armies would in that event prove of wonderful efficacy in influencing the decision of the Conclave.

Paul IV. is a striking instance how much pride, violence, and

ambition may lurk a whole life-time unsuspected under a clerical bonnet, till opportunity calls these passions into action. He had already raised some troops when he heard of the truce of Vaucelles, and his anger equalled his disappointment. His character, however, of common Father of the faithful, did not allow him openly to oppose the peace, especially as the parties to it appeared to have consulted his interests. Nay, he even pretended anxiety to convert the truce into a perpetual peace; but under this pretext he only-sought the opportunity to undo it. With this view, he despatched Cardinal Rebiba as his Nuncio to mediate at Brussels, but instructed him to protract his journey thither, while, on the other hand, he sent his nephew, Cardinal Caraffa, in all haste to Paris, with secret instructions which were quite at variance with the ostensible object of his mission. At his first interview with Henry II. at Fontainebleau, Caraffa presented to him a sword consecrated by the Pope. The King received it on his knees from the seated Legate, who intreated him to use the holy weapon in defence of the Pope; and in order that Henry might not plead any scruples as to the oath which he had taken to the truce, Caraffa had come ready provided with an absolution from it. The Cardinal of Lorraine had prepared the way for the Legate; and Henry being pressed by the Guises, the Duchess of Valentinois, and even by the Queen herself, the enemy of that branch of her family which reigned at Florence, concluded, in spite of the remonstrances of Montmorenci and his nephews, as well as of his wisest counsellors, a new treaty with the Pope. War was decided upon, and Charles de Marillac, Archbishop of Vienne, one of the ablest diplomatists of the time, was employed to justify this perfidious breach of faith by a paper in which he imputed all sorts of plots, and even the use of poison,¹ to Emmanuel Philibert and the other ministers of Philip II.

The impetuous Paul, who considered himself as little less than a God upon earth, and regarded all opposition to his commands as impiety as well as rebellion,² had thrown off the mask even before he learnt the decision of the French King. He recalled his Nuncio Rebiba, who had not yet reached Brussels; he cited before him Charles V. as Roman Emperor, and Philip as King of Naples, for having failed in their duty as feudatories of the Holy See, by the protection which they accorded to the Colonna family

¹ Upon the Duke of Bouillon, son-in-law of Diana.

² "Le Pape, qui dès le temps de sa jeunesse avoit fait contenance d'une re-

ligion très austère,—est devenu nouveau gendarme soudain qu'il a esté appelé à la Papauté."—*Lettres d'Etienne Pasquier*, liv. iv. Lett. i.

(July 27th), whom he had excommunicated; he imprisoned the Spanish envoy in the Castle of St. Angelo; nay, he even went so far as to order the suspension of divine service in Spain. This was a great blow to the bigoted and superstitious Philip, as the Spanish ecclesiastics, by whom he had been educated, had impressed him with a great veneration for the Holy See, whose attacks he now found himself compelled to resist. The Duke of Alva published at Naples, where he was Viceroy, a sort of counter-manifesto against the Pope (August 21st), in which, though couched in very respectful language, he recapitulated all the injuries which his master had received from the See of Rome. Philip and his father had conciliated the house of Farnese, and seduced them from the alliance of France and the Pope, as soon as they learnt the secret league between those powers, by reinstating them in some of their possessions, and France exclaimed loudly, but in vain, against Italian ingratitude. Philip had also sought to make the Duke of Florence his ally, who, however, resolved to remain neutral.

It was not before he had consulted the theologians of Alcalá, Salamanca, Valladolid, and even of some of the Flemish and Italian schools, that Philip ventured to make open war upon the Pope, although the Successor of St. Peter, on his side, so far from feeling any religious compunctions, endeavoured to form an alliance with the Infidel Turks.¹ When all other means had failed, Alva at length invaded the Papal territories, overran the Campagna, and appeared at the very gates of Rome. In this war Alva displayed the natural cruelty of his temper, though he conducted it in the spirit of a devout Catholic. Whenever he entered a Papal town, he caused the arms of the Sacred College to be hung up in one of the principal churches, with a placard announcing that he held the place only till the election of a new Pontiff; and he might have entered Rome itself without much difficulty, but for the reverence which he felt for the Vicar of Christ. Paul, who expected the assistance of the French, now began to amuse him with negotiations, and in November a truce of forty days was concluded. Towards the end of December, in a rigorous season, the Duke of Guise passed the Alps with a considerable army. His military talents had induced many of the French nobility to accompany him, to be the spectators of the great things which he would achieve. Guise might now have

¹ See *Despatch* of Bishop of Lodova to Henry II., January 5th, 1557, in Ribier, t. ii. p. 674.

accomplished the conquest of Lombardy and Tuscany, which lay at his mercy; both Milan and Siena stretched out their arms to him; Duke Cosmo implored that his neutrality might be respected. But Guise, as we have already explained, had other schemes, to which he postponed the advice of his captains and the interests of France. As Paul, who pretended that he had many partisans in the Abruzzi, was pressing for his presence in that quarter, Guise directed his march by Bologna into the March of Ancona. Instead of the promised succours, he found, however, nothing but vain excuses; and he posted to Rome to expostulate with the Pope. Here he succeeded no better with regard to the means of the campaign; but he persuaded Paul to create ten new Cardinals, three of whom were French,¹ and he thus strengthened his brother's prospect of the tiara. After wasting a month at Rome, abandoned to licentious pleasures,² Guise penetrated with his army into the Abruzzi. His plan of the campaign, however, was anything but on a grand scale. His efforts were frittered away in little miserable expeditions, conducted in the most barbarous manner; for, in spite of the general progress of civilization, war seemed only to have acquired more atrocity. Having taken Campli by assault, Guise allowed all the inhabitants to be massacred. The consequence was that the little town of Civitella, to escape the same fate, made the most obstinate resistance, and detained the French army several weeks, till the approach of the Duke of Alva, with superior forces, compelled Guise to raise the siege (May 15th, 1557). The two armies now manœuvred some months on the borders of the Abruzzi and the March of Ancona. There were marches and counter-marches, advances and retreats, towns invested and sieges raised, but no serious engagement. Guise was involved in continual disputes with the Papal leaders. One day at table he accused Antonio Caraffa, Marquis of Montebello, the youngest of the Pope's nephews, of robbing his soldiers, and threw a plate at his head, an affront which Paul was compelled to overlook. An invasion of the Campagna by the Colonnas at length obliged the Pope to call Guise to his assistance. The Duke of Alva followed the French to the environs of Rome; but before any

¹ Ribier, t. ii. p. 684; Belcarius, liv. xxvii. p. 896.

² "Le Cardinal de Caraffe, scélérat s'il en fût oncques, le tint tout le mois de Mars dedans la ville de Rome, l'entretenant de toutes délices, festins, cour-

tisannes, vierges et femmes mariées, dont ce gouffre d'abominations a accoustumé de fournir, pour, par ce temporisement, attraper du duc de Florence 400,000 écus."—*Mém. de Vieilleville*, liv. vii. ch. i.

serious action could take place, Guise was recalled by Henry II., who directed him to recross the Alps as quickly as possible with his army (August), as his presence was "urgently required in France.

When Guise showed the order for his recall to the Pope, Paul flew into a transport of impotent rage. He at first endeavoured to detain Guise; but when the latter insisted upon going, Paul replied: "Begone, then; you have done but little for your King, and still less for the Church; for your own honour, nothing." Paul was now compelled to treat with the Duke of Alva. As it was with the greatest reluctance that Philip II. had entered into the war, the Pope did not find the negotiations very difficult; for the whole system of that bigoted ruler may be comprised in a few words: the extinction of social liberty under a religious and political despotism, in which the latter, in appearance at least, was to be subordinate to the former. Conferences were opened at Cavi between the Duke of Alva and the Cardinals Fiora and Vitelli, which led to a peace (September 14th); the principal articles of which were, that the Spanish troops should be withdrawn from the States of the Church, and that all the places which had been taken should be restored. Paul declined to reinstate the Colonnas in their possessions, but agreed that their claims should be referred to the arbitration of Venice. In a preliminary article he insisted that Alva should come to Rome to ask pardon in his own name and that of his Sovereign for having invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, and to receive absolution for that crime. The haughty Spaniard was forced to comply. At the threshold of the Vatican, Alva fell upon his knees and kissed, with real or simulated veneration, the foot of the bitterest and most inveterate foe of his King and country. Cosmo de' Medici, by a course of artful policy, succeeded in obtaining Siena in satisfaction of the sums which he had advanced to the Emperor. By the union of the territories of Florence and Siena was afterwards formed the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.¹ Some maritime places in Tuscany were, however, reserved, which the Spaniards held till the French Revolution. From this period Italy ceased to be the chief theatre of war. The French had grown tired of their unsuccessful efforts in that country; and the equilibrium of Europe had been in great degree restored by the abdication

¹ It was not till 1569 that Pope Pius V. conferred the title of Grand-Duke of Tuscany on Cosmo, by a bull dated August

27th. He was to rank next after the Duke of Savoy. Pfeffel, t. ii. p. 204.

of Charles V., and consequent division of the power of the House of Austria.

In France the return of Guise was awaited with anxiety. Henry II. had, at first, pretended that he had not violated the truce by sending an army into Italy to the assistance of his ally the Pope, when attacked by the Viceroy of Naples; but this excuse was soon belied by further acts. Admiral Coligni, now Governor of Picardy, was directed to commence hostilities in the north; and after an abortive attempt to surprise Douai (January 6th, 1557,) he captured and burnt Lens. War was declared January 31st; but for the next six months nothing of importance was attempted on either side. During this period, however, Philip had not been idle. In March he went to England, and exercised a secret but considerable influence in the government. The minutes of the proceedings of the Privy Council were regularly forwarded to him, which he returned with manuscript notes; and he even required that nothing whatever should be submitted to the Parliament without having been first seen and approved of by him.¹ By his influence over the mind of Mary, who, in spite of his coldness and neglect, doated on him with the most extravagant fondness, he prevailed on her to disregard the wishes of her council and of the nation, and to declare war against France (June 20th); and levying a loan by her own authority, she despatched an army of 7,000 men into the Netherlands, under command of the Earl of Pembroke. These forces joined Philip's army under the Duke of Savoy, which now numbered upwards of 40,000 men. Meanwhile, little had been done to recruit the French army. In spite of its almost constant wars, France seemed to grow every day less military. With the exceptions of a few Gascons, the best part of Henry's troops consisted almost entirely of Germans; the ban and arriéro ban had been called out, but assembled slowly and reluctantly; the flower of the veteran bands was in Italy with Guise and Brissac.

In July Emmanuel Philibert was in motion. After threatening Champagne he turned suddenly to the right and invested St. Quentin. At great risk, Coligni succeeded in throwing himself into the town with a small body of troops on the night of the 2nd of August, and thus revived the spirits of the garrison. Montmorenci, who had advanced with the French army as far as La Fère, ordered d'Andelot, Coligni's brother and his successor in the command of the French infantry, to force his way into the

¹ Tytler, *England under Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. ii. p. 484.

town with 2,000 men ; but he was repulsed with great loss. In a second attempt, covered by Montmorenci with a rash and unexpected audacity, who, holding cheap the youth and inexperience of the Duke of Savoy, made a demonstration with his whole army, d'Anselot succeeded in penetrating into the town with 500 men. But this small success was purchased with a signal and disastrous defeat. Montmorenci had neglected to secure the road by which the enemy might penetrate to his rear ; and as he was withdrawing his forces after the success of his manœuvre, the Duke of Savoy ordered large masses of cavalry, gallantly led, by Count Egmont, to cross the Somme higher up and throw themselves on the retreating columns of the French. In a moment they were overthrown and dispersed. The Duke of Enghien, brother of the King of Navarre, and several other chiefs, were slain ; Montmorenci himself, and his youthful son, De Montberon, the Duke of Montpensier, the Duke of Longueville, the Marshal St. André, together with many other persons of distinction, were made prisoners. After overthrowing the gendarmerie, the victors attacked the French infantry, who were broken and dispersed, and either cut to pieces or driven away prisoners like flocks of sheep. It was with difficulty that the Duke of Nevers and the Prince of Condé succeeded in regaining La Fère with a handful of soldiers, whilst François de Montmorenci, the Constable's eldest son, escaped in another direction.

All seemed lost for France. The only army on which she relied for defence was almost annihilated, its commander in the hands of the enemy. Paris trembled for its safety ; and some of the courtiers already talked of removing to Orleans. But France was saved by Philip himself, who, at the news of the victory, hastened from Cambrai to the camp just in time to prevent the Duke of Savoy from reaping its fruits. The battle of St. Quentin was fought on St. Laurence's Day (August 10th), and Philip determined to commemorate it in a manner worthy of his bigotry and superstition. He vowed to erect a church, a monastery, and a palace in honour of that Saint ; their form was to be the appropriate one of a gridiron, in memory of Laurence's martyrdom ; and after twenty-two years' labour (1563-84) and the expenditure of vast sums of money, the Escorial rose near Madrid. But his own conduct rendered the victory unworthy of this sumptuous monument. Philip II. had all the obstinacy of his father, without his talent or enterprise ; and, contrary to the advice of the Duke of Savoy and his ablest captains, he forbade the army to push on

for Paris till St. Quentin and the neighbouring places had been taken. Coligni, however, obstinately defended St. Quentin nearly three weeks. At last, eleven breaches having been effected, the town was carried by storm, August 27th, while Philip looked on from a neighbouring eminence. Coligni was made prisoner, and St. Quentin, which as an entrepôt of the trade between France and the Netherlands, possessed considerable wealth, was abandoned to pillage. The Spaniards then took Ham, Noyon, and Chauny. But the time thus lost proved fatal to the main enterprise. The English, with whom the war was unpopular, insisted on going home, while the Germans, who were badly paid, mutinied, and deserted in great numbers. On the other hand the French had time to repair their losses, and Henry II., as already related, summoned Guise to return from Italy. Charles, who in his retirement had received the news of the Duke of Savoy's victory early in September, was calculating that his son must be already at Paris; instead of which, Philip, before the middle of October, had returned to Brussels, where he dismissed part of his army and put the remainder into winter-quarters.

The disasters of the French army and the captivity of Montmorenci were destined to compensate Guise for the ill success of his Italian expedition. He was received with acclamation in France. The King bestowed upon him new honours and dignities, and named him Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom,—a post which conferred upon him a power almost regal. Henry II. thus made a plain and public declaration of his own incapacity to reign. Guise's next brother, the Cardinal Charles of Lorraine, had obtained the administration of the interior and of the finances; the third brother commanded the galleys; another was destined to replace Brissac in Piedmont. The Cardinal Louis of Guise alone was without ambition, and distinguished only by his love of good cheer, whence he obtained the name of the "Cardinal des Bouteilles." In short, in the absence of the Constable, the Guise family reigned in the name of Henry II. The Duke of Guise hastened to Compiègne to take the command of the army of the north, and, although the winter had set in, he resolved on commencing operations. But he was too prudent to attempt the recovery of St. Quentin, or to enter on a winter campaign in an exhausted country. He despatched the Duke of Nevers with a strong division towards the Meuse, to engage the attention of the enemy on the side of Luxembourg, but with orders to turn suddenly to the west and join himself and the rest of the army on

the coast of Picardy. The junction was effected, and the French army, 25,000 strong, unexpectedly appeared before Calais (January 1st, 1558).

The surprise of that place had been long meditated. In the preceding November Marshal Pietro Strozzi, accompanied by an engineer, had entered the town in disguise, and observed the insufficient precautions which had been taken for its defence. Indeed, the English deemed it impregnable;¹ and in the winter time, when the surrounding marshes were overflowed, they were accustomed, out of a false economy, to reduce the number of the garrison, who were now only 500 men. Of this practice Lord Wentworth, the commandant, had complained in vain; the Privy Council replied to his remonstrances that at that season they could defend the place with their white rods. Calais was protected by two forts; that of Newnham Bridge, or Nioullay, which commanded the only causeway through the marshes on the land side; and that of the Risbank towards the sea, which protected the port. The French having carried by a *coup de main* the little battery of St. Agatha, which formed a sort of outpost to the fort of Newnham Bridge, part of their army sat down there, while the rest, filing to the left, took up a position before the Risbank. Both these forts were taken the first day the French batteries opened upon them. The town was then bombarded, and on the evening of the 6th January, Guise himself led at low tide a chosen body across the haven, the water reaching to their waists, and carried the castle by assault. Wentworth now found it necessary to capitulate; the inhabitants and nearly all the garrison obtained leave to retire, but all the cannon, warlike stores, and merchandize were surrendered. Guines was next invested and taken January 21st. Thus were the English finally deprived of every foot of land in France, after holding Calais, the fruit of Edward III.'s victory at Crécy, more than two centuries. Its loss occasioned great discontent in England: for this irreparable disgrace was the only fruit of the needless and unpopular war in which Philip and Mary had involved the country. The Queen herself was overwhelmed with confusion and grief at so unexpected a blow; and was often heard to say, that if her breast were opened after her death the name of Calais would be found graven upon her heart.* On the other hand this achievement saved the reputation

¹ They had inscribed over one of the gates the following couplet:—

“Sera vraisemblable que Calais on assiége,
Quand le fer ou le plomb nagera comme liége.”

—De Bouillé, *Hist. des Ducs de Guise*, ap. Martin, t. viii. p. 460.

of Guise, and more than counterpoised in the minds of the French the memory of their defeat at St. Quentin.

The power and influence of the Guises was soon after further increased by the marriage of the Dauphin Francis with their niece the young Queen of Scots (April 24th, 1558). Francis was then only fourteen years of age, whilst Mary, who had been educated in France, was in her sixteenth year. A few days before, the Guises had made their niece sign two secret acts, by one of which, in the event of her death without children, she bequeathed her Kingdom to be inviolably united with that of France; by the other she abandoned the revenues of Scotland to Henry II. till he should have been repaid a million crowns expended in succouring that country. Yet in her marriage contract Mary and her youthful husband were to take an oath to maintain the laws, the liberty, and the independence of Scotland! Such was the early initiation of the unfortunate Queen of Scots into that course of duplicity and fraud which at length ended in her destruction. From this time the Court of France gave the Dauphin the title of King of Scotland, which was confirmed by the Scotch Parliament, in spite of the opposition of a numerous party, who feared that their country would become a mere province of France.

In May some conferences were held with a view to peace at Marcoing near Cambray, between the Cardinal of Lorraine and Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, now chief minister of Philip II., as he had before been of Charles V. The pretensions of the Spanish King were too haughty to admit of an immediate accommodation; but the two churchmen here laid the foundations of a league against heresy destined in time to bear its fruits. In proof of his sincerity Granvelle denounced to the Cardinal as followers of the new doctrines the nephews of the Constable; a fact which he had discovered from an intercepted letter, as well as some Genevese books, which d'Andelot had endeavoured to convey to his captive brother, the Admiral Coligni. The Duke of Guise having represented to the French King that he could not hope to prosper in his campaign if a heretic remained in command of the French infantry, Henry sent for d'Andelot and interrogated him as to his opinions concerning the Mass. The blunt and honest soldier was not a man to disguise his opinions. "There is," he cried, "but one sacrifice made once for all, that of our Lord Jesus Christ; and to make of the Mass a sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead is detestable and abominable." At these words Henry, unable to control his anger, snatched up

a plate, and hurled it at d'Andelot's head, which it missed, and struck the Dauphin. The King then clapped his hand on his sword, but restraining himself, sent d'Andelot prisoner to the Castle of Melun. Thus Guise got rid of one of the Constable's family, and gave the post of colonel of the infantry to Montluc.

The conduct of the campaign of 1558 did not add much to the military reputation of Guise. He lost his time in besieging Diedenhofen, which held out till June 22nd; at which siege Marshal Pietro Strozzi, the Florentine exile, a celebrated engineer, was killed by a musket ball. Guise next took Arlon and threatened Luxembourg; but his dilatoriness occasioned a disastrous reverse to the French arms at the other extremity of the Netherlands. Marshal Paul de Termes, Governor of Calais, had been ordered to operate against West Flanders; and counting upon being joined by Guise and the main army after the taking of Diedenhofen, he passed the Aa which separated Flanders from the reconquered district of Calais, with 10,000 or 12,000 men. He took Mardyck, and having carried Dunkirk by assault, was marching upon Nieuport, when intelligence of the approach of the Count of Egmont with an army of some 15,000 men, induced him to retreat. He contrived to repass the Aa at low water, when he found himself in presence of the enemy, who had crossed the river higher up. An engagement ensued (July 13th) on the downs or sandy hillocks which border that coast, and in the midst of it ten English vessels which were cruising in the neighbourhood, attracted by the noise of the cannonade, entered the mouth of the Aa and directed their fire on the French flank. The slaughter was dreadful. The French were thrown into a disorderly rout; De Termes himself, with a great many officers, was taken prisoner; while the greater part of the French soldiers were massacred by the Flemish peasantry, who were enraged at the devastation they had committed.

The Duke of Guise was now obliged to hasten into Picardy, and with the main French army, consisting of about 40,000 men, took up a position so as to cover Corbie and Amiens, threatened by the Duke of Savoy, who with an army equal to that of the French had established himself on the river Authie. As both the French and Spanish Kings had joined their respective camps, some great and decisive action was every day expected; yet both armies remained watching each other without coming to an engagement. Meanwhile some unofficial overtures for a peace had been made between the Constable and the Marshal St. André, who were

prisoners of war, and the ministers of Philip II. Montmorenci was naturally desirous of peace at any price; for while he was a captive the Guises were supplanting him at Court. The Cardinal of Lorraine, however, had imprudently offended the Duchess of Valentinois, who still retained great influence over the King, and who now threw her weight into Montmorenci's scale; whilst Henry himself not unjustly imputed the loss of the campaign to the misconduct of the Duke of Guise. The Constable having obtained a short *congé* on parole, confirmed the French King's impressions in a visit which he paid to him at the camp; when Henry showed him one of the greatest marks of favour then customary among Princes by allowing him to share the royal bed. Under these circumstances conferences were opened at the abbey of Cercamp, but were interrupted by the death of the English Queen, November 17th, 1558, an event which placed the interests of Philip II. in quite a new position. When the congress was reopened at Câteau-Cambrésis early in February, 1559, the Spanish King had discovered that there was no chance of his obtaining the hand of Elizabeth, who had now ascended the throne of England; and therefore though his general political interests still drew him towards that country, he ceased to insist, as he had previously done, on the restitution of Calais. The sagacity of Elizabeth, or of her minister Cecil, perceived how difficult would be the recovery of that ancient possession, and she therefore contented herself with conditions which might tend in some degree to soothe the wounded feelings of national pride at its loss. In the treaty between France, England, and Scotland, signed at Câteau-Cambrésis, April 2nd, 1559, it was agreed that the King of France should hold Calais for eight years, at the expiration of which term it was to be restored to the Queen of England; failing which, France was to pay 500,000 crowns; a forfeit, however, which was not to abrogate the English claim. It was sufficiently plain that restitution would never be demanded; nor can this abandonment of a place which offered a continual temptation for plunging into a war with France be considered as any real loss to the English nation.¹

The treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, between France and Spain, was signed on the following day (April 3rd). It was principally founded on a double marriage, namely, between Philip II. and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the French King, then thirteen years of age, who had previously been promised for Philip's son, Don

¹ Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 29 sqq. Cf. Forbes, *Full View*, &c. p. 68.

Carlos; and another between Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, and Margaret of France, sister of Henry II. The two contracting Sovereigns engaged that they would endeavour to procure a General Council to heal the dissensions of the Church; nearly all the conquests of both parties on the Picard and Netherland frontiers were mutually restored; the French surrendered their acquisitions in Corsica to the Genoese, and abandoned the Republic of Siena to its enemy, Duke Cosmo, stipulating, however, an amnesty for the Corsicans and Sienese. The Duke of Savoy, upon his marriage, was to be re-instated in his father's dominions, with the exception of the towns of Turin, Pinerolo, Chieri, Chivasso and Villanuova d'Asti, which were to be held by Henry till his claims as heir of his grandmother, Louise of Savoy, should have been decided by arbitration.¹ These were the principal articles. With regard to the Empire, Ferdinand had demanded in the Diet of Augsburg the restitution of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. But Ferdinand was weak. His hereditary dominions were menaced by the Turks; he was ill supported by his nephew Philip; and he ended by letting the French ambassadors know, that in spite of his public protest he should not go to war for the three bishoprics.²

While these negotiations were pending, the great Sovereign who had been for so many years the leading character on the political scene, had expired. Charles V., as we have before intimated, sailed from Zealand for Spain, September 17th, 1556. He had lingered a few days at Ghent, the place of his birth, and of some of the happiest days of his childhood; but he declined a pressing invitation of his daughter-in-law, Queen Mary, to visit England on his way. He landed at Laredo in Biscay, after a prosperous voyage of eleven days; whence he proceeded towards the convent of Yuste near Placencia in Estramadura, which he had fixed upon as the place of his retirement. His journey seems to have been protracted not only by ill health but also by want of money; a neglect which must have cut Charles to the quick, though it does not appear to have arisen, as it has been sometimes asserted, from the fault of his son Philip. At Valladolid he took leave of his two sisters, the Dowager-Queens of France and Hungary, whom he would not permit to accompany him into his solitude. He arrived in November at Jarandilla, about two leagues from Yuste, where he took up his abode in the castle of Count Oropesa, till the house building for him at Yuste should have been com-

¹ Dument, t. v. pt. i. p. 34.

² Belcarius, lib. xxviii. p. 919.

pleted. This consisted of eight rooms on two floors, and was seated in a little valley watered by a brook and enclosed by well-wooded hills. It adjoined an ancient convent of Hieronymite monks, and was surrounded with a pleasant garden, which, when health permitted, the abdicated Emperor would sometimes cultivate with his own hands. There was a communication with the monastery, and a window in one of his bedchambers looked into the chapel, so that when confined by sickness he could still hear Mass. He did not, however, live, as some writers have asserted, in a state of monastic mortification. His apartments were well, nay, magnificently furnished; he had a rich wardrobe, a valuable service of plate, a choice collection of paintings; and he indulged in the pleasures of the table to a gluttonous extent very detrimental to his health. He had no objection to scourge his back,¹ but he could not endure to punish his belly by fasting, from which mode of penance he procured a dispensation. He delighted in the music of the choir, in which he often joined; for he had a good ear as well as a sonorous voice, and would reprehend a false note with epithets according but ill with the devotional character of the performance. He amused his leisure hours with mechanical pursuits, in which he displayed considerable ingenuity, and he took a particular interest in the mechanism of clocks and watches. It is related that on finding he could not make all his time-pieces go exactly together he exclaimed against his own folly in attempting to cause all men to think alike; a philosophical reflection which would seem incompatible with his last injunction to his successor to maintain the Inquisition, did we not know that men will occasionally give a transient recognition to speculative truths, which nothing can induce them to adopt in practice. When he felt his end approaching, Charles was seized with a melancholy whim which had in it a touch of insanity. He resolved to celebrate his own obsequies. The convent church was hung with black; in the centre a funereal trophy, surrounded by lighted candles, was supposed to contain the body of the deceased Emperor; while Charles himself, holding a lighted torch in his hand, mingled with the monks and attendants who gathered round to sing the dirge.² This counterfeit of death was followed in a few weeks by its

¹ A scourge, stained with his blood, was preserved with veneration by Philip, and by him bequeathed to his son. Prescott, *Philip II.* vol. i. p. 252.

² The occurrence of this tragical farce

has been questioned by Mignet in his *Charles-Quint*, but is accepted by Gachard, Stirling, and Prescott. The circumstances are exaggerated in the narrative of Robertson, taken from Gregorio Leti.

reality. Soon after midnight on the 21st September, 1558, the Sovereign in whose dominions the sun never set, yielded to the common fate of human nature.¹

It is a mistake to suppose, as Robertson and other writers have related, that Charles did not concern himself with business in his retreat. He was in constant correspondence with his son, and his despatches from Yuste to Valladolid directed the policy of his daughter Joanna, who, in the absence of Philip in England and the Netherlands, conducted the regency of Spain. In his secluded abode, he even sometimes gave audience to foreign envoys. He took the most lively interest in the French campaign of 1557, as well as in that in Italy. In the alarm of those wars Philip despatched Ruy Gomez to Yuste for his father's advice, and even entreated him to resume for a while the direction of affairs. Charles did not share his son's scruples respecting hostilities with the Pope; and he manifested the deepest disappointment when he found that Philip had not availed himself of the victory of St. Quentin to march upon Paris.

The character of the Emperor Charles V. will have been gathered by the attentive reader from the narrative of his actions. Ambition was his ruling passion, to which all his other motives, and even his religious feelings, must be ranked as subordinate. He carried out his plans with a skill, a perseverance, and a consistency which mark him as a great statesman, though his method of action was far from being always compatible with morality or with the good of his people. His policy must be regarded as his own; for though he had always a confidential minister, he was not implicitly guided by his advice; and he never submitted his designs to a body of councillors. His first minister and chancellor was Gattinara, a Piedmontese by birth, and President of the Parliament of Franche-Comté; a

¹ Since the time when Robertson wrote, the Archives of Simancas have thrown considerable light on the history of Charles V. in his retirement. To those who wish to pursue a subject which our limits do not permit us to treat at much length, the following notice of sources may not be unacceptable. From the Archives just mentioned, Don Tomas Gonzalez drew up a MS. volume, entitled *Retiro, Estancia y Muerte del Emperador Carlos Quinto en el Monasterio de Yuste*, which was never published; but being bought by the French Government, was placed in the *Archives des Affaires étran-*

gères. From this MS. M. Mignet, who had charge of the collection in which it was deposited, compiled his *Charles Quint, son Abdication, son Séjour, et sa Mort au Monastère de Yuste*. Others have availed themselves of the same source, as Mr. Stirling in his *Cloister Life of Charles V.*, a book of high repute, and M. Amédée Pichot in his *Charles Quint, Chronique de sa Vie intérieure et de sa Vie politique*. M. Gachard's *Retraite et Mort de Charles V.* (2 vols.) is devoted to the letters of the Emperor and his household, which form the staple of the Gonzalez MS.

man of proud and independent spirit, as appears from his letters to Margaret, Regent of the Netherlands, whose counsellor he had once been.¹ His successor, Granvelle, who was a more supple, and perhaps an abler politician, lived in confidential intimacy with Charles, yet cannot be said to have governed him.² It was his practice every evening to send the Emperor a note containing his opinion on the business to be transacted on the morrow: but though their judgments usually coincided, that of Granvelle was not allowed to predominate. The Emperor's confessor had access to these consultations, but no voice in the decision. The Bishop of Arras, Granvelle's son and successor in the ministry, seems to have possessed less influence than his father. To facilitate the government of his wide-spread dominions, Charles had instituted a very peculiar court, composed of a governor or minister from each of his various possessions; namely, a Sicilian, a Neapolitan, a Milanese, a Burgundian, a Netherlander, an Aragonese, and a Castilian, besides two or three doctors. These consulted together on all matters relating to the Empire, or to the interests of the lands collectively; each being kept informed of the circumstances of his own province, and making a report upon them. The members enjoyed an annual pension of 1,000 to 1,500 crowns. The President was the Bishop of Arras.³

One of the worst traits in Charles's character was an intolerant bigotry; and in the latter years of his life, when his understanding was enfeebled by a degrading superstition, he became fanatically cruel. He endeavoured to awaken the spirit of persecution in the bosom of the Regent Joanna; and in a codicil to his will he solemnly adjured Philip to cherish the Inquisition, and never to spare a heretic. Yet in his earlier days he could make religion bend to policy, as appears from his treatment of the Lutherans, and of the captive Pope, Clement VII. His Court was modelled after the old Burgundian fashion, and consisted of between 700 and 800 persons. Those in immediate attendance on the Emperor's person were of princely birth, while the palace was filled with the lesser nobility. His chapel of forty musicians was the completest in the world, and sustained the reputation of the Netherlands as the birthplace of modern music. He had a high

¹ See *Lettres de Louis XII.* t. iv.; Michælet, *Renaissance*, p. 255.

² "Si serve l'imperatore del consiglio suolo di Monsignor Granvella. La cosa si risolve tutta fra l'imperatore et Mon-

signore Granvella."—Cavallo, *Relat.* ap. Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 149.

³ *Relat.* of Cavallo, ap. Ranke, *Fürsten*, &c. B. i. S. 146.

notion of the authority of a Sovereign; he required strict order and obedience; and he enforced them, when he considered it necessary, with a severe and unsparing hand; but, except in religious matters, he was not needlessly cruel, and his humanity, as well as his courage, was conspicuous in his expeditions to Africa. On the whole, measuring him by the morals and maxims of his times, and comparing him with contemporary Princes, he must be pronounced a great, a wise, and a successful Monarch.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE peace of Câteau-Cambrésis opens a new era in the history of Europe. That treaty must be regarded as a conspiracy of the French and Spanish Kings against the spirit of the age; for though it contained no formal article for the suppression of Protestantism, and of those ideas of civil and religious liberty which it had inspired, yet it is notorious that in the antecedent negotiations the growth of the Reformation was alleged as an argument for the necessity of peace.¹ The two leading powers having thus combined to maintain with the sword the tenets of Rome, the Protestants were driven to make common cause together; and Europe became divided into two hostile camps, distinguished by their modes of faith. Hence the Reformation necessarily assumed more and more of a political character: civil grievances were associated with those of religion; intestine wars broke out in France and the Netherlands; and Protestant England, to avert the subjugation threatened by the great Papal conspiracy, and the attempt to depose Elizabeth and place the Queen of Scots upon the throne, lent her aid to the insurgents in both those countries. Thus, during the latter half of the sixteenth century, there was little political action unconnected more or less directly with religion. The great wars, if not the national jealousies, which had marked its earlier period, almost entirely ceased. France, the common disturber of the peace of Europe, was occupied with her domestic broils; while Germany, by the severance of the Empire from Spain, and by its comparative freedom from the attacks of the Turks after the death of Solymán, enjoyed a long period of unwonted tranquillity. Spain, the great leader of the Catholic cause, and England, the champion of Protestantism,

¹ The Spaniards always maintained that their motive for entering into the peace was to enable the King of France to put down heresy. Ranke, *Französische Gesch.* B. i. S. 97. "Upon the making of the late peace there was an appointment made between the late Pope (Pius IV.),

the French King, and the King of Spain, for the joining of their forces together for the suppression of religion" (i.e. Protestantism). — Kylligrew's *Despatches*, January 6th, 1560, in *Forbes's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 296.

seemed to be the only powers capable of vigorous action abroad ; but at that time, and till after the destruction of the Spanish Armada, it would have appeared ridiculous to name the two countries in the same breath. During the life of Philip II., Spain remained, in opinion at least, the dominant power in Europe, and the idea entertained in England of its might is shown by the cautious policy of Elizabeth. The decline of Spain had, indeed, already begun in the reign of Charles V. ; but she still possessed her far-famed infantry, and the prestige of her vast possessions and reputed enormous wealth. Her strength, half fact, half phantom, was wielded by Philip II. in a spirit partaking of a monkish inquisitor and a government clerk ; assiduous at the desk from morning till night, diligent and serious, but without a spark of talent. But as Spain was engaged and crippled by the revolt of the Netherlands, while Elizabeth's policy was mostly defensive, there was little general European action, and many of the following chapters will be chiefly occupied with the civil wars of France and the Low Countries ; movements, however, which differ vastly in importance. For while the struggle in France neither extended beyond the limits of that country nor produced any lasting effect, the revolt in the Netherlands and the establishment of the Dutch Republic resulted in changing the face of Europe, by introducing among its States another and a most important Protestant power.

The dissatisfaction with the treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, by which the unconquered garrisons of sixty fortresses were to lay down their arms, was universal in France. Montmorenci and St. André were unmercifully abused ; France, it was said, had to pay more dearly for their ransom than for that of Francis I. But though the treaty was denounced as the work of an ambitious minister and an artful mistress, Henry II. ratified it, and faithfully performed all its articles. The Duke of Savoy proceeded to Paris to celebrate his marriage with the King's sister, and the Duke of Alva to wed his daughter Elizabeth, by proxy, for his master, Philip. Amid the discontent of the nation, the Court was dissolved in pleasure, and entirely engrossed with the fêtes preparing in honour of the double marriage. Yet at this very moment events were passing which were to cause nearly half a century of civil warfare. We have already had frequent occasion to allude to the religious persecutions in France. The earlier reformers in that country were Lutherans ; but the French reformers had now received a new impulse and a better organiza-

tion from their own countryman, Calvin; whose doctrines, expressed with vigour and precision in their own language, as well as in Latin, had also recommended themselves to the French mind by their logical clearness and practical spirit, and had thus easily supplanted those of Luther. The churches of the French Reformation had been organized on the model of that of Geneva, to which their eyes were directed as to the New Jerusalem; and Calvin's rescripts thence had with them the same force as the Papal bulls with the Roman Catholics. Calvinism had spread into the greater part of France, and especially in the provinces of Brittany, Normandy, Languedoc, Gascony, Poitou, Touraine, Provence, and Dauphiné. Its converts belonged chiefly to the higher ranks, including many of the clergy, monks, nuns, and even bishops; and the Catholic churches seemed almost deserted, except by the lowest classes.¹ The boldness of the Calvinists had increased with their numbers. In 1557 they had ventured to assemble in open day in the Pré-aux-Clercs, the fashionable promenade of the Parisians, where they sung Psalms which had been versified by Marot, and set to the music of Guillaume Franc by Louis Bourgeois and by Claude Goudimel, the master of Palestrina. Even Antony of Navarre and his Queen had countenanced these meetings with their presence.

Henry II. had viewed the progress of the Reformation with alarm, and had endeavoured to repress it by persecution; in which he was assisted by the fanaticism of the populace, excited by the preaching of the friars and the calumnies circulated against the Calvinists. The year 1553 was rendered remarkable by the number of its martyrs.² The same year witnessed the intolerance of Calvin himself; and Michael Servetus perished in the flames for having asserted his Unitarian doctrines, with too much talent and too much boldness, against the Genevese Reformer. In 1555 the King, at the instigation of the Cardinal of Lorraine, had endeavoured to revive the ancient Inquisition in all its terrors; but the Parliament of Paris remonstrated. In the spring of 1557, while the Duke of Guise was pursuing his successes in Italy, the Pope was solicited to establish the Spanish and Roman Inquisition in France; Paul consented, and issued a bull to that effect, which by a royal edict given at Compiègne, July 24th, was ordered to be registered. By this instrument the three Cardinals of Lorraine, Bourbon, and Châtillon, the first of whom had been the

¹ *Relatione* of Micheli, 1561, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 16.

² Beza, *Hist. Eccl.* liv. ii. p. 56.

prime mover in the matter, were appointed Grand Inquisitors. The Parliament again refused to register the edict. Its opposition, however, was not dictated by humanity, but by the fear of being supplanted in its jurisdiction by the clergy ; and, influenced by this fear, it showed itself as relentless as any Inquisition, and sanctioned some horrible persecutions. The processes against heretics in the Parliament were conducted, according to circumstances, by two different chambers, the *Grand' Chambre*, and that called the *Tournelle* ; the latter of which was subordinate, and did not act with much vigour ; while the *Grand' Chambre*, or principal chamber, from the numerous victims whom it consigned to the flames, obtained the nickname of the *Chambre Ardente*, or Burning Chamber.

After the peace of Câteau-Cambrésis, which released the King from the necessity of courting the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland and the German Lutheran Princes, Henry II. resolved to render persecution more vigorous and consistent in his own dominions, by compelling the Parliament to accept the Pope's bull for the establishment of the Inquisition. The Reformed Church in France, in spite of the renewed persecutions to which it was subjected, had continued to flourish and increase. In May, 1559, it held its first general synod at Paris, and established itself as a great religious republic, by drawing up a confession of faith and publishing regulations for ecclesiastical discipline. A crisis had thus arrived when a decisive step seemed indispensable. The King summoned the Parliament to enforce a strict execution of the royal edicts. This matter was brought before them by the *Procureur-général* in a *Mercuriale*,¹ and gave rise to a long and animated debate, in which several of the members expressed themselves with dignity and freedom. When the different judicial bodies were thus assembled together, the voice of mercy prevailed ; the bloody rigour of the *Grand' Chambre* was condemned, and the question now lay between mitigated penalties and complete acquittal. In this state of things Henry II. unexpectedly appeared in the Parliament (June 10th), accompanied by several princes of the Houses of Bourbon and Guise. He told the members that having concluded a peace, and cemented it by the marriages of his sister and daughter, he meant now to proceed to the repression of heresy ; he knew, he said, that they

¹ A periodical session in which all the judicial bodies congregated, and which

was held on a Wednesday (*Mercredi, die Mercurii*) whence its name.

were then discussing the subject, and he invited them to continue the debate in his presence. Many of the members, and especially Du Bourg and Du Faur, expressed themselves with great boldness. Du Faur concluded an eloquent denunciation of the abuses of Rome by exclaiming: "We must know who those are who disturb the Church, lest we should have to say as Elijah the Tishbite said to King Ahab, 'It is thou that troublest Israel.'" At these speeches the King could not contain his anger. He despatched the Constable to seize with his own hand the two counsellors on their benches; nor did Montmorenci decline the degrading office. Five other Calvinist counsellors were arrested by the captain of the guard, and all were sent to the Bastille. This scene, which forcibly recalls to mind the attempted seizure of the five members by Charles I. in the English Parliament, may also, like that act, be regarded as inaugurating the civil wars which ensued. In vain the Protestant synod, still sitting at Paris, interceded for the prisoners. The King, setting at nought the privileges of the Parliament, appointed a special commission for their trial, and had the brutality to declare that he would see with his own eyes the burning of Du Bourg. But his own unexpected death deprived him of this spectacle, though it afterwards took place.

On the 20th of June the marriage of Mademoiselle Elizabeth with the Catholic King was celebrated, and on the 29th the contract was signed for that between Mademoiselle Margaret, the King's sister, and the Duke of Savoy. Among the fêtes in celebration of these events, a grand tournament was held in front of the Royal Hôtel of the Tournelles, and nearly at the foot of the Bastille. On the 29th of June, Henry II., who was fond of this exercise, and had already run some courses, determined, in spite of the entreaties of his Queen to the contrary, to tilt with Gabriel, Count of Montgomery, the captain of his Scottish guard; when the lances of both combatants were shivered in the charge, and a fragment of that of Montgomery pierced the King's visor and entered his eye. In the midst of indescribable confusion and alarm, Henry was carried to the Tournelles, where, in spite of the best surgical aid, he died of the wound, July 10th. He was in the prime of life, being only in his forty-first year. He left seven legitimate children; namely, four sons, Francis II., Charles IX., Henry III., and Francis, Duke of Alençon; and three daughters, Elizabeth, married, as we have said, to Philip II.,

Claude who married the Duke of Lorraine, and Margaret, who espoused Henry of Navarre, subsequently Henry IV.

The unexpected death of Henry II. seemed to crown with a sudden success all the ambitious aspirations of the Guises. Francis II., who now ascended the throne of France, was the husband of their niece, Mary, the youthful Queen of Scots; and as the new King was only in his sixteenth year, it was evident that the whole power of the monarchy would fall into the hands of his uncles-in-law. Nor was their influence confined to France. Their sister, the widow of James V. of Scotland, was Queen Regent of that country; while their niece, Mary Stuart, claimed to be rightful heir of the English, as well as Scottish, Crown; and she and her husband Francis openly assumed the arms of England. The chief offices of trust and power in France were immediately seized by the Guises; Duke Francis assuming the command of the army, while the Cardinal of Lorraine undertook the administration of the finances. Montmorenci, who had enjoyed so large a share of power under Henry II., though treated by the young King with outward respect, was deprived of his office of Grand-master of the royal household, which was conferred upon the Duke of Guise; and the Constable retired to his *châteaux* of Chantilli and Ecouen; Antony, King of Navarre, and even Catharine de' Medici, both of whom, Antony as first Prince of the blood and Catharine as Queen-mother, had better claims than the Guises to assume the reins of government, were repulsed, and treated with studied indignity. The notion of a regency was scornfully rejected on the ground that the King was old enough to reign; and thus the Guises were enabled to govern under his name. When Antony, who, after Henry's wound, had been invited to Court by Montmorenci, arrived at St. Germain, he experienced nothing but insults. Nobody went to receive him, and the principal apartment of the palace, to which he was entitled as first Prince of the blood, was occupied by the Duke of Guise. Antony, a poor feeble creature, patiently endured these contumelies. His brother, Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, who had more vigour of character, and was regarded by the Protestants as their head, was sent out of the way to ratify the treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis at Brussels, and his poverty was insulted by the inadequate sum of 1,000 crowns for his journey. Catharine de' Medici, who saw that her time was not come, and that she had only escaped from the dominion of the Duchess of Valentinois to fall under that of her daughter-in-law, Mary, offered no resistance,

and endeavoured to steer between the different parties. The Guises even talked of sending her back to Florence.¹

Under the domination of the Guises, it might be foreseen that the religious disputes, the great question of the age, must soon be brought in France to the arbitrament of the sword. Bigoted and violent, that family were the thorough and unscrupulous adherents of the policy of Rome and of Philip II. After the peace of Câteau-Cambrésis they had stimulated their sister, the Queen Regent of Scotland, to acts of violence against the reformers in that Kingdom, who were now organized into a league under the name of "the Congregation." The example of the Scots had encouraged the French Reformers, who also formed a closer union, and began about this time to be called HUGONOTS.² At Paris they almost entirely occupied the Faubourg St. Germain, which obtained the name of "the Little Geneva." Numerous edicts now began to be levelled at them, and they were forbidden to carry arms, or to wear large mantles or boots in which weapons might be concealed. The bigotry and intolerance of the government were seconded by the fanaticism of the lower classes. Those who neglected to salute the images of the Virgin set up at the corners of the streets were dragged to prison, nay, sometimes killed by the infuriated populace.

The principal leaders of the Hugonots at this time were Antony's consort Jeanne, his brother the Prince of Condé, and the Châtillons, especially the Admiral Coligni and his brother d'Andelot. Antony himself was too insignificant to be of any account. Condé openly professed himself the head of the Hugonots; and he held a conference of their principal leaders at his residence, La Ferté, in Champagne. The position of parties, the attitude of the government, rendered the question as much a political as a religious one; and in the hope of regaining their influence the Hugonot leaders loudly demanded an assembly of the States-General. Catharine, who had hitherto pretended to

¹ The principal authorities for the ensuing period, are Davila (the apologist of Catharine de' Medici), *Storia delle guerre civili di Francia*; Thuanus (De Thou), *Historia sui temporis* (1543—1607); Regnier de la Planche, *De l'état de France sous François II.*, the work of a zealous but well-informed Protestant; the *Mémoires* of Castelnau, a Catholic, but impartial and judicious; Lapsace, *De l'état de la Religion et de la République*; *Mémoires* de Condé, ed. de Secousse; D'Aubigné, *Hist. Universelle*, and *Mémoires*; De

Bouillé, *Histoire des ducs de Guises*, a recent work of good authority, the author having used the Archives of Simancas.

² Castelnau, however, liv. ii. ch. 7, says that this term was first applied contemptuously to the French Protestants after the failure of the conspiracy of Amboise, and that it was derived from a petty coin in use in the days of Hugues Capet. Another derivation is from the German *Eidgenossen* (sworn companions), a name applied to the Confederates of Switzerland.

favour the Hugonots, alarmed at the idea of such an assembly, drew nearer to the Guises, and solicited the help of her son-in-law, Philip II. of Spain. But the force of circumstances rendered at that time the policy of Philip somewhat singular and anomalous. As far as the suppression of heresy was concerned, he went heart and soul with the Guises; but in this instance the prosecution of his darling views was embarrassed by the existence of a young female, Mary Stuart; and, as in many other instances, he seems to have grudged a life which thwarted his policy.¹ He dreaded any revolution that would unite the Crowns of France, England, and Scotland on one head, and was, consequently, in this respect, from purely political considerations, opposed to the Guises; and he announced that he would not suffer them to assist the Catholics in England by a descent. Hence, singularly enough, the champion King of orthodoxy was led to defend for a while the heretic Elizabeth against the See of Rome, and thus indirectly aided the re-establishment of Protestantism in England. And though he returned Catharine a courteous and consoling answer, he did not at this juncture contribute a single man or a single maravedi in support of the Catholic cause in France.

The refusal of the Guises to assemble the States-General led to the wild and impolitic conspiracy of Amboise; the object of which was to seize the King and the Guises at Blois, to bring the Guises to trial, to summon the States, and to confer the regency on King Antony. The chief mover in it was Godefroi de Barri, Sieur de la Renaudie, a man of bankrupt fortune and character, and ready for any desperate enterprise. Condé and the Châtillons appear to have been privy to the conspiracy, but took no active part; and it was disapproved of by Calvin, whom La Renaudie had consulted. The plot was betrayed by one of the conspirators, and frustrated by removing the Court from Blois to the Castle of Amboise. Some of the leading Hugonots were summoned to the defence of the King, and the command of the Castle of Amboise was intrusted to Condé himself, who, under an apparently honourable appointment, became in reality a prisoner. La Renaudie, who, at the head of 300 men, had nevertheless persisted in his design, was intercepted and killed, and his bands dispersed. Like all abortive conspiracies, this plot only strengthened the hands of those against whom it was directed. In spite

¹ "If the young Queen (Mary Stuart) were to die, it would relieve us from serious embarrassments."—Philip's Letter

to Granvelle, *Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Granvelle*, t. v. p. 643; cf. vi. 89, 93, &c.; Mignet, *Mary Stuart*, app. A.

of the opposition of Catharine and the Chancellor Olivier, Guise was proclaimed the King's Lieutenant-General, an office which conferred upon him an almost dictatorial power; and he caused a great many of those who had been connected with the conspiracy to be put to death.

The Chancellor Olivier, at heart a Protestant, died soon after the detection of this conspiracy, and Catharine de' Medici, with the consent of the Guises, now gave the seals to Michel de l'Hôpital, who at that time filled at Nice the office of Chancellor to Margaret of France, Duchess of Savoy. The Lorraine Princes as yet knew him only as a man of humble origin, but of great legal and literary talent; they suspected not the patriotic devotion, the inflexible constancy, which, though concealed under an appearance of deference towards the great, have rendered L'Hôpital one of the most remarkable and worthy ministers that France has ever possessed. He was one of the few enlightened spirits in those days of bigotry and fanaticism, who held that toleration was not incompatible with true religion; his grand scheme was to let Catholicism and Protestantism subsist side by side; whence by some he was regarded as a Hugonot, by others as an Atheist. A man of such moderate views had necessarily many difficulties to contend with in those days of excitement. Flushed with their recent triumph, the Guises wished to use the power which the abortive conspiracy had thrown into their hands, in order to introduce the Spanish Inquisition into France; nor could L'Hôpital divert them from this project, except by consenting to the EDICT OF ROMORANTIN (May, 1560). It was with great reluctance that the Parliament of Paris registered an edict which transferred all trials for heresy from the civil to the episcopal jurisdiction. L'Hôpital somewhat modified the law by his interpretation of it, and introduced a clause by which false accusers were subjected to the *lex talionis*.

The policy of the Guises was not so successful abroad as at home. The death of their sister the Queen Regent of Scotland (June 10th, 1560), the dispersion by a storm of the French fleet, with a considerable army on board, and the naval and military aid afforded by Queen Elizabeth to the Congregation, obliged the French in Leith to capitulate; and the Guises found themselves compelled to sanction a treaty by which the French were to evacuate Scotland; while King Francis II. and his consort Mary Stuart agreed to renounce the arms and royal title of England (July 5th). Thus the Reformation was established at least

nominally in Scotland, and the Scots were now inclined towards the English alliance in preference to their ancient one with France.

The affairs of France itself, however, sufficed at this period to engross the attention of the Guises. The French Hugonots were preparing to take up arms; Condé had retired to the Court of his brother King Antony at Nérac, and endeavoured to stir into action his sluggish nature; the Guises on their side were arming for the struggle, and treating with petty German potentates for mercenary troops. Their great difficulty was the empty state of the royal exchequer; nor in the present state of parties dared they venture on assembling the States-General in order to impose new taxes. As a preliminary step, it was determined to call an assembly of Notables, which met at Fontainebleau, August 20th, 1560. At this meeting, over which the young King presided, Montmorenci and his nephews, the Admiral Coligni, d'Andelot, and the Cardinal de Châtillon, the Vidame of Chartres, and others, appeared, on the side of the Protestants, escorted by a strong body of cavalry: the King of Navarre and his brother Condé were invited, but declined to attend. Before business began, Coligni surprised the assembly by suddenly rising and presenting a petition from the Protestants of Normandy, whose prayer was that they might be allowed to meet for worship in the face of day, and thus avoid the calumnies that were spread respecting their nocturnal meetings. Coligni proceeded to complain of the young King's education; that his person was surrounded with guards, and that he was thus taught to look upon his subjects as enemies, instead of seeking to live in their affections. This speech excited the rage of Guise and his brother the Cardinal. The Duke having observed that the petition had no signatures, the Admiral replied that he would soon get it signed by 10,000 men; upon which Guise furiously retorted, "And I will put myself at the head of 100,000 men, who will sign the contrary with their blood."¹ The result of the deliberations was that the States-General should be assembled, and that a National Council should be called for the discussion of religious differences. But before the States met events took place which changed the whole aspect of affairs.

Although Condé did not himself attend at Fontainebleau he had sent an agent named La Sague to come to an understanding

¹ Calvin, *Epist.* 300; Beza, *Hist. des Eglises Réf.* t. i. p. 173 sq.; Pasquier, *Lettres*, liv. iv. t. i. p. 183 (ed. 1619).

with the Constable and the Châtillons. This man was arrested by order of the Guises, and revealed all the plans of Condé. It appeared from despatches written in sympathetic ink, that Montmorenci had advised the Bourbons to come to the Court in great force, and to overpower and arraign the Guises. In consequence of these disclosures the Vidame of Chartres was thrown into the Bastille ; several other distinguished persons were arrested, and Francis II. cited the King of Navarre to bring his brother to Court, in order that Condé might justify himself from the designs against the safety of the State that were imputed to him.

To disconcert the measures of their enemies, the Guises conceived a plot of wonderful audacity and extent. Protestantism was to be put down with a high hand, and its principal leaders destroyed, by a movement in which the Pope, the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, and other Italian Princes were to participate. The National Council was to be refused on the ground that the Council of Trent was about to be re-opened ; the States, when they assembled, were to abstain from discussing any point of religion, and a confession of faith was to be handed to the deputies, as well as to all nobles, prelates, officers and others who attended. Laymen who refused to sign it were to be instantly condemned and burnt ; while ecclesiastics were to be handed over to their own order for punishment. Coligni, d'Andelot, and probably their brother, the Cardinal Châtillon, were to be involved in this extermination, and as Montmorenci and his sons could not be charged with heresy, they were to be accused of a plot against the State. The executions were to be repeated throughout the Kingdom ; French troops were to join those from Italy and Savoy, to massacre the Vaudois, and to attack Geneva ; while the Spaniards were to invade Béarn, and hold in check the vassals of the heretic Bourbons. The plan, however, was only very partially executed. In order to understand the causes which encouraged its formation, as well as led to its failure, we must cast our eyes for a moment on the position of the potentates who were expected to co-operate in it.

It was not till the summer of 1559 that Philip II. quitted the Netherlands, to which he never returned. One of the causes of his departure was the intelligence which he had received of the progress of the Reformation in Spain,¹ the consequence of the close connection between that country and Germany during the reign of Charles V. Bibles in the Castilian tongue and other

¹ On this subject see McCrie, *Hist. of the Reformation in Spain*.

prohibited books printed in Germany had found their way into Spain; but as the study of them was chiefly confined to the higher and more educated classes, the progress of the new tenets had long remained undiscovered. To arrest it were fulminated the bulls of Pope Paul IV. and the edicts of Philip II. The chief Inquisitor, Fernando Valdes, Archbishop of Seville, a fierce and cunning fanatic, was a fitting instrument to carry out the views of Rome and of his master. The fires of the Inquisition in Spain were no longer lit for Jews and Moors alone, and in May, 1559, took place the first *auto de fé* of Spanish Protestants.

Philip II. arrived off Laredo in Biscay on the 8th of September. A violent storm had nearly delivered Europe from half a century of oppression. The vessel which brought Philip, as well as several others of his fleet, foundered in sight of port; more than 1,000 persons perished, and Philip himself only escaped by landing in a boat. From Laredo he proceeded to Valladolid, where he received his sister Joanna's resignation of the regency, and feasted his eyes with the burning of some heretics. These measures of severity proved successful in Spain, and in a few years all traces of the Reformation were stamped out; but with it was also extinguished the future prosperity of Spain. To a victim who had implored his mercy, Philip replied that he would carry wood to burn his own son, were he so wicked as to be an impenitent heretic. Don Carlos was indeed suspected of sympathizing with the Reformers; and Philip was afterwards accused of having fulfilled his horrible threat.

Early in 1560 the Catholic King celebrated at Guadalajara, in New Castile, his marriage with Elizabeth of France, whose espousal by proxy at Paris we have already related. Elizabeth, who was now fifteen, while Philip was thirty-four, had been previously betrothed to his son, whose age was more suitable to her own; and though the story of a mutual passion between Don Carlos and the French princess seems to be devoid of foundation, it is not improbable that he was annoyed and offended at being thus supplanted by his father. Elizabeth, from the circumstances of her marriage, was called by the Spaniards, *Isabel de la Paz*, or *Isabella of the Peace*.¹

Philip II. was not averse to the scheme of the Guises. He

¹ Isabel is equivalent in Spanish to Elizabeth. In 1563 Philip took up his permanent residence at Madrid, which henceforth became the Spanish capital; previously there had been no fixed capital.

The population of Madrid, which was only 12,000 in 1563, rose by the end of Philip's reign to 30,000; and the town was of course adequately enlarged and improved. Prescott, *Philip II.* vol. i. p. 377.

had again accorded his friendship to that family after the revolution in Scotland, which removed his distrust of French policy in that quarter; but the Spanish arms had just experienced great reverses in Africa, the finances were in a bad state, and Granvelle dissuaded Philip from taking any active part in the plot. Nor did the Guises obtain anything more than good wishes from Rome, where another and milder Pontiff now occupied the Papal chair.

The last year of Paul IV.'s Pontificate was marked by a singular revolution. This Pontiff, who, suddenly raised from the Theatine cloister to the tiara, had used his new dignity with insatiable greediness, began now to reign as had been at first expected of him, and returned to his old plans of reform. The change was specially signalized by his renunciation of nepotism and by the disgrace of his nephews. He had been estranged from Cardinal Caraffa by his unsuccessful embassy to the Court of Philip II., and from the young Cardinal del Monte by his riotous conduct in drawing his sword in a midnight brawl. At a meeting of the Inquisition Paul rebuked Del Monte in violent terms, and thundered out "Reform! Reform!" His agitation deprived him of appetite and sleep, and threw him into a violent fever. On the 27th of January, 1559, having summoned a Consistory, he passionately denounced the immoral lives of his nephews, called on God and man to witness that he had been ignorant of their conduct, dismissed them from their posts and sent them into banishment.

Paul IV. now entered on an entirely new course of government. He abandoned his hatred of Spain, and zealously assisted the Spanish Inquisition in repressing heresy. The secular affairs of the Roman State were intrusted to new hands; many abuses were abolished, the sale of places was restricted, and a chest, of which he alone kept the key, was erected in public, into which every man might throw his petitions and complaints. In token of these reforms he caused a medal of himself to be struck, having on the reverse Christ driving the money changers from the temple. He never missed attending the weekly meetings of the Inquisition; and in a bull which he issued respecting that institution he declared that if the Pontiff himself should be found to have lapsed into heresy before his election, the election itself, as well as all his acts, should be annulled. His deeds corresponded with his words, and his last days were occupied with arrests and excommunications. At the same time he increased the pomp of divine worship, embellished the decorations of the Sistine Chapel,

and instituted the representation of the Holy Sepulchre, still exhibited in Catholic churches at Easter. The people, however, did not forget the war which he had brought upon Rome; and the reign of informers and executioners became so terrible that they conceived an implacable hatred against him. Paul IV. died August 18th, 1559, at the age of eighty-three. As he lay expiring the populace broke open the dungeons of the Inquisition, delivered the prisoners, burnt the prison and the acts of the Holy Office, tore down the arms of the Caraffas from the public places, overthrew the statue of the Pope,* and breaking off the head with the triple crown, rolled it with shouts of execration into the Tiber.

The choice of Paul IV.'s successor was violently contested by the French and Spanish parties. The Conclave lasted four months; and at length Gian Angelo Medicino was elected (December 26th, 1559), who assumed the title of Pius IV. He was, as already mentioned, the brother of the too celebrated Gianjacopo Medicino, who by his military talent had obtained the dukedom of Marignano. John Angelo, after taking the degree of doctor of laws, settled at Rome, where he bought an office, and having won the confidence of Pope Paul IV., he obtained a Cardinal's hat through the interest of his brother, who had married an Orsina. No men could be of more opposite tempers than Pius IV. and his predecessor. Instead of the dignity and haughtiness of Paul IV., Pius, who had not been clerically bred, displayed nothing but affability and condescension. This diversity of temper had caused an enmity between them, and Cardinal Medicino, during the Pontificate of Paul IV., who could not endure him, had been obliged to quit Rome. At the time of his election, Pius IV. was an able-bodied old man, of lively eye and cheerful aspect, active enough to repair to his country house before sunrise, fond of jocular conversation and the pleasures of the table. But though no bigot or ascetic, Pius relaxed nothing in the severe discipline established by his predecessor. He declared that he was no theologian—that he was not acquainted with such matters; and he consequently left them to take their own course. He even made a fearful example of the nephews of Paul IV., whose excesses had been frightful, including robbery, forgery, murder, and crimes of all sorts. Cardinal Caraffa, the Duke of Pagliano, and two of their nearest kinsmen, were condemned to death. On the score of nepotism Pius IV. himself was not put to the trial. One of his nephews, Frederick

Borromeo, had died early; the other, the celebrated Cardinal Charles Borromeo, was distinguished by the worthiness of his life, and found his only dissipation in the society of literary men. As well as being a lover of peace and conciliation, Pius IV. also differed from his predecessor in being attached to the House of Austria, through which his brother had obtained his advancement; and hence he not only recognized Ferdinand's title to the Empire, but also consented to the re-assembling of the Council of Trent, as there will be occasion to relate in another place.

Pius IV., as we have said, lent no aid to the scheme of the Guises, and the Duke of Savoy alone, induced apparently by the desire of aggrandizing his territory, helped in executing the plan. In September, 1560, the troops of Emmanuel Philibert attacked the Vaudois in the valleys of the Alps and Dauphiné, but found not such unresisting victims as had been slaughtered at Cubrières and Mérindol. The relics of that massacre hastened from Provence to the help of their brethren with a courage lashed into fury by the memory of their former wrongs. The disciplined troops of Piedmont were repeatedly defeated by a handful of ill-armed peasants, and in June, 1561, the Duke of Savoy, in spite of the protests of Rome and Spain, was fain to grant the Vaudois a peace, in which he recognized their religious liberties.

Although abandoned by their foreign allies, the Guises persevered in their plan, to the execution of which the destruction of the Bourbons was a necessary preliminary. Antony repudiated the charges against his brother, and declared that if his calumniators would make themselves parties, instead of judges, in the suit, he would bring Condé with him to Orleans. Allurement was now substituted for menace; the weak and credulous Cardinal of Bourbon was despatched to his brothers in Gascony to assure them of a peaceful reception and unmolested return; and after much doubt and perplexity, King Antony and Condé determined to go. Their chief motive seems to have been that a refusal would have the appearance of hesitating to meet the States, whose assembly they had so urgently demanded; and although they received many letters on their road warning them not to enter Orleans, they continued their journey. The blood royal which flowed in their veins would, they thought, protect them; nevertheless, wherever they passed, they summoned the ministers of the reformed churches and recommended themselves to their prayers. The King of Navarre even declined the offers of about 800 well-armed gentlemen, who met them at Limoges and promised the

aid of 10,000 men to deliver the King out of the hands of the Guises. When King Antony and Condé entered Orleans, Francis II., who had denounced them to the Parliament of Paris as the authors of the conspiracy of Amboise, directed the Prince to be arrested and a watch to be placed on the King of Navarre. Of the Châtillons, Coligni alone had gone to Orleans; but his liberty was respected for fear of his family. A commission was appointed to try Condé, at the head of which was the President, Christopher de Thou, the father of the celebrated historian; and though the Prince refused to plead before such a tribunal, his objections were overruled, and sentence of death pronounced upon him. Another fate awaited the King of Navarre. He was to be murdered in the very cabinet of the King, and the Guises had prevailed on Francis to strike the first blow with his own hand; but at the fatal moment, fear, not conscience, arrested the stroke. Such were the sons of Catharine, the Machiavellian Tuscan, familiar with the dagger and the bowl. Another plan was now adopted; it was resolved to destroy Antony by contriving some "fatal accident" at a hunting party. An unexpected event, however, disconcerted all the schemes of the Guises, just at the moment of their completion. The young King Francis, who had always been of a feeble and sickly constitution, fell ill the day before the hunt, and died after a sickness of about three weeks, December 5th, 1560.

The Queen-Mother was now mistress of the situation. The lieutenantship of the Duke of Guise ceased *ipso facto* on the death of the King, and Catharine undertook the conduct of affairs in the name of her second son, now Charles IX., without, however, assuming the title of Regent. The Guises, seeing that their power henceforth depended on the favour of the Queen, urged her to make herself the absolute mistress of France by putting the Bourbons to death; and they assured her of their devoted services. With their usual slyness, they had, however, avoided committing themselves openly, and had made the Council sign the order for the arrest of the princes, without attaching their own signatures.¹ L'Hôpital saved Catharine from a step that would have been as impolitic as criminal; and advised the policy of balancing one party against the other, which she so successfully adopted. The two chief princes of the blood were, at this juncture, completely in her power; even their lives were at her disposal, and the wily Florentine saw and used her advantages.

¹ Michelet, *Guerres de Religion*, p. 237.

While her son Francis II. lay at the point of death, Catharine resolved to extort from the feeble Antony the regency, which would by right have fallen to him during the minority of her son Charles. She invited him to an interview, after he had first been secretly informed by the Duchess of Montpensier, that, if he wished to save his life, he must refuse nothing that the Queen should desire. When Antony entered the cabinet of Catharine she assumed a serious mien, reproached him with his machinations, exhorted him to reconcile himself with "his cousins, the Guises," and called upon him to sign a paper by which he agreed to renounce the regency, even though it should be offered to him by the States that were about to meet. At such a price was he to obtain not only his life, but also the lieutenant-generalship of the kingdom, and the next place to herself.

To the terror of threats were added the artifices of seduction. Catharine was surrounded by a swarm of brilliant, easy beauties, who, conquering the advantages of war by the blandishments of love, were called, "the Queen's flying squadron." By one of these, Mademoiselle de Rouet, Antony was brought to abandon all thoughts of contesting the regency with the Queen, and to content himself with the title of Lieutenant-General, which was officially conferred upon him, March 25th, 1561. As soon as Francis II. had expired, Condé, whose execution had been fixed for the 10th of December, was told that he was free; but he refused to accept his life as a favour, and he demanded to know by whose authority he had been imprisoned. He was impolitic enough to think that his honour required an official justification, and in consequence was remanded to a sort of honourable imprisonment at one of his brother's places in Picardy. Thus he lost the advantage of being present in such a crisis at the meeting of the States.

Charles IX. was of a constitution as feeble as that of his brother Francis; nervous and bilious in temperament, but with considerable ardour and imagination. As he was only ten years of age, his minority would unfortunately be a long one, at the very juncture when the nation was fermenting with the most violent passions. After the death of her husband, Mary Stuart sank into insignificance; and Catharine retaliated so harshly the contumelious treatment which she considered that she had received at the hands of the Scottish Queen, that Mary was compelled to withdraw from Court, and finally from France. The Montmorencies and Châtillons reappeared at Court, with a great

retinue, and the Constable resumed the military authority which he had been obliged to resign to the Duke of Guise. Thus Catharine de' Medici at length began to rule, though hardly competent to the great part she was called upon to play. She had, indeed, considerable talent and application: her deficiency lay in her heart and character, rather than in her head. She was a sensualist of the lowest kind, devoted to the pleasures of the table; nor in the midst of a debauched Court does she appear to have felt those passions which appeal to the imagination as well as the senses.

The meeting of the *Etats-Généraux* was opened at Orleans, December 13th, 1560. The amount of debt, however, was so alarming that the deputies declared they could not vote the demanded supplies without the authorization of the Provincial States, and the assembly was consequently adjourned. Calvin strongly urged King Antony to seize the sovereign power to which he was entitled; and there can be no doubt that he would have succeeded in obtaining the regency, if he had had the courage to assert his claim before the States. But that weak Prince was fettered by the double power of fear and love. On the day when the *Etats-Généraux* were adjourned (January 31st, 1561), appeared the celebrated EDICT OF ORLEANS, in which with some modification the greater part of the reforms demanded by the *Tiers Etat* were granted; and especially those two great blots on the reign of Francis I., the Concordat and the sale of offices, were removed. The Concordat had proved most injurious to the Gallican Church, by placing all ecclesiastical patronage in the King's hands, which was thus often exercised by his mistresses. The sons and kinsfolk of civil and military officers, nay, sometimes those officers themselves, were rewarded with ecclesiastical preferments, and there are instances of captains of foot who enjoyed rich abbeys. Some of these men even undertook to discharge the functions of their holy offices; and soldiers, traders, and courtiers might be seen in the robes and mitres of bishops and abbots. The reforms of L'Hôpital were, however, warmly opposed by the Parliament of Paris, which urged on the most detestable persecution, while he was endeavouring to establish an enlightened toleration.

For a while, Catharine, in pursuance of her trimming policy, submitted to be governed by her Chancellor. The reformed service was allowed in the very verge of the Court; and Jean de Montluc, Bishop of Valence, a prelate inclined to Protestant

tenets, preached in the great hall of the Palace of Fontainebleau. It was now time for the Constable Montmorenci to choose his part. He must either declare for the Hugonots or for the Papists and the Guises. There were several motives which induced him to decide for the latter party. Montmorenci was jealous of his nephews, and especially of Coligni; besides, if he decided against the Guises he lost the friendship of Spain, whose creature he was.¹ Instead of attending the sermons of Montluc, Montmorenci resorted to an orthodox chapel in the courtyard, intended for the lower orders, where he met the Duke of Guise, the Marshal St. André, and others. Guise seized the opportunity to ingratiate himself with the Constable; the reconciliation was mediated through the Marshal St. André and the Duchess of Valentinois; and a sort of holy league for the destruction of Protestantism was entered into by Montmorenci, Guise and the Marshal, and cemented by their taking the communion together on Easter Sunday (1561). This alliance obtained the name of the TRIUMVIRATE. But the time was not yet ripe for action; and Guise and the Constable withdrew at present from Court.

The measures of the government encouraged the Hugonots, who now began to display an active resistance. Riots took place at Beauvais, the episcopal see of the Cardinal of Châtillon, and at Paris the disturbances were still more serious. A body of fanatical Catholics, among whom were a great number of students, stormed a house in the Faubourg St. Germain, where the Hugonots were assembled for worship; several noblemen among the congregation rushed out sword in hand, and a bloody fight ensued, in which many of the assailants were killed and the whole body routed and dispersed. The contest was renewed on the following day with similar results. These disturbances afforded the Cardinal of Lorraine a pretext to step forth as head of the Catholic Church in France. The Cardinal was no fanatic. He was candid enough to admit that the greater part of the people were averse to the superstitions of Rome; yet he coolly maintained that the dominant system must be upheld by the secular arm. His motives for this opinion were better than his reasons. Under Charles IX., the Cardinal succeeded in installing himself in no fewer than twelve episcopal sees, among which were three archbishoprics, Rheims, Lyon and Narbonne, and the

¹ Philip II. had remitted his ransom of 200,000 crowns, besides bestowing on him other favours. This grey-headed veteran, under the mask of frankness, was the

friend of the Granvelles, and completely in the Spanish interest. See Michelet, *Guerres de Religion*, p. 244 sq.

three rich and newly-acquired German sees of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which were, in fact, principalities. Their wealth may be computed from the fact that in Verdun alone the Cardinal made the Duke of Lorraine a present of vacant fiefs to the value of 200,000 crowns.¹ Catharine had not sufficient firmness to assert the principles of L'Hôpital in opposition to the Catholic leaders. It was determined that, in awaiting the meeting of the ecclesiastical synod, some arrangement must be come to with the Parliament of Paris respecting the treatment of dissenters; and on the 23rd of June, 1561, the Royal Council and the spiritual and temporal Peers met the Parliament in the Palais de Justice. The debates lasted three weeks. One party demanded the penalty of death against all heretics; another, that all penal proceedings should be suspended till the meeting of the General Council; the third and largest party voted for sentence of death against all who attended conventicles, and that cases of simple heresy should be remitted to the ecclesiastical courts; persons condemned, however, were not to be subjected to a heavier penalty than banishment. An edict, known as the EDICT OF JULY, was drawn up in conformity with this last decision, but mitigated in some of its articles by the Chancellor. Neither party was satisfied. The Hugonots complained that they had been deceived; the Parliament, that the decree had been altered; and the edict was only provisionally registered.

The States-General again assembled at Pontoise, in August, 1561. The deputies of the Clergy did not appear in this assembly, which, therefore, consisted only of the representatives of the nobility and *Tiers Etat*. One of the first acts of the States was, to insist that the Parliament should register the Edict of Orleans; after which they discussed the subjects of the regency, the religious differences, and the public debt. The arrangement which Catharine had made with the King of Navarre was acquiesced in, but only at the pressing instance of Antony himself and Admiral Coligni. The States demanded, in opposition to the Guises, that no Cardinals should sit in the Council of Regency, because they were in the service of a foreign master; nor any Bishops, because they were bound to reside in their dioceses; nor, lastly, any *foreign* Princes,—a veto which included the whole family of Lorraine. With regard to religion, the States

¹ Michelet, *Guerres de Religion*, p. 55. It was computed that the Cardinal and his brothers held benefices of the yearly

value of 300,000 crowns. Bèze, *Réveille-matin*, p. 14.

demanded complete toleration, and a Council ; and they proposed to throw upon the clergy the chief burden of the public debt.

The religious conference, after several adjournments, at length took place in September, in the refectory of the Benedictines at Poissy. The Reformed Church was represented by twelve ministers and twenty-two deputies, who were joined by Peter Martyr Vermiglio, once an Italian abbot, and now a distinguished reformer. The Hugonots had pressed Calvin to be present ; but the Council of Geneva would not allow him to enter France unless hostages of the first distinction were given for his safety ; nor, indeed, did the state of his health render it prudent for him to undertake so long a journey. The Reformers probably lost nothing by his absence. Beza, who managed the conference on the part of the Hugonots, was, perhaps, better qualified to conduct it on this occasion, when was arrayed against him all the splendour of the French court and hierarchy. His handsome person and noble bearing, his perfect self-possession and natural fluency of speech well qualified him to treat with Catharine and her courtiers ; and though in theological learning, and especially in patristic lore, he was not so well prepared, yet on such points he would be assisted by Peter Martyr, the most learned of the Reformers. Previously to the opening of the conference Beza was unexpectedly introduced to an interview with the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal of Lorraine, during which Catharine displayed much inquisitiveness respecting Calvin.

The conference was opened on the 9th of September. The young King presided in person, surrounded by the Queen-Mother, the King and Queen of Navarre, the Duke of Guise, the Cardinals of Lorraine, Tournon, Bourbon, and Armagnac, together with many prelates, doctors of the Sorbonne, and distinguished theologians. The Cardinal of Lorraine managed for the Catholic party, who, though no theologian, was a man of ability, a good scholar, and fluent Latin speaker. It is unnecessary to specify the arguments advanced, especially as, with the customary fate of such discussions, they had not the slightest effect on either side. In the midst of the conference, Ippolito d'Este, Cardinal of Ferrara, son of Alfonso d'Este by Lucretia Borgia, arrived as Papal Legate, bringing with him James Lainez, the General of the Jesuits. The Legate's cross-bearer was hooted in the streets, and he was obliged to dispense with that ensign of his dignity. Lainez, in an abusive speech which lasted an hour, protested against the meeting as unauthorized,

and succeeded in converting it into a sort of private conference, with five managers on each side. In order to set the Protestants at variance, the Cardinal of Lorraine pretended that he should not be indisposed to tolerate the Confession of Augsburg. He had brought some Lutherans with him to provoke a quarrel between them and the Calvinists respecting the doctrine of the Lord's Supper; and he proposed that the Calvinists should subscribe a Lutheran formula, in which the real presence in the Eucharist was acknowledged; but Beza foiled him by remarking that such an act would lead to nothing unless the Cardinal himself would also sign. On the whole, the conference at Poissy gave an impulse to the Reformation in France. It was something gained that such a meeting should have been even tolerated, and the Calvinists allowed by the Government openly to state and defend their opinions without danger of the stake. When the conference broke up, Catharine requested Beza to remain in France, in the hope that his presence might contribute to quell the disturbances with which the Kingdom was afflicted; and as the leaders of the Hugonots were also desirous of retaining him, permission was obtained from the Council of Geneva for the prolongation of his stay. At Paris, however, where the populace were fanatical Papists, his presence was the signal for tumult instead of peace; and though he obtained permission to preach, it was necessary that d'Andelot should escort him to meeting at the head of an armed band. The day after Christmas Day, these Hugonot meetings occasioned a bloody conflict. Beza, escorted by command of Catharine by the prefect of the watch and his men, attended a sermon preached by a minister named Malot in the Faubourg St. Marceau. Malot had scarcely begun his discourse, when the clergy of the neighbouring church of St. Médard began to ring the bells furiously, in order to drown his voice; and one of Malot's congregation, who had civilly requested them to desist, was run through the body with a partisan. A general affray ensued. The Catholics called the people to arms by the sound of the tocsin; the Hugonots, headed by the prefect of the watch, took the church by assault, and captured a number of their adversaries, including ten priests, most of whom had been wounded. The tumult was renewed on the following day with still bloodier results, and gave the signal for similar riots in the provinces.

After the conference at Poissy, it had been resolved to call another assembly of Notables with a view to publish at least some

provisional edict on the subject of religion. Such a step was vehemently opposed by the Guises and the high Catholic party ; who, finding the Queen resolute, retired to their country seats. The assembly in question, which was composed of the Presidents and Counsellors of the different Parliaments of the French Kingdom, met at St. Germain in January, 1562 ; and the result of their deliberations was the famous EDICT OF JANUARY, or EDICT OF TOLERATION. This law, by which the existence of Protestantism was formally recognized, and which formed the basis of the privileges it has subsequently enjoyed in France, was the work of the Chancellor de l'Hôpital. Its main provisions were : that all penalties contained in former edicts against the Protestants should be suspended till the meeting of a General Council ; and that Protestant congregations* should be allowed to assemble for worship in the day-time, and in the suburbs of towns, but not in the towns themselves. On the other hand, the Hugonots were not to come to their conventicles with arms, except such gentlemen as were privileged to wear them ; they were ordered to restore all the churches which they had seized upon, and to replace all the ornaments and sacred utensils which they had defaced or removed ; they were forbidden to resist the payment of tithes, to levy troops, or to contribute among themselves for any other purpose than providing salaries for their ministers.

These events raised the spirits of the Hugonots, and even men of talent and learning shared the popular fervour. After the promulgation of the edict, and in spite of its provisions, La Ramée, or Ramus, the celebrated opponent of the Aristotelian philosophy and founder of a new system of logic, caused all the images in the chapel of the college of Presles, of which he was principal, to be thrown down. Calvin foretold that if the provisions of the edict were carried out, Popish power would be annihilated in France.¹ Yet this measure, which the Protestants regarded with so much confidence, proved the immediate cause of the ensuing civil war, by which, after many years of bloodshed, the supremacy of the Roman Catholic faith was finally established. By the Catholic party the edict was received with violent indignation. The Constable Montmorenci and the Duke of Guise resolved to oppose it by force of arms. The King of Spain and Pope Pius IV. used every artifice to excite opposition to it ; and as both were represented in France by very able diplomatists, their efforts were attended with considerable success. Perrenot de Chantouay, the

¹ Letter to Sturm, ap. P. Henry, *Leben Calvins*, B. iii. S. 523.

Spanish minister (elder brother of Cardinal Granvelle), whose letters throw great light on the intricate policy of the period,¹ succeeded in detaching the Queen from the Hugonot party, although she still kept up the appearance of an alliance with them. Philip II. had written to his mother-in-law that if she continued to tolerate heresy in France, it would be impossible for him to prevent its entrance into Spain and the Netherlands: she must therefore purge her realm from this pestilence with fire and sword, no matter what the number of the victims; and he would assist in its extirpation in whatever way she might require. •

De Chantonay, assisted by the Cardinal of Ferrara, the Papal Legate, also succeeded in gaining over the King of Navarre to the cause of the triumvirate; an acquisition, however, of no great importance except from the rank of the apostate. It would be useless to speculate on the motives which operated on so weak a mind as Antony's; whether he was shaken by the conference of Poissy and the eloquence of the Cardinal of Lorraine, as he himself gave out; or whether he was moved by a secret jealousy of his brother Condé, who, as the recognized head of the Hugonots, enjoyed a post to which he thought himself entitled; or whether he was really dazzled and enticed by the false but splendid baits held out to him by Philip and the triumvirate: such as among others the Island of Sardinia, or the hand and throne of Mary Queen of Scots; a proposal, however, which he could not have accepted without a divorce from his consort, Jeanne d'Albret. He was, however, induced to send Jeanne back to Béarn, and he promised to educate in the Catholic faith his son Henry, whose chance of the throne which he afterwards ascended, in consequence of the feeble constitutions of Catharine's sons, did not even then appear very remote. Jeanne, however, read young Henry a long lecture before she departed; and threatened that if he attended Mass he should never succeed to her Kingdom of Navarre.²

One of the first steps of Antony after his recantation, and in his capacity of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, was to summon Guise with his *compagnie d'ordonnance* to Paris, in order, as he said, to preserve the capital and the Catholic religion. Guise had already determined to use violence. In the previous month, with the view of depriving the Hugonots of any assistance which

¹ Published in the second vol. of *Mém. de Condé*.

polyte Este, Cardinal de Ferrare, ap. Martin, t. ix. p. 111.

² *Négociations ou Lettres politiques d'Hip-*

they might expect from the German Lutherans, he and three of his brothers, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise and the Duke of Aumale, had had an interview with Christopher, Duke of Würtemberg, at Saverne, in Alsace; when the Cardinal of Lorraine pretended to agree on almost every point with the Lutheran doctrines; and the Duke of Guise, after listening with affected patience to the dogmatic explanations of Christopher, exclaimed, "Well, well, if that's the case, I am a Lutheran too." But on their return from the conference they caused an artizan to be hanged for having his child baptized according to the reformed rite. Guise's road to Paris lay through Vassy, a town which formed part of the dower of Mary Stuart. It was governed by Antoinette de Bourbon, Mary's grandmother and mother of the Guises, who expressed much annoyance at the Calvinists having established a conventicle in a barn not far from the parish church. Either through chance or design, Guise entered Vassy with his troops on a Sunday, when a congregation of more than 1,000 Hugonots were assembled in the barn for worship, as they were entitled to do by the January edict. The scene which ensued has been differently described by Catholic and Protestant writers. The former assert that the Hugonots were the aggressors; that some of Guise's men had strayed to the spot from mere curiosity; and that a tumult having arisen, the Duke was struck on the cheek with a stone before his soldiers used their weapons. This version resembles the fable of the wolf and the lamb; and it is hardly probable that a defenceless multitude should have provoked a contest with a body of well-armed troops. However this may be, a dreadful slaughter ensued. Between forty and fifty persons were killed on the spot, and upwards of a hundred more were wounded, many of whom subsequently died of the injuries they had received. Guise sent for the mayor of Vassy, and severely reprehended him for allowing the Hugonots to meet; and when that magistrate pleaded that he had only acted in conformity with the edict of January, the Duke, drawing his sword, furiously exclaimed: "Detestable edict! with *this* will I break it!"

As soon as the news of this massacre reached Paris, Beza, at the instance of his fellow-religionists, repaired to the Court, then at Monceaux in Brie, to remonstrate against the violation of the edict. Catharine received him very graciously, and pretended she would oppose Guise's entering Paris; but, in fact, the trimming policy which she had been forced to adopt was a confession

of weakness, and proved that if ever the two parties should come into open collision, the royal authority would be reduced to a nullity. At this interview with Beza, the King of Navarre, like all renegades, displayed the utmost virulence against his former party; he defended Guise's conduct with all the warmth of a partisan, and laid the blame of the massacre upon the Hugonots, for having committed the first assault. Beza replied, with dignity and firmness: "I admit, Sire, that it is the part of God's Church, in whose name I speak, to endure, rather than to inflict, blows; but may it please you to remember that it is an anvil which has worn out many a hammer."¹

In spite of Catharine's pretended prohibition, Guise, accompanied by Montmorenci and St. André—the whole triumvirate together—entered Paris at the head of his troops, March 20th, and was received by the Parisians with shouts of *Vive Guise!* Condé was also in the capital, at the head of a considerable body of troops, and at one time a collision appeared imminent. A contest in Paris, however, must undoubtedly have ended in favour of the triumvirate, who had not only most troops, but were also supported by the citizens; and under these circumstances, Condé, through the mediation of his brother, the Cardinal of Bourbon, who had been named by the Queen Provisional Governor of Paris, came to an understanding with Guise, that both should withdraw with their troops by different gates. Condé fulfilled his part of the engagement; but Guise incited the populace to compel him to stay; and after the departure of Condé, a strong guard was placed at all the gates to prevent the Prince from returning. Condé made another false step in not seizing the young King and his mother, who were now at Fontainebleau; a capture which he might easily have effected, and thus have given to his cause the prestige of legitimate authority. Condé stopped at Meaux, and contented himself with sending a message to Catharine to know her pleasure. At the same time he addressed circulars to the reformed churches to prepare to defend themselves, and invited the neighbouring Hugonot nobility to join him at Meaux. The triumvirate seized the advantage which had been neglected by Condé. Antony of Navarre and the triumvirs proceeded with a strong guard to Fontainebleau; and Catharine, after some days of real or feigned reluctance, in which she alternately listened to the counsels of L'Hôpital and the pressing instances of Antony and his allies, removed at last to Paris, and was installed with

¹ *Hist. des Eglises Réf.* liv. iv. (t. ii. p. 2).

her son at the Louvre, April 6th, 1562. The Catholic chiefs signalized their victory by a flagrant breach of the Edict of January. Montmorenci, with 200 men, assisted by the mob, attacked two Hugonot meeting-houses outside the gates of St. Jacques and St. Antoine, threw down the pulpits, and burnt the benches. This exploit, which did not much redound to the honour of a Constable of France, procured him the nickname of Captain *Brûle-bancs*. It was the signal to the populace for outrage, and the unfortunate Hugonots were pillaged and murdered without mercy.

The advantages of activity and decision were thus on the side of the Catholics. The Admiral Coligni seems to have been the chief cause of the delay on the part of the Hugonots. No two men could be more dissimilar in character than the two Hugonot leaders. Condé, small and mean in person, had grace and animation; though amiable, volatile, and addicted to pleasure, he was full of ambition. Coligni, on the contrary, was of a grave and imposing exterior, taciturn, severe, averse to all disorder, constant and tender in his affections. He was the grandest character among the Hugonots, the Cato of the civil wars of France. Such men had little sympathy with each other, and it is not surprising that they did not always agree. It was with the greatest reluctance that the Admiral, now living in retirement in his château at Châtillon-sur-Loing, was prevailed upon to take up arms. He saw how inferior were the Hugonot forces; he dreaded the responsibility of kindling the flames of civil war; and it was only through the urgent importunities of his friends, and especially of his wife, that he was at last induced to join Condé at Meaux.¹ But such natures, though the last to enter on a doubtful course of action, when once resolved, are also the last to abandon it.

The news of the massacre of Vassy had excited all the Protestants of the north, and Condé and the Admiral were soon surrounded at Meaux by a considerable body of men. On the 30th of March Condé marched towards Paris with the design of seizing the King, and obtained possession of the bridge of St. Cloud. Here he heard that he had been anticipated; and he immediately took the road to Orleans, with the intention of rendering that city the head-quarters of the Hugonots. Followed by 2,000 mounted nobles, he set off at a gallop; eighteen miles were

¹ The scene has been strikingly described by D'Aubigné, the Protestant historian (*Hist. Univ.* liv. iii. ch. ii).

accomplished without drawing bridle ; horsemen rolled over one another in the dust ; and as the cavalcade swept by like a whirlwind, travellers asked one another whether it was a meeting of all the madmen in France. On arriving at Orleans on the morning of the 2nd of April, they found that the town had already been seized by their fellow-religionists, under the leadership of D'Andelot.

On the 8th of April Condé published a manifesto which must be regarded as the inauguration of the civil wars. The objects of the Hugonots in taking up arms were declared to be to restore the captive King and his mother to liberty, and to maintain the Edict of January. Though they possessed neither the person, nor probably the affections, of the King, they gave themselves out for his supporters, and adopted his colours, the white scarf ; while the Catholics, on the contrary, were shameless enough to assume the red scarf of Spain, and even obliged the young King to wear that foreign livery ; thus displaying before all Europe the vassalage of France, and the degradation inflicted by the peace of Câteau-Cambrésis. Charles IX. and Catharine answered the manifesto of Condé by a counter-declaration that they were no prisoners : and they issued letters patent confirming the January Edict, and permitting the reformed worship except in Paris and its environs. The Catholic chiefs thus hoped to deprive Condé of his adherents ; but it was too late. On the same day, April 11th, the Hugonots signed an association placing the Prince of Condé, whom they styled the protector and defender of the Crown, at the head of a council composed of the leading Hugonot nobles, among whom figured some of the first names in France ; as the three Châtillons, La Rochefoucauld, Rohan, Grammont, Soubise, and others. These noblemen levied taxes and raised recruits in their different domains, and provided fanatical preachers to stir up the rage of the southern populations. Many of the chief towns of the French realm declared for the Hugonots ; as Rouen, Dieppe, Havre-de-Grace, Angers, Poitiers, Tours, Blois, and especially the important city of Lyon. Beza, who remained with the army of Condé, was the soul of the Calvinistic party. He caused a synod to assemble at Orleans, April 27th, in which was read a Confession of Faith drawn up by Calvin, and ordered to be presented to the Emperor. Condé requested the prayers of the Genevese for the success of his cause, and they were constantly offered up while the war lasted.

The more regular hostilities were ushered in by scattered

tumults and massacres. Blood flowed in torrents in most of the great towns of southern France, and unheard of cruelties were committed on both sides. At Sens, the archiepiscopal see of Cardinal Louis of Guise, a massacre was perpetrated which surpassed in atrocity that of Vassy; Hugonot men, women, and children were slain and thrown into the Yonne. The ferocity of the Hugonots was not a whit less; but in the more northern parts of the realm it was chiefly directed with a senseless frenzy against national monuments and symbols of Catholic worship. At Cléry, the tomb of Louis XI. was overthrown, and his bones burnt, together with those of the Duke of Longueville, a descendant of the celebrated Dunois. At Caen, the tombs of William the Conqueror and Queen Matilda were destroyed. At Orleans, the heart of the late King, Francis II., was burnt in the cathedral of Ste. Croix; but the crowning profanation in the eyes of all loyal and orthodox Frenchmen, was the overthrowing of the monument of Joan of Arc, which stood on the bridge.

Before the struggle began, both parties sought foreign aid. The Catholic leaders turned of course to the King of Spain, who offered 36,000 men, a force which rather startled them; they requested Philip to provide them with some money and not quite so many soldiers. The Guises bought the help of the Duke of Savoy by ceding to him the places which the French still held in his dominions, with the exception of Pinerolo, and one or two other small towns. The Pope sent Catharine 100,000 crowns, for which she allowed the Legate to have a leading voice in the Council. On the other hand, Condé sought the friendship of Queen Elizabeth. France and England were then at peace; but it was obvious that if the conspiracy against Protestantism succeeded on the Continent, England must be next overwhelmed: and thus, during the reign of Elizabeth, the maintenance of that confession formed the keystone of English policy. After the accession of Francis II., which might be said to have added Scotland to the Kingdoms already combined in favour of the Pope, Elizabeth and her ministers had contemplated effecting a league among all the Protestants of Europe for their common defence, and some steps had been taken with that view;¹ and though the death of Francis II. lessened the immediate apprehensions of Elizabeth and her ministers, their policy still remained unchanged. Negotiations were accordingly entered into with Condé and the Hugonots, which resulted in a treaty signed at Hampton Court, September

¹ Forbes, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 166.

20th, 1562.¹ Condé engaged to put the Havre-de-Grace into the hands of the English; and Elizabeth undertook, on her side, to land a body of 6,000 men on the coast of Normandy, and to pay the representatives of Condé in Germany 100,000 crowns, after receiving possession of Havre, which was to serve as a pledge for the restitution of Calais. The money was wanted to hire German and Swiss mercenaries, as Condé expected aid from the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Würtemberg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and other German Princes. But meanwhile war had begun in France, long before help could be expected either from England or Germany.

Catharine had sought to avert, or, at all events, to delay the impending civil war, by negotiations. She and King Antony on one side, the Prince of Condé and the Admiral on the other, attended respectively by a numerous body of nobles, had met in an open plain near Thouri in Sologne, where, from the nature of the ground, no ambuscade could be dreaded; and strict injunctions had been given to refrain from all abusive language. Needless precaution! When the two parties approached and recognized in each other's ranks a brother or a friend, they rushed into one another's arms, and deprecated a war which could be carried on only by mutual slaughter between the nearest connections. The interview between the two Bourbons, however, formed a complete contrast to this touching scene. Antony exhibited nothing but harshness and obstinacy, and the brothers separated more embittered than ever. Other conferences followed; but Catharine having declared at one of these that the execution of the January Edict was impossible, an appeal to arms became inevitable.

To detail with minuteness the bloody scenes which ensued would afford neither instruction nor amusement. France became one wide scene of horror; fanaticism was mingled with the most brutal passions, and lust, robbery, and murder prevailed without control. Anarchy reigned wildest in the midland districts. All the towns captured by the Catholic forces were abandoned to slaughter and pillage; the Loire, the Indre, and the Sarthe bore upon their waters innumerable corpses. Besides the usual concomitants of civil war, were to be seen the populations of whole towns, either expelled by force or voluntarily emigrating, and wandering about from place to place as the tide of war advanced or receded. Among the leaders of these atrocities were the Catholic Blaise de Montluc, and the Hugonot Baron des Adrets.

¹ In Dument, t. v. pt. i. p. 94.

Montluc has not scrupled to chronicle in his *Mémoires* the deeds of blood done by himself and his myrmidons in Guienne; where the reader may learn the systematic barbarity, the cynical contempt for human life with which civil war, especially when heightened by fanaticism, is capable of inspiring a nature otherwise not devoid of generosity. In like manner in Provence and Dauphiné, the name of Des Adrets, the Hugonot leader, long lived in the memory of the people, as the symbol of murder and destruction. With the rapidity of a bird of prey, he ravaged in a few days the country between the Saône and the Durance, the Alps, and the mountains of Auvergne, spreading everywhere terror and destruction.

The fortune of war was at first unfavourable to the Hugonots, who for the most part evacuated the towns which they held at the approach of the royal army. Guise abandoned all the places he entered to pillage and murder. At Tours, the Duke of Montpensier put to death a number of women who would not renounce the Calvinistic faith. Bourges, which had been besieged for some time by the young King in person, and by the King of Navarre, surrendered by capitulation August 31st, 1562; in spite of which several Protestants were cut down, and the remainder banished. In Normandy the Hugonots were more successful. Morvilliers, the commandant of Rouen, although a Protestant, flung up his command when he found that the English were to be introduced into France; but Montgomery, the involuntary homicide of Henry II., marched through Normandy with a Hugonot force and took possession of its capital. Havre was occupied by 3,000 English early in October; about the same time a German force destined for the succour of the Protestants was beginning to assemble on the Rhine. A diversion was thus effected of the Catholic forces; the siege of Orleans, which they had been for some time carrying on, was converted into a blockade; St. André marched with a division into Champagne to arrest the progress of the Germans, while Guise proceeded with the main body into Normandy and laid siege to Rouen. Charles IX. and the King of Navarre came to Guise's camp to encourage the troops by their presence, and Rouen was taken by storm and sacked, October 26th. But Antony received a slight wound during the siege, which his own imprudence and excesses rendered fatal; he died November 17th, at the age of forty-four, leaving the field still more open to the ambition of Guise, who was shortly afterwards nominated in his place Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom.

On the other hand the Prince of Condé, having been joined by some German contingents (November 9th), marched upon Paris, and would probably have taken that capital had he ventured upon an immediate assault ; but waiting for reinforcements under D'Andelot, and being amused with negotiations by the Queen-Mother, he suffered the opportunity to slip through his hands. While he and Coligni lay encamped before Paris at Montrouge, Arcueil, and Gentilly, the Parliament issued an *arrêt* condemning to death the Admiral and all his associates, with the exception of the Prince. The only affair that took place here, was a smart skirmish before the Boulevard St. Victor (November 28th). By the advice of Coligni, Condé determined early in December to retire into Normandy, to await fresh supplies of men and money from England ; but on his way, having imprudently wasted some days in a fruitless attempt to seize Chartres and Dreux, he was overtaken by the army of the triumvirate, which had intercepted his line of march by taking up a position on the left bank of the Eure, at no great distance from Dreux. At this juncture the ferocious Guise, the experienced Montmorenci, the warlike St. André, are said to have dreaded the responsibility of giving battle, and sent to obtain the sanction of the King and the Regent. Catharine, with a bitter irony, expressed her surprise that three great captains should, on such a subject, ask the advice of a woman and a child, both overwhelmed with regret at seeing the extremity to which matters were reduced ; she would give no opinion, and referred them to the King's nurse !¹ Guise was, in fact, unwilling to incur the responsibility of having the civil war imputed to the House of Lorraine, and affected to have no other command in the army than that of his own *compagnie d'ordonnance* and a body of volunteers. This was part of his usual sly policy. He seems to have always had before his eyes the fear of some future impeachment, and to have wished to be able to show that he had acted only by superior orders.² On the 19th of December, however, Montmorenci began the engagement by a violent cannonade ; the battle was obstinately and bloodily contested, and it was only at nightfall that Coligni retired with his beaten forces in good order from the field. By a singular coincidence the leader on each side, Condé and Montmorenci, were taken prisoners, and the Constable was also wounded in the jaw by a pistol ball. St. André likewise fell into the hands of

¹ *Mémoires de Castelnau*, liv. iv. ch. iv.

² Michelet, *Guerres de Religion*, p. 309.

the Hugonots, and was murdered after his capture by a private enemy ; so that Guise became sole head of the Catholic party. Montmorenci was sent to Orleans, where, in the custody of his niece, the Princess of Condé, he quietly awaited his liberation. Condé was conducted to the Castle of Onzain, where, by Catharine's order, he was at first harshly treated and strictly watched ; till policy dictated a milder treatment, in order to use him as a counterpoise to the ambition of Guise, who, after the death of Antony, even dreamt of eventually succeeding to the throne.

Coligni, who, after the capture of Condé, was elected by the Hugonots for their commander-in-chief, led the defeated army towards Orleans ; and soon after, having intrusted the command of that place to his brother D'Andelot, proceeded into Normandy, where, with the assistance of the English, he succeeded in taking Caen. He then invested Rouen, and pressed it so hardly that Marshal Brissac, the commandant, sent a message for help to Guise, then engaged in besieging Orleans. Guise replied that he must first take Orleans by storm ; but before he could accomplish this, he was shot by an assassin named Poltrot, February 18th, 1563, and in six days died of his wound, at the age of forty-four. He displayed great anxiety on his death-bed to clear himself from the charge of having authorized the massacre of Vassy, and his last words were exhortations to peace. Francis Duke of Guise left three sons : Henry, who inherited the titles and possessions, as well as the bravery and other qualities of his father, including his fanaticism ; Charles, afterwards Duke of Mayenne, of a totally different disposition from his brother ; and Louis, who afterwards became a Cardinal.

Poltrot was apprehended and tortured, when he accused Coligni, La Rochefoucauld, Beza, and other Hugonot leaders of having incited him to murder Guise. The charge was not so clearly refuted as might be wished ; but Poltrot varied in his confessions. Coligni appears by his own avowal to have given at least a tacit sanction to the deed ; and after its completion, he offered up a solemn thanksgiving for what he characterized as one of the greatest blessings to France, to God's Church, and especially to himself and his family.¹ Beza admits having desired the death of Guise ; and while the Duke was besieging Orleans, preached a sermon in which he described in glowing terms how glorious a deed it would be if any one should slay the Duke in battle. It

¹ Bèze, *Hist. des Eglises Réf.* liv. vi. t. ii. p. 187.

appears from a letter of Calvin's to the Duchess of Ferrara that some of his followers had long contemplated the murder of Guise ;¹ and though Calvin himself dissuaded them from such an attempt, he was in the habit of beseeching God either to convert Guise, or to lay His hand upon him and deliver His church from him. When so many fanatical spirits were abroad such indirect hints differed but little from open exhortations to murder. "

The death of Guise altered the destinies of France. Had he lived to take Orleans and defeat the Hugonots, he would have enjoyed the power of the ancient Mayors of the Palace under the *Rois Fainéants*, and might probably have at length succeeded in placing his own family upon the throne. Catharine de' Medici was the chief gainer by his death, who now, after the extinction of the triumvirate, began indeed to reign. One of her first steps was to enter into negotiations with the Hugonots. To the Prince of Condé she held out the hope of the Lieutenant-Generalship of the Kingdom, again vacant by the death of Guise. She had previously offered it to Christopher, Duke of Würtemberg, who was in every way worthy of it, but he declined.² No fact can show more strongly the distracted state of France than this offer of the lieutenancy to a foreigner. But Catharine neither could nor would promise the maintenance of the January Edict. As Condé wished to regain his liberty, and D'Andelot was hard pressed in Orleans by the royal troops, the propositions of the Queen and her Chancellor were accepted without waiting for the consent of Coligni ; who, as well as the Hugonot ministers, was for continuing the war. The preliminaries of a peace were discussed between Condé and Montmorenci in the *Isle aux Barufs* in the Loire. Their conference ended in nothing but their mutual exchange ; negotiations were, however, renewed between Damville and L'Aubespine on the part of Catharine, and St. Cyr and D'Aubigné on that of the Hugonots, and a treaty of peace was agreed upon, the provisions of which were embodied in a royal edict, called the EDICT OF AMBOISE, drawn up by the mild and patriotic L'Hôpital, and signed by Charles IX., March 13th, 1563. By this decree the exercise of the reformed worship became in a great measure an aristocratic privilege. All nobles and holders of fiefs were allowed to celebrate it, with their vassals and subjects ; but only those towns where it had been exercised up to the 7th of March. In Paris and its viscounty it was for-

¹ In Ruchat, *Hist. de la Réf. de la Suisse*, t. vii. p. 410.

² Michelet, *Guerres de Religion*, p. 272.

bidden; in the rest of the French Kingdom with the exception of the manors of the nobility, it was allowed only in the suburbs of one town in each bailiwick.

D'Andelot, who had been in great danger in Orleans, was saved by the peace of Amboise. The Germans evacuated France; but Queen Elizabeth refusing to give up Havre, which place she professed to hold as security for the restoration of Calais, war was declared against England July 6th. Condé and the greater part of the Hugonots, anxious to expiate their offence in having called in the English, joined the royal army under Montmorenci; but Coligni held himself aloof. Havre was reduced chiefly by cutting off the supplies, especially the water, which produced a pestilence; and on the 28th July, the Earl of Warwick, the commandant, capitulated, just as the long-expected English fleet hove in sight.

In order to check the ambition of Condé, and put an end to his importunities for the Lieutenant-Generalship, Catharine, by the advice of L'Hôpital, declared her son Charles IX. of age (August 17th, 1563), although he had only recently entered on his fourteenth year. As the Parliament of Paris had displayed great refractoriness, and had refused to register the Edict of Amboise, this solemn act was performed in a *Lit de Justice* held in the Parliament of Rouen. The Paris Parliament, irritated by this breach of custom, sent a deputation to the Court to complain of the edict; when Charles, tutored by his mother, addressed to them a reprimand, the severity of which formed a strange contrast with the infantine tones in which it was delivered. "Know," said he, "that the Kings our progenitors have not placed you where you are that you may be guardians or protectors of the realm, or conservators of our city of Paris; and I command you to meddle with nothing but the administration of justice. You fancy that you are my guardians; I will teach you that you are only my subjects and servants."

Amidst these religious troubles, the French Court firmly defended the liberties of the Gallican Church. Jeanne d'Albret having forbidden the exercise of the Roman Catholic worship in Béarn, was cited by Pope Pius IV. to appear at Rome within six months; failing which, she would incur, by her contumacy, the loss of her dominions, besides other penalties. At the same time were cited all French prelates convicted or suspected of heresy; as the Cardinal of Châtillon, the Bishops of Beauvais, Valence, and others. But the French Court addressed so vigorous

a protest to the Pope that he abandoned the citation. Shortly afterwards, the Council of Trent having brought its labours to a close, Pius IV. sent an embassy to Fontainebleau (February, 1564), to demand from the French Court the recognition of the decrees of the Council: a step which he had been prevailed upon to take by the Emperor, the Catholic King, the Duke of Savoy, and the Cardinal of Lorraine. We must therefore revert to the proceedings of that celebrated Council; and first, as a necessary preliminary, take a brief view of the history of the Empire after the resignation of Charles V.

The accession of Ferdinand I. to the Imperial throne, and the refusal of Pope Paul IV. to acknowledge his title, have been already related. The arrogance of Paul led to an inquiry into the Papal pretensions; the necessity for a coronation by the Pope was altogether rejected; and Pius IV., who had in 1560 received Ferdinand's ambassadors with great distinction, consented, after a slight struggle, to acknowledge his title. When, in 1562, Ferdinand's eldest son, Maximilian, was elected King of the Romans, he refused to make the usual profession of obedience to Rome, contenting himself with assuring the Pope of his reverence and devotion; and thus was finally established the independence of the Empire on the Apostolic See, which had been virtually asserted by Maximilian I. It has been related that Ferdinand, long before his accession to the Empire, had, in right of Anne, his wife, become King of Bohemia and Hungary. After the submission of the Bohemians at Prague in 1547, Ferdinand succeeded in converting Bohemia into an hereditary monarchy; and in 1562 he caused his son Maximilian to be crowned as his heir and successor in that Kingdom. It is from this epoch that we may date the decline both of the commercial and military spirit of the Bohemians. In the same year, with a view to consolidate his own power and that of his successor, Ferdinand concluded a truce of eight years with Sultan Solyman. Since the truce of 1547, the German Diets had ceased to take any interest in the affairs of Hungary, which Kingdom was left to its fate as a thing which concerned only Ferdinand. In 1555 and 1556 Sigeth was fruitlessly besieged by the Turks, whose inroads extended into Carinthia. In the latter year the Sultan again established the family of Zapolya in the government of Transylvania; but Ferdinand retained Erlau and a large tract east of the Theiss. In 1559 Queen Isabella died; after which her son, John Sigismund, demanded from Ferdinand the title

of King of Hungary, the district between the Theiss and Transylvania, and the Silesian principalities of Oppeln and Ratibor. A war ensued, in which the Turks sometimes took part; till at last, after long negotiations with the Porte, in the course of which Ferdinand was obliged to submit to the grossest indignities and insults, he succeeded in effecting the truce mentioned; a result to which the religious troubles in France not a little contributed, by weakening French influence at Constantinople. By this truce Ferdinand agreed to pay a yearly sum of 30,000 Hungarian ducats to the Sultan, together with the arrears, while Solymán engaged not to support John Zapolya's son with his arms.¹ John Sigismund was to retain Transylvania as well as the other territories which he held; but he did not concur in the truce, and made frequent irruptions into Ferdinand's dominions.

Germany, as we have said, was now in a considerable degree isolated from the general affairs of Europe, and the short reign of Ferdinand I. presents little of interest, except the affairs of religion and the conclusion of the Council of Trent. Ferdinand, rather from political views than religious principle, was more flexible than his brother. He had a nearer interest than Charles V. in defending Austria and Hungary against the Turks; hence he endeavoured to conciliate the different religious parties in Germany, as a means of obtaining the help of the whole Empire and strengthening his hands against the Porte. Born in Spain,² and educated in that country till his fifteenth year, his principles, however, were orthodoxly Roman; and, in fact, by the introduction of the Jesuits into Germany, for whom he founded a college at Vienna in 1556, he may be regarded as having inaugurated that reactionary movement against Protestantism which made so much progress in Germany during the latter half of the sixteenth century. He had for his counsellor one of the most distinguished Jesuits of the age, the redoubtable sophist and polemic Peter Canisius, the author of the catechism still used by the Papists. Canisius became Provincial of the Jesuits in Upper Germany, and during the forty years that he directed their affairs they spread themselves throughout the Empire. But as Ferdinand's political interests led him to conciliate and reunite the Catholics and Protestants, he endeavoured to persuade the Protestants to submit to the Council of Trent, which, in conjunction with the Courts of France and Spain, he had induced Pius IV. to

¹ The conditions are in Busbequii *Opera*, p. 453 sq. ed. Elzev. 1633.

² At Alcalá de Henares in New Castile, March 10th, 1503.

reassemble. As the Protestants would not acknowledge the previous Tridentine decrees, Ferdinand endeavoured to obtain the convocation of a new Council, to begin *ab initio*, but without success. He sent his own ambassadors with the Papal Legates Commendone and Delfino to invite the Protestants assembled at Nuremberg (1560) to attend the Council; who, however, contemptuously returned to the Legates the Papal bulls unopened, and denied the Pope's power to call such an assembly. The only conditions on which they would recognize it were: that the Pope should attend as a party and not as a judge; that Protestant divines should appear in it on the same footing as Catholic bishops; and that it should be held in some German town. But such demands were inadmissible. An invitation had also been forwarded to Queen Elizabeth to send ambassadors to Trent; which was of course refused.¹

The German Protestants, however, had now begun to divide among themselves. Into the nature of their dissensions, which spread very wide, lasted very long, and were carried on with great heat and acrimony, we shall not here minutely enter, as they belong rather to the history of Germany, and indeed to its ecclesiastical history, than to a general history of Europe.² It will suffice to state generally, that they were occasioned by the infusion of Calvinism, which had penetrated even into Saxony; and hence, while some of the German Protestants adhered strictly to the Confession of Augsburg, others proposed to modify that formulary with an admixture of Calvinistic tenets. The chief of the German Calvinists was the Elector Palatine, Frederick III., who forcibly introduced that creed into his dominions. His son Louis restored Lutheranism; but, dying in 1583, he left a minor son, Frederick IV., whose uncle and guardian, John Casimir, reinstated the Calvinists. The two rallying points of these sects were the Heidelberg Catechism for the Calvinists, and the Formulary of Concord for the Lutherans, both of which were published in opposition to the decrees of Trent. These sectarian quarrels injured the cause of Protestantism in general, and promoted that Catholic reaction in Germany which has been referred to.

The Council of Trent reassembled in January, 1562, after an interval of ten years. The French Court had agreed with Ferdinand in demanding an entirely new Council; but this was opposed by

¹ Pallavicino, lib. xv. cap. 7.

² They are related at length by Planck in his *Gesch. der Entstehung*, &c., and by

Menzel in the second vol. of his *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*.

the Spaniards, and was also disagreeable to the Court of Rome. The first meetings were attended almost solely by poor Italian bishops, the pensionaries of Rome, and thus the method of procedure was regulated in a way that rendered the assembly altogether subservient to the Pope. It was arranged that propositions should be initiated only by the Papal Legates, and that the decisions of the meeting should be submitted to the revision of the Pope; thus rendering the pretended Council nothing more than a Pontifical commission; especially as the votes were to be taken *per capita* and not by nations. On the arrival, however, of the Spanish and Portuguese prelates, and of the French and Imperial ambassadors, considerable opposition began to be manifested. The Spaniards, who, with all their bigotry, cherished a surly independence of Rome, struck at the root of the Papal system by maintaining that the episcopal authority was not a mere emanation from the Pope, but of divine original; and they showed themselves as ardent for reforming the Roman Court as for suppressing heresy. The representatives of the Empire and of France were equally as warm advocates of reform, though not so zealous against the heretics. At first the French and Germans acted together. The Cardinal of Lorraine instructed the French ambassadors to second the demands of Ferdinand, which were principally: the cup in the Eucharist; the marriage of the clergy; the abolition of scandalous dispensations, pluralities, and simony; the compulsory residence of bishops; a reform in the use of excommunication; the erection of schools for the poor; the purification of the breviary, legends, and postils; more intelligible catechisms; church music adapted to German, or French, words; and a reformation of convents.¹ The Germans and French also required that the Council should be transferred to a German town; that the Pope should submit to the decrees of the Council, instead of revising them, together with other provisions derogatory to the power of Rome.² On the other hand, the Spaniards opposed giving the cup to the laity, and the marriage of clergy. Nothing could be more unpalatable at Rome than the last proposition. The celibacy of the clergy was a main prop of the Papal power; and Pius IV. had plainly declared that at the head of a priesthood who had wives, children, and a country, the Pope would soon become a mere Bishop of Rome.

¹ Ranke's *Popes*, vol. i. p. 337.

² The Bishop of Verdun having made a stirring speech against the Papal pretensions, the Bishop of Orvieto remarked:

"Gallus cantat." On which Danès, Bishop of Lavaur, rejoined: "O utinam ad Galli cantum Petrus resipisceret!"

The arrival of the Cardinal of Lorraine at Trent, in November, 1562, accompanied by a score of bishops, and a dozen doctors of the Sorbonne, gave the Pope great alarm. The news, however, of the murder of his brother, and then of the peace of Amboise, which arrived one after another in the spring of 1563, completely changed the Cardinal's views. He now felt that the support of Rome and Spain was indispensable to his tottering House. Philip II. also perceived the necessity of a closer union with the Pope, and he was, besides, displeased at the independence affected by his bishops. Thus the proceedings of the assembly were decided from without, rather than by the debates of the assembled Fathers. Pius IV. had now only to overcome the opposition of the Emperor Ferdinand. Through the diplomatic skill of the Legate Morone, Ferdinand was gradually induced to withdraw his opposition, and as the French prelates also relaxed in their demands, the sittings of the Council advanced rapidly to a conclusion. In the last three sessions, several important reforms were carried respecting ordination, marriage, indulgences, purgatory, the worship of Saints, as well as regarding the discipline and morals of the clergy. Various shameful abuses were suppressed, and diocesan seminaries were ordered to be founded, which were to breed up a more worthy generation of priests than those who had hitherto been bred at the Universities. In these reforms Pius IV. was influenced by his nephew, the saintly and austere Cardinal Charles Borromeo; the only occasion, perhaps, on which nepotism has been favourable to piety and virtue. The general character of the reforms admitted, was, however, such as should neither damage the power of the Pope, nor that of the temporal Sovereigns. So far from the object first contemplated being attained, namely, the limitation of the Pope's power, his authority was, on the contrary, rather enhanced, since the Council implicitly acknowledged the superiority of the Pope, by praying him to confirm the canons it had made, by giving him the exclusive right to interpret them, and by imposing on all bishops and beneficiaries the oath of fidelity to the Roman See. It is true that these advantages were gained at the expense of shutting out of the Church half the Christian world, and renouncing for ever the idea of effecting a union by means of a Council; but, on the other hand, it can hardly be doubted that the decrees of Trent, and the amended state of the Church to which they gave rise, wonderfully contributed to promote a Catholic reaction.

The last sitting of the Council was held December 4th, 1563.

Its canons were subscribed by 255 prelates, but more than half of these were Italians. The earlier resolutions during the Smalkaldic war, and those under Pius IV., are distinguished by the circumstance that, while the former were doctrinal, the latter were practical. In the first was established that system of dogmatic Catholic theology still professed; and the doctrine of justification, as then defined, separated for ever the Roman creed from the Protestant. The second assembly was employed almost exclusively with questions of discipline and practice, and by the canons of reform the hierarchy was organized anew. The decrees of the Council were almost in every respect contrary to the demands of Ferdinand, who nevertheless accepted them. His claims for the Reformers had been dictated rather by policy than conviction, and even while making them he was taking steps to repress Protestantism in his hereditary dominions. He adhered, nevertheless, to the terms of his capitulation, and faithfully maintained the religious peace of Augsburg.

Ferdinand I. died not long after the close of the Council of Trent, July 25th, 1564, at the age of sixty-one. By his consort Anne, the daughter of Ladislaus, who died in 1547, he had no fewer than fifteen children, twelve of whom reached maturity; namely, three sons and nine daughters. By a will dated August 10th, 1555, and confirmed by the signatures of his sons, he left to the eldest, Maximilian, Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary; to the second, Ferdinand, Tyrol, and the exterior provinces; to the third, Charles, Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola: thus imprudently weakening his dominions by dividing them. Ferdinand had enjoyed a good education, the plan of which was drawn up by Erasmus. He knew enough Greek and Latin to read the classics with facility, and understood the Spanish, German, French, and Italian languages. He patronized literary men, and especially Busbek (Busbequius), his ambassador at Constantinople, who has left an interesting account of the Turks. While the Spanish branch of the House of Austria was destined to lose part of its dominions through the intolerance and bigotry of Philip II., the wise and moderate policy of Ferdinand I. helped to fix the Austrian branch firmly on the Imperial throne, and to render it virtually hereditary. The chief blots on the character of this Sovereign are, the extinction of the liberties of Bohemia, and the resorting, like the rest of his House, to assassination, as an instrument of state policy.

Ferdinand I. was in the usual course succeeded on the Imperial throne by the King of the Romans, his son Maximilian II.; whom

a little before his death, he had also caused to be crowned, at Presburg, King of Hungary. Maximilian, who was in his thirty-seventh year at the time of his accession, was fortunately still more forbearing in matters of religion than his father, and thus contributed to postpone those civil wars which the acrimony of bigots and zealots was preparing, and which were destined during thirty years to deluge the plains of Germany with blood. Although educated in Spain under the superintendence of Charles V., and in company with his cousin Philip, who was of the same age, yet the characters of the two Princes offered a striking contrast. Affable in his manners, mild and tolerant in his disposition, Maximilian had early imbibed a predilection for the Lutheran tenets; a tendency which Ferdinand had thought it necessary to excuse to the Pope by explaining that it was through no fault of his, and that his son had received a sound Catholic education.¹ After his accession to the Empire, Maximilian, from motives of policy, made a public profession of Catholicism, though he always observed the most liberal toleration. But we must now return, in a fresh chapter, to the affairs of France.

¹ See Letter of Ferdinand to Pius IV., and the enclosed instruction to his ambas-

sador at Rome, in Le Plat's *Monumenta Tridentina*, t. iv. p. 621 sq.

CHAPTER XXII.

CATHARINE DE' MEDICI, who was still under the guidance of L'Hôpital, did not give the decrees of Trent that unqualified approval which had been accorded to them by Ferdinand I. and Philip II. The embassy from Paul IV., before mentioned, did not indeed meet with an absolute repulse. The French bishops were authorized to execute in their dioceses such canons as were not contrary to the laws of the land ; but, on the plea of the difficult and dangerous situation of the Kingdom, the publication of the decrees was indefinitely postponed. Catharine, however, was not sincere in the moderation which it suited her present policy to display. It was her design to make Catholicism predominant, and to overthrow the oligarchy, which, fortifying itself by the religious troubles, had again established itself around the throne. The national genius favoured her plans. The severity of the Calvinistic discipline, however it might serve the party views of the nobles, was equally repugnant to French manners and French laws. The execution at Orleans, according to the rigorous code of Calvin, of two fashionable persons for adultery, had disgusted the Court, and Hugonot preachers, instead of monks, became in turn the objects of well-bred ridicule. Nothing could be more opposed than such rigour, we will not say to the morals, but to the policy of Catharine, of which gallantry was a chief instrument. She now employed it to enchain Condé, as she had before done with Antony ; the Prince's wife is said to have died of grief at her husband's infidelities. After this event, the Cardinal of Lorraine offered Condé the hand of Mary Stuart.

The years 1564 and 1565 produced few events of importance in France¹, and were chiefly occupied by Catharine in making a tour of the Kingdom with her son Charles IX. After the surrender of Havre, the war between France and England had been confined to piracies, and was finally ended by a treaty signed at Troyes

¹ In 1564 it was ordered in France that the year should henceforth begin on the 1st of January, instead of at Easter. The

Pascal year had occasioned great inconvenience, and has been the source of many chronological errors.

April 11th, 1564, in which Queen Elizabeth contented herself with 120,000 crowns for Calais, instead of the 500,000 stipulated by the treaty of 1559.¹ The year was marked by the death of Calvin at Geneva (May 27th), as well as by that of the Emperor Ferdinand I.

The French Court had set out on their tour in March, proceeding first to the northern provinces. At Bar-le-Duc important negotiations were entered into with some of the German Princes. Burgundy, Dauphiné, Provence were successively visited, and the winter was spent in Languedoc. Throughout the journey, Catharine endeavoured to ingratiate herself with the Catholics. She had signified her wish to meet her daughter, the Queen of Spain, when she should approach the Pyrenees; and under this pretext, she had endeavoured to arrange an interview with Philip II., whom, as well as the Pope, she was anxious to satisfy on the subject of her temporizing policy. Philip, however, did not think fit to keep the appointment. He was at that time fully occupied with the affairs of his own dominions, the insurrectionary agitation among the Moriscoes of Spain, the memorable siege of Malta by the Turks, and the beginning of the revolt in the Netherlands; but he sent his consort and the Duke of Alva, who met Catharine on the Bidasoa, June 14th, 1565. Hence, the Queen-Mother conducted them to Bayonne, where three weeks were spent in festivities. This celebrated interview has been the subject of much discussion. According to some historians of no mean authority an extensive conspiracy against Protestantism was here entered into, and that atrocious massacre of St. Bartholomew arranged which seven years after fixed an eternal blot on the annals of France.² This much only is certain, that Alva, according to his favourite policy, which he subsequently practised in the Netherlands, exhorted Catharine to get rid of some five or six of the chief Hugonot leaders either by fair means or by foul. The somewhat homely illustration by which Alva enforced his advice—*mieux vaut une tête de saumon que dix mille têtes de grenouilles*³—was overheard by young Henry of Béarn, whom Catharine,

¹ Leonard, *Traité de Paix*, t. ii. p. 318.

² Currency was first given to this view by Adriani, in the *Istoria di suoi Tempi*, lib. xviii. p. 740 (ed. 1583). Although unsupported by authority, it was adopted by De Thou on the supposition that Adriani might have derived it from the papers of the Grand-Duke Cosmo de' Medici, and from that period it has been commonly accepted by historical writers. See Ranke,

Französische Gesch. B. i. S. 270. What actually passed at the conference will be found in Alva's *Letters* to Philip II. from June 15th to July 4th, 1565, published in the *Papiers d'État* du Cardinal Granvelle, t. ix. p. 281 sqq. Von Raumer has examined the subject at great length, *Gesch. Europas*, B. i. S. 112 ff.

³ "One head of salmon is worth 10,000 heads of frogs."

charmed by the lad's vivacity and wit, kept about her person; and he afterwards reported the words to his mother, Jeanne d'Albret. The views of Alva were supported by some part of the French Court, as the Duke of Montpensier, the Cardinal of Guise, Blaise de Montluc and others; but it is a mistake to suppose that they were acceded to by Catharine and the young King. The Queen-Mother even refused to put down the Calvinist preachings near the frontier of Spain, and the French and Spanish Courts parted with some coldness. The Protestant chiefs nevertheless suspected that a secret league had been concluded; and they renewed on their side their relations with Germany, England, and the malcontents of the Netherlands.

On the 9th of December, 1565, Pope Pius IV. died; a Pontiff who at all events was sincere in his religion. The most memorable act of his Pontificate is the close of the Council of Trent. His catechism, modelled on the decrees of that Council, is remarkable for the beauty of its Latinity, and contains many passages which even a Protestant may read with interest. He was succeeded on the Papal throne by Michele Ghislieri, Cardinal of Alessandria and Grand-Inquisitor, who assumed the title of Pius V. His election was chiefly due to Pius IV.'s nephew, Cardinal Borromeo, the indefatigable Archbishop of Milan, who enjoyed almost as great a reputation for sanctity as Ghislieri himself. Ghislieri was born of poor parents at Bosco, near Alessandria, in 1504, and entered a Dominican convent at the age of fourteen. He came to Rome on foot, a mendicant friar; and in fifteen years successively rose to be a Bishop, a Cardinal, and head of the Inquisition. Austere in his manners, averse to nepotism, the enemy of all vices and abuses, Pius V. pursued the internal reforms begun under the influence of Cardinal Borromeo. But his piety was sombre and fanatical; as a Pope he was the *beau-idéal* of the Ultramontanists; and indeed he was eventually canonized by Pope Clement XI. in 1712. Although mild and simple in his more private life, Pius V. had a strong consciousness of his religious merits. Convinced that he had himself walked in the right path, he was intemperate and inflexible towards those whom he believed in the wrong, could brook no contradiction, and was never known to mitigate the sentence of a criminal. He not only renewed the publication of the bull *In Cœna Domini*, of which Sovereigns had often complained, but even added new clauses of increased severity. Under his Pontificate terror reigned through Italy. The researches of the Inquisition were carried back for

twenty years; the prisons of Rome sufficed not for the number of the accused, so that it was necessary to build new ones; every day beheld executions either by the cord, the axe, or the flames.¹ Thus may a mistaken piety become one of the most terrible scourges of humanity. A temperament like that of Pius V. is incompatible with that love of art and literature which distinguished Leo X. Pius sentenced to the stake, as heretics, three of the most distinguished literary men of Italy: Zanetta of Padua, Pietro Carnesecchi of Florence, and Anninus Palearius of Milan, who had likened the Inquisition to the poniard of the assassin. The chief objects of the policy of Pius V. were to oppose the Turkish power, to subvert the Protestant reformation, and to annihilate its adherents. It was impossible that such a Pontiff should comprehend or tolerate the tortuous and temporizing policy of Catharine de' Medici; and he trembled with rage and indignation when he learnt the precautions with which she treated the Hugonot leaders, and especially the apostate Cardinal of Châtillon.²

By the advice of L'Hôpital, an Assembly of Notables was summoned at Moulins in January, 1566, with the alleged object of remedying the complaints received by the King during his progress. There were, however, some other subjects of a more private nature to be considered; the arrangement of a quarrel which had recently exploded with great violence between the Cardinal of Lorraine and Marshal Montmorenci, and especially the settlement of the proceedings instituted by the Guises against Admiral Coligni for the alleged murder of the Duke. The first of these affairs was arranged without much difficulty; the other was of more importance. On the 29th of January, Coligni having sworn an oath before the King in Council that he was neither author nor accomplice of the assassination, and challenged to mortal combat whoever should assert the contrary, the Council unanimously declared him innocent, and the Cardinal of Lorraine and the widow of the Duke gave him the kiss of peace. But Guise's son, the young Duke Henry, had abstained from appearing at Moulins; while his uncle, the Duke of Aumale, who arrived late, manifested so violent an animosity against the Châtillons

* ¹ McCrie, *Reformation in Italy*, p. 272.

² The letters of Pius V. were collected by Goubau, secretary of the Spanish Embassy at Rome under Philip IV., and published by him in the original Latin, Antwerp, 1640. There is a French trans-

lation of them by De Potter, Brussels, 1827. The life of Pius V. has been written from authentic materials by Girolamo Catena, secretary of the Consulta of Pope Sixtus V.

that the Queen was obliged to dismiss both parties from Court; and thus the termination of an assembly intended to promote peace evidently threatened a renewal of war. It was, however, distinguished by some great legal reforms introduced by L'Hôpital and published the following month under the title of the "Grande ordonnance de Moulins," which, together with the previous Edict of Villers-Cotterets, formed the basis of French judicial procedure down to the Revolution.

It was plain that both parties were preparing for another struggle. Physical force preponderated on the side of the Catholics, who had organized themselves into *confréries*, or brotherhoods; and in the riots which frequently happened they commonly had the advantage. The Jesuits had now obtained a footing in France. In 1551 they had got letters patent from Henry II., allowing them to found at Paris a professed house and a college called the College of Clermont (afterwards Louis-le-Grand) in the Rue St. Jacques. But their struggle was a hard one. The University, the Sorbonne, and the Parliament, were opposed to them, and it was only in 1560 that the Parliament's opposition was overcome, which at length granted them a provisional authority to teach independently of the University.

The permission granted by the Court for the Duke of Alva to march through France with his army in the summer of 1567, when on his way to exterminate the Protestants of the Netherlands, excited the distrust of the Hugonot leaders. Catharine, although she pretended to entertain suspicions of Alva's designs, secretly sent him supplies. Condé and Coligni, on the other hand, alleging their fears for the safety of France, offered to raise 50,000 men to cut off the Spaniards, but this was of course declined. The suspicion of the Hugonots was augmented by the reception given by Charles IX. to an embassy from some of the German Princes, to request that he would faithfully observe the Edict of Pacification, and allow the Gospel to be preached in Paris as well as other places; to which the young King replied by begging the Germans to attend to their own affairs. Soon after Alva's arrival in the Low Countries, the Hugonot chiefs received secret notice, supposed to have been communicated to them by L'Hôpital, that the French Court meant to follow Alva's example, and that the revocation of the Edict of Amboise, the perpetual captivity of Condé, and the death of Coligni had been resolved on. The Prince and the Admiral determined to counteract this plot by one of still greater audacity—to carry off

the young King and the whole Court from Monceaux in Brie. Condé seems even to have entertained the hope of seizing the Crown. Catharine having learnt the plot two days before the time fixed for its execution, she and the whole Court fled to Meaux, where, by parleying with the Hugonot leaders, she gained time for a body of 6,000 Swiss to arrive; and the young King, putting himself at their head, set off for Paris. Condé and Coligni, having only about 500 horse, were not strong enough to attack so large a body; but they harassed the royal force with skirmishes, and after Charles IX. had gained the capital in safety, took up a position at St. Denis. Here some conferences ensued between Montmorenci and the Hugonots; but the latter, who had succeeded in seizing Orleans, Dieppe, Mâcon, La Charité, Vienne, Valence, Nîmes and other places, made demands which far exceeded the provisions of the Edict of Amboise, and nothing could be arranged. On the 10th of November, 1567, the army of the Catholics, which was four or five times more numerous than that of the Hugonots, although they also had been reinforced, marched out from Paris and deployed in the plain Des Vertus. A charge headed by Condé and Coligni threw the Catholics into disorder. The Constable was surrounded and summoned to surrender, and being hard pressed by a Scotchman named Robert Stuart, knocked out three of his teeth with the pommel of his sword, when Stuart is thought to have shot Montmorenci with his pistol. The Constable was rescued while still alive, by his sons the Marshals Montmorenci and Damville, but died two days after, at the age of seventy-five. His qualities were hardly equal to his renown.¹ Notwithstanding this mishap, the battle was in favour of the Catholics; yet, after retaining possession of the field a few hours, they retired into Paris. Next day the Hugonots marched to the very gates; but as Charles IX. had received reinforcements from the Duke of Alva of 1,500 Flemish and Walloon cavalry, and as 8,000 Gascons were expected to join the royal army, Condé and Coligni thought it prudent to retire, and marched into Lorraine to meet the German succours conducted by the Count-Palatine,* John Casimir. The Queen-Mother, instead of filling up the office of Constable, vacant by the death of Montmorenci, appointed her *favourite son Henry, Duke of Anjou, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom.

¹ "Depuis cinquante ans, il encombrait l'histoire d'une fausse importance, toujours

fatale à son pays."—Michelet, *Guerres de Religion*, p. 341.

The events of the war which followed are not important enough to arrest our attention. The Queen, to save Chartres, which the Hugonots were besieging, concluded a fresh peace, March 20th, 1568, proclaimed in the Edict of Longjumeau on the 23rd, which, from its short duration, was called "la courte paix." The terms were favourable to the Hugonots, and consequently gave great offence at Rome. In fact, however, neither party was sincere, and it was soon evident from the nature of the ordinances published, as well as from a Papal bull authorizing the alienation of ecclesiastical property, provided the proceeds were employed in exterminating heretics, that the Court was meditating a fresh war. The letters of Pius V. at this period to the French and other Courts are terrible. They may be summed up in two words: "Kill all you can." Assassinations and massacres took place every day. The Jesuits, whose authority was now established in France, thought that no faith should be observed towards heretics. Catharine, who felt herself more secure since the King had attained his majority, cared not any longer to court the Hugonot chiefs, and it was currently reported that an attack would be made on that party after the harvest. She would even have seized Condé and Coligni at Noyers, in Burgundy, had not Tavannes, the Governor of that province, who was to have executed the plot, given the Prince a hint of it. He and the Admiral escaped with some difficulty to La Rochelle (September 1st), where they were cordially received by Jeanne d'Albret and the troops assembled round her. The dismissal of L'Hôpital in October seemed to show that Catharine meant not only to draw the sword, but also to throw away the scabbard. The seals were given to Jean de Morvilliers, Bishop of Orleans; but Birago, a Milanese, afterwards Chancellor, had the chief influence in the Council after the dismissal of L'Hôpital. The King was abandoned to his directions and those of the Florentine Gondi, afterwards Duke of Retz, who inculcated the principles of the Italian tyrants. On the other hand, Condé and the Admiral gathered round them at La Rochelle an army of 20,000 men; and this force and the royal army spent the last months of 1568 in marching about between the Loire and the Garonne, without any result except the outrages which both sides committed upon the wretched inhabitants. Severe edicts were issued by the Court; former concessions were withdrawn; the public exercise of no religion but the Popish was tolerated; Hugonot ministers

[†] See De Potter's transl. p. 14 sqq.

were ordered to leave the realm in a fortnight, and Protestant laymen were deprived of any offices they held. But these severities only caused the Hugonots to offer up more zealously their lives and property.

Pope Pius V. sent some money and troops into France, and his counsels were to make no prisoners, but to kill all the Hugonots that were taken.¹ Philip II. also despatched some Spanish veterans to the help of the French Catholics. On the other hand, Queen Elizabeth sent Condé 100,000 gold crowns, and after spending some time in recruiting, the Prince rejoined Coligni in February, 1569, with much augmented forces. It was their object, till joined by some German auxiliaries, to prevent the royal army, commanded nominally by the Duke of Anjou but in reality by Gaspard de Tavannes, from crossing the Charente. The royalists, however, effected a passage (March 12th), and defeated Coligni and D'Andelot with a body of Hugonots at the Abbey of Bassac, near Cognac. Condé, who was at Jarnac with the rear-guard, pressed forward to their assistance. On coming upon the field he received a kick from the horse of his brother-in-law, La Rochefoucauld, which broke his leg; nevertheless he charged into the thickest of the fight, overthrowing all that opposed him, till his horse being killed under him, he was captured. As he was being led away prisoner, Montesquiou, a Gascon, captain of the guard of the Duke of Anjou, it is supposed by order of that Prince, rode up and shot him from behind through the head. Anjou, who thus gave a foretaste of the baseness which he subsequently displayed as Henry III., had that day received the Communion. He caused the body of Condé to be carried to Jarnac on a she-ass, thus adding a cowardly insult to his cowardly crime. The Prince left (with other children), a son, Henry, subsequently one of the most distinguished generals of France.

After the death of Condé, Coligni and D'Andelot retreated towards St. Jean d'Angely. The number of Hugonots slain at the BATTLE OF JARNAC² was not great, but among them were upwards of a hundred nobles. At Saintes, young Henry of Navarre, now in his fifteenth year, was elected by the Hugonots for their chief in place of Condé, and Coligni became his instructor in the art of war. The Admiral was not exposed to the dangers of the

¹ "— hæreticos eorumque duces, utpote Dei hostes, omni severitatis animadversione punire."—*Letter to Charles IX.* March 6th, 1569, De Potter, p. 34.

² The *Mémoires* of La Noue, a distinguished Hugonot captain, are the best authority for this war.

field alone. La Rivière, another captain of Anjou's guard, bribed a valet of Coligni's to poison him; but the plot was discovered and the valet hanged. Even the government were competitors in these schemes of murder. The Parliament of Paris published an *arrêt* condemning Coligni to be hanged in the Place de Grève, and his property to be confiscated; and they promised a reward of 50,000 crowns to whomsoever might bring him in, dead or alive. But the Admiral's hour was not yet come. He had still to fight and lose another battle.

The two armies were nearly equal, but that of the King was superior in artillery. Pius V. and the Duke of Florence had reinforced it with 6,000 Italians, while the Duke of Alva had sent Germans and Walloons. On the other hand the German succours of Coligni had not arrived in any great numbers. On the 3rd of October, 1569, Tavannes forced the Admiral to give him battle at MONCONTOUR, a place between the Loire and Poitiers; when the Hugonots were again, but still more terribly, defeated, and lost upwards of 12,000 men, with all their artillery and baggage. Tavannes having dismissed for a ransom of 10,000 crowns M. d'Assier, the general of the Hugonot infantry, who had been taken prisoner, Pius V. complained that Tavannes had not obeyed his directions to kill out of hand whatever heretic fell into his power;¹ and after the victory he sent the Duke of Anjou a consecrated hat and sword. But the royalists did not vigorously follow up their advantage. They lost time in sieges, a part of their army was dismissed for want of funds, and Tavannes was recalled through Court intrigues. A moderate or peace party had arisen, at the head of which were the Montmorencies; the King, who was jealous of his brother's success, was inclined to listen to their counsels; nor was Catharine averse, as part of their plans embraced a marriage between the Duke of Anjou and Queen Elizabeth. Indeed, Catharine, whose only fixed idea was to promote the greatness of her sons, and especially of her favourite, Henry, seems not, though harbouring a mortal hatred of the Hugonots, to have had those settled schemes of policy which have been attributed to her by some writers, but rather to have suited her conduct to the course of events.² She began to treat with the Hugonots shortly after the battle of Moncontour;

¹ "— si dolse del Conte, che non havesse il commandamento di lui osservato d'ammazzar subito qualunque heretico gli fosse venuto alle mani."—Catena, *Vita di Pio V.* p. 85.

² "Elle suivait les événements au jour le jour, accommodant son indifférence morale, sa parole menteuse et sa dextérité à toute cause qui semblait prévaloir."—Michelet, *Guerres de Rel.* p. 362.

but they were on their guard, and as active as the royalists were supine. From the plains of Poitou, Coligni retired to the mountains of Languedoc, his army increasing as it went. Jeanne d'Albret displayed wonderful courage and constancy, inspired her son Henry with her own ardour, and encouraged the troops by her enthusiastic addresses. Coligni led his army by masterly marches over the wildest mountains from Rousillon into Burgundy, where he expected to be joined by the Count Palatine John Casimir and his forces, and designed then to march on Paris. In these alarming circumstances, even the Cardinal of Lorraine advised an accommodation. An armistice was agreed on, and, after considerable negotiation, the PEACE OF ST. GERMAIN was at length concluded (August 8th, 1570). By this peace liberty of conscience and a general amnesty were secured to the Hugonots, who were to recover all their confiscated possessions, privileges, and offices, and to be allowed the free and public exercise of their religion in all places where it had been established before August 1st; except in Paris and ten leagues round, and in places where the Court resided and two leagues round. Four places of security, or cautionary towns, were assigned to them, namely, La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité, on the condition that the Princes of Navarre and Condé and twenty nobles to be named by the King should take an oath that these towns should be restored at the expiration of two years.¹

Nothing could be more unwelcome both to Pope Pius V. and King Philip II. than this peace, which seemed to break the unity of the Catholic power at the very moment when the Pope, encouraged by the success of the orthodox arms both in France and the Netherlands, was preparing to strike a terrible blow against England by dethroning Queen Elizabeth. But both Philip and Pius were at this time too much occupied with other affairs to enter into any serious quarrel with France. Philip, besides the revolt in the Netherlands narrated in another chapter, was now also engaged in quelling an insurrection of the Moriscoes in Spain; while the attention of the Pope was absorbed by the movements of the Turkish fleets in the Mediterranean. Thus the followers of Mahomet, though without their wish or knowledge, were incidentally instrumental in saving the Protestants from destruction. It will here be necessary to advert to the domestic history of Spain, as well as to resume somewhat higher the account of the

¹ The Edict in La Popelinière, 2^e Partie, fol. 195.

Turkish wars; after which we shall narrate the great Catholic plot against the English Queen and nation.

The death of her daughter Elizabeth (October, 1568) had excited in the mind of Catharine de' Medici a suspicion of unfair play on the part of her son-in-law Philip II.,¹ and is said to have been one of the causes which disposed her to abandon the Spanish alliance in favour of that of England. The fate of Elizabeth has been so intimately connected by some writers, though apparently without adequate reason, with that of Philip's son Don Carlos, that we must here briefly advert to the still obscure and mysterious history of that unfortunate Prince.

Don Carlos, the son of Philip II. and his first wife, Mary of Portugal, was born July 8th, 1545. His mother died a few days after giving him birth, and his education was therefore entrusted to his aunt, the regent Joanna. From childhood his constitution was wasted with bilious fevers; he early betrayed symptoms of a perverse and cruel disposition, though blended with traits of courage and generosity; and Charles V. who, when on his way to Yuste in 1556, had seen his grandson at Valladolid, had augured but ill of the future heir to the Spanish monarchy. Carlos was present at his father's marriage, in 1560, with Elizabeth of France, who had once been destined for himself, and is said to have displayed rage and jealousy at being deprived of her hand. At Alcalá de Henares, whither he was subsequently sent for the benefit both of his mind and his health, he fractured his skull by a fall. A tale congenial with Spanish bigotry and superstition assures us that he was recovered by a miracle—the cerement of a departed saint wrapped around his head. Human means, however, were not neglected; he was trephined, but the brain seems to have been permanently injured; a result whether due to the Saint or the surgeon we need not inquire. Certain it is that after this period his conduct was disgraceful, unruly, and licentious; he insulted his tutors and all who were about him, and would sometimes threaten their lives. These symptoms may partly perhaps be ascribed to the treatment he experienced from his father, who allowed him no part either in civil or military affairs, and the energies of the young Prince consequently found vent in a reckless, dissipated life. Tiepolo, who was Venetian ambassador at Madrid in 1567, gives a rather better account of Don Carlos than other authorities, and describes him as having

¹ See her letter cited by Van Raumer, *Gesch. Europas*, B. i. S. 163.

won the affections of his companions. It is said that when the revolt broke out in the Netherlands Carlos sympathized with the insurgents. It is certain that he was annoyed at Alva's being appointed, instead of himself, to command the army sent against them, and when that captain came to take leave of him, Carlos attempted to stab him, and would have succeeded but for the superior strength of Alva. He is also said to have expressed a wish to take his father's life, and to have avowed it in the confessional. He then laid a plan to fly the Kingdom, and when his uncle Don John communicated his design to Philip, he attempted to murder that Prince. These are the acts of a madman, whom it was necessary to put under restraint. In January, 1568, Philip himself, clothed in armour and attended by several nobles and twelve of his guard, entered at night the chamber of Don Carlos and seized him in his bed. From this time the unfortunate Prince was placed in strict confinement: and the description of his mode of life in his imprisonment, his long fasts followed by an inordinate gluttony, the filling of his bed with ice, and other acts of a like kind, all show that he was deranged. That he was not hindered from such acts, betrays, however, at least a culpable want of proper solicitude and attention, and renders probable the account of Llorente that Philip had not obscurely intimated to the physicians to take no care of his son's health, but to suffer him to proceed in his own way, and thus speedily bring his life to a termination. Such a method proved as effectual, and it may be added, was almost as criminal as a direct act of poisoning, with which, by some writers, Philip has been charged; but their accounts of the manner in which it was effected are so various as to deprive the story of all credit, and indeed it was treated by the Florentine envoy as an idle rumour.¹ It was the prevailing opinion at the time that Don Carlos was put to death in pursuance of a sentence of the Inquisition; a judgment founded apparently on Philip's announcement to the Papal Nuncio after the arrest of his son "that he had preferred the honour of God, the maintenance of the Catholic religion, and the welfare of his subjects and dominions, to his own flesh and blood, and in obedience to the Divine will had sacrificed his only son."² Don Carlos died in July, 1568, and in less than three months after, the Queen of Spain, Elizabeth of France, expired from the effects of premature child-

¹ See on this subject Prescott's *Hist. of Philip II.* vol. ii. B. iv. ch. 6 and 7; cf. *Letter* cited by M. Charrière, *Négociations*

du Levant, t. iii. p. 20 sq.

² *Letter* of the Nuncio ap. Laderchii, *Annal. Eccles.* t. xxiii. p. 145.

birth. The infant survived but a little while. The rumours of the day ascribed to Elizabeth and Don Carlos a mutual and guilty passion, and attributed the death of both to the jealousy of Philip; nay, even the Prince of Orange in a grave state paper has not scrupled to charge the Catholic King with the murder of his wife, in order to make room for his marriage with Anne of Austria.¹ But modern researches have dissipated this charge. Philip appears to have always treated Elizabeth with affection, while she herself was devoted to her husband. It is one of the penalties of a character like Philip's to become the constant subject of calumny and suspicion.

The intolerance and bigotry of the Spanish King increased with his years, and gathered new strength from opposition. The rage excited by symptoms of revolt in the Netherlands was vented on the unhappy Moors of Spain. We have related the cruelty with which Ferdinand the Catholic and Cardinal Ximenes pursued the Moors. The persecution was continued under Charles V., but not with quite so much violence; for many years a sort of toleration was observed; not only in some towns, as Albaicin, the Moorish suburb of Granada, but even in whole districts, as the Alpujarras and their valleys, the Moors were suffered to retain their names and language, their manners and costumes. Some who had pretended to become converts to Christianity were called *Marranos*, the rest retained the name of Moriscoes. In 1564 and 1565 Philip II., stimulated by his clergy, and especially by Don Pedro Guerrero, Archbishop of Granada, and Cardinal Spinosa, Vice-Grand Inquisitor, who, from his influence over Philip, was long called the "King of Spain,"² issued some severe ordinances against the Moorish customs; and these were followed up in the subsequent year by another of such absurd atrocity, that even Philip himself hesitated to adopt it, till the priests forced it upon him by alarming his conscience.³ By a statute of November 17th, 1566, the Moriscoes were forbidden, on pain of death, to retain their ancient customs, and even to speak their mother-tongue; their music, their dances, and their baths were suppressed; they were not to fasten their doors; their wives were to throw aside their veils; their very names

¹ "Celuy donc qui a épousé sa nièce ose me reprocher mon mariage! . . . Celuy, lequel pour parvenir à un tel mariage a cruellement meurtri sa femme, fille et sœur des Rois de France!"—*Apolo- logie of the Prince of Orange in Dumont,*

t. v. pt. i. p. 389. Cf. Watson, *Hist. of Philip II.* vol. iii. App. p. 364.

² Strada, *Bell. Belg.* lib. vi. t. i. p. 203.

³ Letter of Otadin, professor of theology at Alcalá to Philip, in Circourt, *Hist. des Maures d'Espagne*, t. ii. p. 278 sq.

were to be changed for Castilian; in short, every distinctive trace was to be abolished, and they were to be entirely extirpated as a people. The Marquis of Mondejar, Viceroy of Granada, hesitated to publish this cruel and impolitic law; but Don Pedro de Deza, President of the Chancery of Granada, caused it to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, January 1st, 1567. Astonished and afflicted, the Moors hastened to lay their petitions and remonstrances at the feet of Philip. They might as well have spoken to the winds. Despair then drove them to organize a revolt.¹ Applications were made to the Sultan and to the Moors of Algiers for help; money was secretly raised, and great quantities of arms and provisions were collected in a large cave, or grotto, in the mountains.

The severity of the law was enhanced by the regulations of Don Pedro de Deza. Spaniards were forbidden to hold any intercourse with a Mahometan, and the Moriscoes were directed to send their children to Spanish schools. In April, 1568, the Moorish inhabitants of the Alpujarras flew to arms; and in the following September, in conjunction with their fellow-countrymen at Albaicin, they elected for their chief Don Fernando Muley of Valor and Cordova, a young man twenty-two years of age, descended from the Ommiyahd Khalifs, to whom they gave the title of Muley Abdallah Nahmed ben Ommiyah, King of Granada and Andalusia. In the winter the Moors made an unsuccessful attempt upon Granada, while the Spanish infantry penetrated into the Alpujarras and perpetrated the most inhuman cruelties. An internecine war ensued which lasted two years. Muley having made himself hated and despised by his tyranny and sensuality, the Moriscoes formed a conspiracy against him. He was betrayed in his sleep and murdered by the treachery of his beautiful wife, Zahara; and the conspirators then chose Ben Abu for their leader (October, 1569). Philip had appointed his brother, Don John of Austria, a natural son of Charles V., to conduct the war against the Moors; but it was not till towards the close of 1569 that the mistrustful Philip could prevail upon himself to grant his kinsman full power. Don John then raised the ban and arrière ban of Andalusia, and at the beginning of 1570 brought an army of 24,000 men into the field. Galera was taken after a long siege (February 10th), and Don John disgraced himself by ordering an inhuman massacre. Ben Abu was

¹ This revolt is described by Prescott, *Hist. of Philip II.* vol. iii. B. v. ch. i.—viii. Cf. Circourt, t. ii. ch. 13.

murdered about the same time, and the Moors lost all hope of a successful resistance. The war became one of extermination; village after village, town after town, fell into the hands of the Spaniards and was destroyed; and in 1571 the Moors were completely subdued. Towards the end of that year the survivors were transplanted into Estremadura and other provinces; but considerable numbers succeeded in escaping to Fez and Algiers.

At this period the arms of Philip II. were also engaged against the Turks, whose fleets were infesting the Mediterranean. During the reign of Henry II. of France, and at that King's instigation, the Sultan sent every year large armaments into the Mediterranean, whose operations, however, were chiefly confined to supporting the Mahometan pirates on the coast of Africa. In the autumn of 1559 Philip fitted out a fleet against the chief of their pirates, the corsair Draghut. The Pope (then Paul IV.), the Genoese, the Florentines, and the Knights of Malta, contributed to the expedition, and 200 vessels under the command of Andrew Doria, and having on board 14,000 troops, attacked and took the island of Jerbah in March, 1560; but it was recovered in the following July by the Turkish admiral Piali, and no permanent success was achieved by this large expedition. The wars between the Spaniards and the Moors on the African coast continued some years; they present an unvarying web of barbarity and slaughter, and we shall not pursue them in detail. In 1564 the Spaniards gained considerable advantages. In the following year, Sultan Solyman resolved to direct all his forces against the Knights Hospitallers of St. John at Malta, who were the chief support of Christian power in the Mediterranean. Charles V. did a politic as well as charitable act by giving them that barren rock after their expulsion from Rhodes, for the feudal rent of an annual falcon, as he thus secured gratuitously an excellent bulwark for his dominions. The Knights greatly improved the island, not only by fortifying it, but also, so far as the soil permitted, by its cultivation.

The siege of Malta by the Turks is one of the most memorable feats of arms of the sixteenth century, though its details are interesting only in a military point of view.¹ The immediate occasion of it was the capture by the Knights of a Turkish galleon belonging to the chief eunuch of the Sultan's harem. The Grand-Master of the order at that time was Jean Parisot de la

¹ Some new particulars respecting the siege of Malta will be found in the *Négo-*

ciations de la France dans le Levant, t. ii. p. 804, sqq.

Valette, who, when he heard of Solyman's design, made the most vigorous preparations for defence. The useless part of the population was shipped off to Sicily, the fortifications were strengthened, and foreign auxiliaries obtained ; and in order to breed emulation, different posts were assigned to the Knights according to their tongue, or nation. Their whole body was 700 in number, with a force under them of about 9,000 men. The Turkish fleet consisted of 180 galleys commanded by Piali, with a large number of transports having about 30,000 troops on board, including 6,000 Janissaries, under the veteran Mustapha. This armament, which appeared off Malta May 18th, 1565, was afterwards reinforced by Draghut from Tripoli with thirteen galleys. The first attack of the Turks was directed against the Castle of St. Elmo, commanding the entrance of the harbour. After a bombardment of several weeks, and the repulse of two general assaults, St. Elmo, reduced almost to a heap of ruins, was captured by the Turks, June 23rd. During the siege Draghut received a mortal wound. There still remained to be taken the Borgo, and the Castles of St. Angelo and St. Michael. Space will not allow us to detail the many desperate and bloody struggles which took place for the possession of the last-named fortress, which was defended by La Valette in person ; suffice it to say, that after a siege of more than two months, the Turks abandoned the attempt in despair, and set sail for Constantinople (September 8th). After their departure the Sicilian Viceroy Don Garcia de Toledo, who was strongly suspected of cowardice, arrived with reinforcements. He subsequently received permission to retire from his government. The merit of the defence belongs entirely to La Valette, who received compliments and presents from every Sovereign in Europe, and among them a Cardinal's hat from the Pope, which, however, he declined. He subsequently founded a new capital of Malta, which obtained from him the name of Valetta. Solyman was furious at this defeat, the most humiliating that he had sustained during his long reign. The capture by Piali in the following year (1566) of the Isle of Chios, the last possession of the Genoese in the Levant, which, however, offered no resistance, afforded the Sultan some consolation. Chios was then ruled by the Giustiniani family, the last of the Frankish lords who maintained a semblance of independence in those waters, though indeed they paid an annual tribute to the Porte. But before Piali could lay the spoils at his master's feet, Solyman was dead.

The Sultan had been impelled to wipe out the disgrace of Malta by some glorious achievement, and the affairs of Hungary offered the occasion. The truce of eight years concluded between Ferdinand I. and the Porte¹ had not yet expired; and though that Emperor had left the stipulated tribute unpaid, yet Maximilian II. after his accession had paid the arrears, as well as the pension to the Grand Vizier. The truce was accordingly to have been renewed; but before a fresh treaty could be prepared, Solyman, nettled by his reverses, had determined on a war in Hungary, in support of the cause of his "slave" John Sigismund. The war which Maximilian had waged with that Prince had been hitherto successful; he had recovered the places captured by John Sigismund, and had also conquered Tokay, Kovar, Erdad, and Bathor. But he had now to contend with a more redoubtable enemy, and he used all his exertions to collect an adequate force. The Germans unanimously voted him 48,000 men at the Diet of Augsburg, and a considerably larger body was raised in his other dominions. Of this force, one division under Schwendi was cantoned on the Theiss, to hold Transylvania in check, another under the Archduke Charles secured Illyria, while Maximilian himself, with the main body of 80,000 men, encamped near Raab.

Solyman the Magnificent left Constantinople at the head of a vast army with all the pomp of war, May 1st, 1566. At Semlin he received John Sigismund with royal honours (June 29th), and declared that he had come to vindicate his cause against the House of Austria. It was Solyman's intention to ascend the course of the Danube, had not a feat of arms of Count Zriny diverted his attention to the little town of Szigeth, the family seat of that nobleman, near Fünfkirchen. In a sally which he made, Zriny had defeated and killed near Siklos a favourite Pasha of the Sultan's, and Solyman to punish him directed against Szigeth his army of 100,000 men and 300 guns. But this siege afforded another instance of the unskilfulness of the Turks in such operations. Zriny made a valorous defence for nearly five weeks, when the place was at last captured, and he himself beheaded on one of his own cannons. But the enterprise cost the Turks 20,000 men, and among them the great Sultan himself, who died, September 4th, 1566, from the consequences of fatigue and the unwholesome air of the marshes. Solyman had long been in bad health. Besides the gout, he was subject

¹ See above, p. 288.

to attacks of melancholy, and lay sometimes totally unconscious in a swoon or trance.¹ Navagero describes him² at the age of sixty-two as much above the middle height, meagre and of a sallow complexion; yet there was a wonderful grandeur in his look, accompanied with a gentleness that won all hearts. He was a rigid Mussulman, and insisted on a precise observance of all the precepts of the Koran. He was temperate in his diet, ate but little meat, and amused himself chiefly with hunting. In his moments of depression he was accustomed to humble himself before God, and composed spiritual hymns in which he compared his nothingness with the power of the Almighty. He was scrupulous in keeping his word, he loved justice, and never knowingly wronged anybody. In short, allowance made for his Turkish education and prejudices, he may be very advantageously compared with several Christian Princes his contemporaries.

Solyman's infatuated passion for a Russian concubine, the beautiful Roxolana, was a source of political misfortune as well as domestic misery. Assisted by the Grand Vizier Rustan, Roxolana induced the doating Sultan, to whom she had borne several children, to give her his hand in lawful wedlock,³ and thus to infringe a maxim of state policy which had been preserved inviolate since the time of Bajazet I. She next, by artful calumnies, turned the heart of Solyman against his eldest son Mustapha, the child of his Sultana, whose qualities resembled his own, and who was the darling of the Turkish nation. Persuaded that Mustapha was intriguing with the Persian Sophi, Solyman hastened to Eregli in Caramania, summoned Mustapha from Diarbekir, and caused him to be strangled in his own presence (1553). Mustapha's son Mahomet was also put to death, and Selim, the weak and profligate son of Roxolana, was appointed Solyman's successor. But from this hour the Sultan's happiness had fled. He became suspicious and dejected, and no longer confided even in his Janissaries, who loved him as a father. In an Empire where everything depended on the personal qualities of

¹ See the *Despatches* of De Petremol. in the *Négociations*, &c. t. ii. p. 692.

² *Relazione* of Navagero, in Alberi's collection, Ser. iii. t. i. p. 72. Cf. Busbequii, *Epist.* p. 105.

³ The account adopted by Ranke (*Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 35), that Roxolana owed her freedom and marriage to the building of a mosque, and the sentence of the Mufti, that she could not

thereafter remain the concubine of the Sultan, seems to rest on no sure foundation. The more probable account seems to be that the Sultana, the mother of Mustapha, stung with jealousy, made a personal attack on Roxolana, whereby she incurred the anger of Solyman, and was sent away in disgrace. See Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, B. iii. S. 26 Anm.

the Sovereign, the choice of Selim must be regarded as having prepared the way for the decline of the Ottoman power. The Vizier Mohammed Sokolli, kept Solyman's death a secret till Selim II. arrived in the camp before Szigeth. The unruly Janisseries felt little respect for the new Sultan, who was known only by his addiction to wine and women ; and they compelled him very considerably to augment the donative which it was now become customary to distribute at the commencement of every new reign. Under these circumstances, the forces of Maximilian gained some advantages over the Turks, and in May, 1567, he succeeded in concluding with the Porte another truce of eight years, on the basis that all parties, including John Sigismund, should hold what they actually possessed : an arrangement by which Maximilian lost only Szigeth and Gyula, while he acquired a territory of more than 200 miles in extent, from Transylvania to beyond the Theiss. The tribute of 30,000 ducats to the Porte was to be continued ; but the Emperor's ambassadors at Constantinople were to be on the footing of those of the most favoured nations, and no longer subject to insult and imprisonment. These conditions, so favourable to the Emperor, are no doubt partly attributable to the French influence in the Divan having at this period sunk to a very low ebb. But Selim had other reasons for making and observing this treaty, as well as for the peace which he concluded with the King of Poland. His attention was now directed towards the south, and to the conquest of Cyprus and Arabia, by which his reign is chiefly distinguished.

The former Kingdom of Cyprus was at this time held by the Venetians, who, during the last thirty years, had fallen very much in power and in the estimation of the Porte. In the three wars which they had waged with the Turks since the fall of Constantinople, they had always come off with the loss of part of their possessions, and were reduced to the condition of tributaries ; though, on the other hand, they had acquired Cephalonía and Cyprus, the last an island of great size and importance. During the eighty years, however, which they had held it, they had treated the inhabitants with such harshness and oppression that the Cyprians began to regard the very Turks themselves in the light of deliverers. The story runs that the wine-bibbing Selim was incited to undertake the Cyprian war by his favourite Don Miquez, a Portuguese Jew, whom, after his accession, he had made Duke of Naxos and of the twelve principal Cyclades, and who represented to the Sultan in glowing colours the excellence

of the wine of Cyprus. However this may be, Selim, it is certain, assigned no reason for the war but his will.¹ On the 1st of July, 1570, a Turkish fleet of 360 sail, under the command of Piali, landed at the southernmost point of the island, without opposition, an army of 50,000 men under Mustapha Pasha. The Venetians having only 3,000 soldiers in Cyprus, the defence of the open country was at once abandoned, and all their efforts restricted to defend the towns of Nicosia and Famagosta. Nicosia was taken September 9th, and great part of the inhabitants massacred. Famagosta, defended by Marcantonio Bragadino, did not capitulate till August 1st, 1571. The Turks had retired in the winter, during which the town was relieved by the Venetians, who, however, did not strike a single blow in its defence. In spite of the capitulation, Mustapha had the perfidious barbarity to cause the valiant Bragadino to be flayed alive. During this war the Turks also inflicted great damage and disgrace on the Venetians on the coasts of Albania and Dalmatia.

But these proceedings roused the anger of the fiery and enthusiastic Pius V., one of whose darling projects had always been to curb the power and insolence of the Turk. By his exertions an alliance against the Sultan, called the HOLY LEAGUE, was at length concluded between himself, Philip II., the Venetians, and one or two minor Powers. The French offered nothing but their good wishes. Before the end of September, the allied fleet, consisting of 77 Spanish, 6 Maltese, and 8 Savoyard galleys under Don John of Austria, 12 Papal galleys under Marcantonio Colonna, and 108 Venetian galleys and 6 galeazzi under Sebastian Veniero, assembled at Messina. Don John was commander-in-chief of the armament. He was now about twenty-four years of age, having probably been born in 1547, and was the son of Charles V. and a German girl, one Barbara Blomberg, of Ratisbon, and probably of lowly condition. Don John is described as having been of great personal beauty, as well as of singularly fascinating manners. His well-proportioned and graceful figure was rather above the middle height. His features were regular, his blue eyes full of vivacity and fire, his long light hair flowed back in natural ringlets from his temples, and his upper lip was covered with a thick

¹ The principal authorities for the war of Cyprus are Paruta, *Hist. Veneta*, P. ii.; Folieta, *De sacro Fœdere in Selimum*, libri iv. (Genoa, 1587); Contarini, *Hist. delle cose successe dal principio della guerra mossa da Selim ai Veneziani*

(Venez., 1572). The earlier history of Cyprus is fully related by L. de Maslatrie, *Hist. de l'Île de Chypre sous le Règne des Princes de la Maison de Lusignan* (Paris, 1853).

moustache. He was not only skilled in all the exercises of an accomplished cavalier, but had also shown himself capable of severer studies.¹ Such was the commander whom we shall again have occasion to meet in another important situation.

The Osmanli fleet of 300 sail, under the Capudan-Pasha Musinsade Ali, lay in the Gulf of Lepanto. The Christians resolved to attack it; the Turks came out to meet them; and on the 7th October, 1571, was fought off the rocky islets of Kurzolari, the ever memorable BATTLE OF LEPANTO. The fight lasted till late in the evening. The Turks lost 224 ships and 30,000 men, including their commander; the Christians only 15 galleys and 8,000 men. In this battle, which, though really won by the power of Venice, created the reputation of Don John of Austria, were also present two men, who, like him, were afterwards to be Governors of the Netherlands: Don Luis de Requesens, Grand Commander of Castile, and Alexander Farnese, the nephew of Don John. Another name may be added, subsequently immortalized in literature—that of Cervantes, the author of “Don Quixote,” who was wounded in this battle.² The Allies did not follow up their victory, from disputes, apparently, about the division of the spoil. The Morea and Negropont lay at their mercy; but all retired home. The Turks, on the other hand, repaired their losses with incredible energy; the Allies became further disunited through the death of Pius V.; and in the summer of 1572, an Osmanli fleet of 250 sail again swept the Greek waters. Under these circumstances, the Venetians, assisted by the French ambassador at Constantinople, opened negotiations with the Porte for a peace, which was finally concluded March 7th, 1573. The Venetians surrendered Cyprus to the Turks, and consented to pay a double tribute for Zante, the only compensation for these sacrifices being the continuance of their commercial privileges in the Levant. This peace was the last important act of the reign of Sultan Selim II.; who died from the consequences of a debauch December 12th, 1574. Towards the end of his reign began the first disputes of the Porte with Russia, which were afterwards destined to assume so colossal an importance; and hence this period may be regarded as forming a sort of epoch in the history of the Turks in Europe.

¹ Lippomano, *Relatione di Napoli*, MS. sp. Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 168, f.

² Von Hammer has given a list of authorities for the battle of Lepanto, B. iii. S. 787. To these may be added Ex-

trait d'une lettre escripte par le Commandeur Romegas à Rome de la grande bataille des deux armées Chrestienne et Turquesque donnée le vii. jour d'Oct. 1571; in the Négociations, &c. t. iii. p. 185 sqq.

From the regions of eastern Europe and the struggles between Christian and Mahometan, we turn to the extreme west, and contests no less fierce among the Christians themselves, stimulated, too, by the same restless Pontiff, Pope Pius V. But while his efforts against the Turks were a European benefit, his policy as head of the Christian Church produced only privy conspiracies, civil wars, assassination and bloodshed.

We pass over the purely domestic events of Queen Elizabeth's reign as known to the English reader, reminding him only that at the period at which we are now arrived, her formidable rival, the Queen of Scots, was in her custody. In the eyes of the Pope and of the Catholic Powers, Mary Stuart was the incarnation of the orthodox principle as regarded the affairs of England, and her imprisonment was looked upon with rage and mortification. Of all these Powers, however, Pius V. was the most ardent against the English Queen: but the time was not yet ripe for an open enterprise against her, since the hands of Philip II., the only sovereign who could be expected to undertake it, were at this time sufficiently filled with the affairs of his own rebellious subjects in the Netherlands. There remained the course of exciting against Elizabeth domestic treason and rebellion, and into this Pius threw himself with ardour. The first plot, in 1569, of the Duke of Norfolk, a Protestant, to marry the Queen of Scots, does not appear to have included any traitorous design against Queen Elizabeth, whose sanction to the marriage was to have been sought; though the conduct of Norfolk in procuring the support of so many English nobles, including several Catholics, as well as that of the Kings of France and Spain, seems to have been designed to overawe Elizabeth and compel her consent. But the Catholic nobles who had entered into the scheme, and especially their leaders, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, had formed far more extensive and criminal designs. The aims of this party were to liberate the Queen of Scots by force, put down the established religion, and depose Elizabeth. Their schemes were actively promoted by Pius V., through Dr. Nicolas Morton, who had visited the northern counties of England in the spring of 1569, in the character of Apostolic penitentiary.¹ Espés, the Spanish ambassador, was also privy to the conspiracy; but though enthusiastic in Mary's cause, he dreaded to incur the responsibility of promoting it, and referred the conspirators to the Duke of Alva in the Nether-

¹ His functions seem to have been to impart to English Catholic priests, from the Pope, the faculties which they could

no longer receive from the bishops. Lingard, vol. iv. p. 205, note.

lands. After the discovery of Norfolk's scheme, and the imprisonment of that nobleman, Northumberland and Westmorland, finding themselves suspected, resolved to fly to arms. Accordingly they wrote to Pius V., stating their devotion to the See of Rome, soliciting pecuniary aid and the employment of the Pope's influence in procuring military assistance from the Duke of Alva. But the insurrection was premature. Alva had not time to succour the rebels, even had he been so inclined. At the approach of the Queen's forces the insurgents dispersed themselves, without striking a blow, and the two traitor earls escaped into Scotland. Exasperated at the failure of this conspiracy, Pius V. resolved to hurl against Elizabeth a bolt which he had been lately preparing. On the 25th of February, 1570, he published a bull excommunicating the Queen of England, and deposing her from her throne.¹ Alva sent some copies of the bull to the Spanish ambassador at London, and one Felton, a gentleman of substance, had the audacity to affix one to the Bishop of London's gates; for which act he paid the penalty of his life. Rome still claimed the use of such weapons, though now nearly obsolete, as her legitimate prerogative; but Pius meditated also to employ against Elizabeth the surer but hardly canonical method of assassination.²

The bull proved of no effect—a mere *brutum fulmen*. Elizabeth, however, was naturally annoyed at it, and requested, through the Emperor Maximilian, its revocation; but Pius refused.³ A fresh and more extensive conspiracy was concocted in 1571, in which the chief agents were the Bishop of Ross, the Spanish ambassador, and one Ridolfi, a Florentine merchant, whose extensive commerce served to screen his movements from suspicion. The scheme of the marriage between Mary and Norfolk was renewed, and the Duke, who, though dismissed from the Tower, was still in custody in his own house, found means to communicate with the Queen of Scots through one of his gentlemen and

¹ The bull is in Laderchii, *Ann. Eccl.* t. xxiv. p. 218, and in Camden, *Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 245 (ed. 1625). Pius also sent the defeated rebels 12,000 crowns.—Gabutius, *Vita Pii V.* p. 106 (ed. 1605).

² “Pensando Pio di soccorrere la reina di Scotia, di restituire la religione in Inghilterra, e di levare a un tempo la sentina di tanti mali (Elizabetha).”—Catena, p. 113. The meaning of *levare* here is illustrated by the Latin of another biographer, Gabutius: “Et illam malorum omnium sentinam seu, ut appellabat ipse, flagitio-

rum servam, de mediocollere.”—*Vita Pii V.* c. ix. p. 102.

³ Dr. Lingard (vol. vi. p. 226) seems to regard as a logical triumph the dilemma put by Pius in reply: Did Elizabeth deem the sentence valid or invalid? If valid, why did she not seek a reconciliation with the Holy See? If invalid, why did she wish it to be revoked? A good specimen of papist sophistry; the real grievance being, that though Elizabeth herself regarded it as invalid, many of her subjects, besides foreign enemies, were of a contrary opinion, and resolved to act accordingly.

the Bishop of Ross. Ridolfi, being furnished with credentials from Mary and Norfolk, proceeded into the Netherlands, and endeavoured to persuade Alva to send an army of 8,000 men and 25 guns, with a store of extra muskets and ammunition, either to Harwich or Portsmouth, where Norfolk would join with a force of 20,000 foot and 3,000 horse. Alva, however, who was at that time advocating a marriage between Queen Mary and Don John of Austria, conceived a contempt for Ridolfi as a weak-prating creature, and dismissed him with an evasive answer; in which the affair was referred to the Catholic king. Ridolfi next went to Rome, and had an interview with Pius V. The Pope entered warmly into the scheme, furnished Ridolfi with money and letters of recommendation to Philip II., urging that sovereign to embark in the plot, and stating that he himself was ready to forward it by selling the chalices of the churches, and even his own garments. The plan was to seize, and murder Elizabeth when proceeding to one of her residences in the country, in the month of August or September. Philip did not need much persuasion. The affair was to his taste. It involved a conspiracy and a murder, and being recommended by the Pope, he adopted it as the cause of God. He instructed Alva secretly to pursue the scheme, subject, however, to the Duke's final judgment; and appointed Vitelli, a distinguished Spanish officer, who had been employed in England in a diplomatic capacity, to command the expedition.¹ Alva proposed to the Spanish Court his own son instead of Vitelli, but this was refused.² Queen Elizabeth, however, received information of the plot from some unknown personage abroad.³ Norfolk's servants being arrested and racked, confessed their master's guilt. The Duke was again committed to the Tower, and a closer guard was placed over the Queen of Scots. The trial, condemnation, and execution of Norfolk we pass over as belonging to English history. Philip II. still clung to the scheme, even after it was exploded, and in December, 1571, Alva sent two Italian assassins into England to take, by poison or otherwise, the life of Queen Elizabeth, besides planning other attempts of the like kind.⁴

That the French government was concerned in Norfolk's plot, even so late as September, 1571, when La Mothe-Fénelon sup-

¹ Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe II.*, No. 1038, t. ii. p. 185.

² Catena, *Vita di Pio I.* p. 117.

³ Turner (*Mod. Hist. of Eng.* vol. iv. p. 231) conjectures from a passage in

Melvil's *Memoirs* that the information came from Catharine de' Medici.

⁴ *Corresp. de Charles IX. et Mondoucet*, in the *Comm. Roy. de l'Hist. (Belgium)* ap. Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii.

plied him with money, appears from Fénelon's correspondence, as well as from the confession of Barker, one of the agents in the plot.¹ The French share in the scheme was, however, totally unconnected with Spain, and does not appear to have gone further than the liberation of the Queen of Scots by means of her marriage with Norfolk, in order that the ancient relations between France and Scotland might be maintained, by the restoration of Mary to the Scotch throne.² The French Court was, indeed, at this time negotiating a marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, while Philip II. was doing all in his power to prevent it. Although engaged in secret plots against the English Queen, Philip sought, in his public negotiations, to gain her favour and alliance; he even consented that she should retain the money consigned to the Duke of Alva, which she had impounded, and to make compensation for the English merchandize which had been seized at Antwerp in retaliation;³ and he endeavoured to influence her mind against the match, through her own courtiers and ladies, to whom he gave presents and gratuities.⁴ But his surest card was the Duke of Anjou himself. That Prince was by no means desirous of the match. It had been chiefly concocted by Charles IX., who, jealous of the military reputation acquired by his brother in the civil wars, would have been glad to get rid of him at any price. When the marriage treaty had been nearly arranged, it ultimately went off on Anjou's insisting on a written promise that he should be secured in the free and public exercise of his religion.⁵ Nevertheless the alliance of England was still courted by France. It was necessary to the altered policy adopted, in appearance, at least, by the French Court, since the peace of St. Germain, as we must now proceed to explain.

After that peace, La Rochelle had become the head-quarters and, as it were, capital of the Hugonots, where the leaders of that party were gathered round Jeanne d'Albret and the Admiral Coligni. Massacres of the Hugonots were perpetrated early in 1571 by the Catholic population at Rouen, Orange, and Dieppe, and much negotiation ensued. Charles IX. as well as his mother seems at this time to have regarded the Spanish Court with suspicion and dislike.⁶ Hence the French Court was for a while disposed to conciliate the Hugonots; and, except as regarded the chancellorship, favoured all their views. The Protestants naturally

¹ See Fénelon, *Corresp. Diplôm.* t. iv. p. 226; Murdin, p. 91.

² Turner, *ibid.* vol. v. p. 256.

³ See the next chapter.

⁴ Fénelon, t. iv. p. 220.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 258, t. vii. p. 252.

⁶ See Walsingham's *Letters*, in Digges, *Compl. Ambassador*, p. 111, 122.

wished to see L'Hôpital restored to the custody of the seals, which, however, Catharine, in 1570, bestowed on Renè Birago, a Milanese, and creature of her own. On the other hand the Hugonots were authorized to hold a synod of the reformed churches at La Rochelle, to preside over which Beza came from Geneva; Charles IX. backed the application of Coligni and Louis of Nassau to the Grand Duke of Tuscany for a secret loan in support of the insurrection in the Netherlands; and the hand of Queen Elizabeth, a heretic Sovereign excommunicated and deposed by the Pope, was, as we have said, solicited for Henry of Anjou. The Court also seemed to show its sincerity by entertaining the project of a marriage between young Henry of Navarre and the King's third sister, Margaret; which indeed had been contemplated from their infancy, before the civil wars had broken out. Both were now about eighteen years of age, and Margaret had already begun her career of gallantry. Her heart was engaged to the young Duke Henry of Guise, to whom it is said she had even surrendered her person. In 1570, a marriage between them had nearly been arranged; but the King, as well as his mother and Anjou, denounced the audacious pretensions of Guise; and Charles ordered his brother, the Bastard of Angoulême, Grand Prior of the Order of Malta in France, to make away with him while on a hunting party. The Bastard failed from cowardice, not conscience, and Guise eluded the impending danger by marrying Catharine of Cleves.

In July, 1571, Count Louis of Nassau, who was at La Rochelle with the Hugonots, on whose side he had fought after his retirement from the Netherlands,¹ went to Paris, and had a secret interview with Charles IX., his mother, and the Montmorencis, in which he held out to the King the possession of the Netherlands, and the inheritance of the House of Burgundy, as the price of his help against Spain. Charles was struck with the tempting offer, but replied that it was too late to do anything this year against Spain. These negotiations transpired. Alava, the Spanish ambassador at the Court of France, threatened war; Catharine protested to Philip II. that Alava's information was false; and the Spanish King, who wished to avoid a rupture with France, superseded him.² The French Court then made advances to Coligni, who, always slow to form resolutions, long distrusted their professions. Jeanne d'Albret was not disinclined to the proposed marriage for her son: but resolved that immediately after its celebration he and his wife

¹ See the next chapter.

² Beza, *Réveille Matin*, p. 33.

should retire from Court. Jeanne trembled both for Henry's morals and his religion. At that period the Court of France was indeed a sink of iniquity and corruption, nothing less than an open brothel, the scene of murder, fornication, adultery, and incest.¹ Charles IX. and his brother Anjou, of opposite tempers, distinguished themselves by opposite crimes. Impetuous, and to appearance frank, though capable of the deepest dissimulation, Charles IX. possessed some brilliant qualities. He was expert in all the exercises of a cavalier, understood music, had a good voice, spoke well, and was even a tolerable poet. In November, 1570, he had espoused, at Mézières, Elizabeth, the second daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, and, considering the manners of the day, appears to have been tolerably faithful to his marriage vow. He had little sense of religion, and swore and blasphemed like a trooper. He was fond of violent bodily exercises, of which his constitution seemed to stand in need, and his chief recreation was hunting, which he followed with a sort of fury, killing numberless horses and dogs. When engaged in this sport he displayed a frantic love of blood; he would tear out with his own hand the viscera of the wounded animals, and delighted in cutting the throats of the asses and mules which he met with on his road.² Henry of Anjou, on the other hand, though cruel, was effeminate, and shunned all active sports. Sunk at once in the basest superstition and the most unbridled licentiousness, he is said to have entertained an incestuous passion for his sister Margaret.³ The lawless disorder in which the Court was plunged at this period may be illustrated by a single anecdote. In the spring of 1572, the King and the Duke of Anjou, brotherly only in their orgies, having dined with Nantouillet, the *Prévôt des Marchands*,⁴ at Paris, directed their people, when the banquet was finished, to pack up and carry away all the silver plate, and other property to the value of 50,000 livres; and when Nantouillet took some steps in the Parliament of Paris to recover his property, Charles told the President of that assembly that he had better be quiet, as the robbery had been committed by persons above the law!⁵

¹ See Jeanne d'Albret's letter to her son from Blois, March 8th, 1572, where among other things she says: "Ce ne sont pas les hommes ici qui prient les femmes, ce sont les femmes qui prient les hommes; si vous y étiez vous n'en échapperiez jamais sans une grande grâce de Dieu." *Le Laboureur, Add. à Castelnau*, t. i. p. 860 (ed. Brussels, 1731).

² Papyre Masson, *Vie de Charles IX.*

(*Archives Curieuses*, t. viii. p. 342, 1^{ère} Sér.).

³ Gomberville, *Mém. de Nevers*, t. i. p. 90.

⁴ Answering nearly to the office of an English mayor or Scottish provost.

⁵ L'Estoile, p. 28. While detained at Court, Henry of Navarre, it must be owned, sometimes shared in these shameful disorders. He was regarded by his

The marriage treaty between Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois was finally arranged in April, 1572. Pope Pius V. sent his nephew Cardinal Alessandrino into France to 'break it off, if possible ; and, though the Legate did not succeed, he received from the French Court assurances which he considered satisfactory, and which he promised to communicate by word of mouth on his return to Rome. Aldobrandini, afterwards Pope Clement VIII., who was in the suite of Alessandrino as auditor, took down the King's words ; which were : " Monsieur le Cardinal, what you tell me is all very good, and I thank you and the Pope for it. If I had any other method of taking vengeance on my enemies, I would not make this marriage ; but really this is the only means I have." ¹ Jeanne d'Albret, however, was not destined to see the marriage celebrated. She died at Paris on the 10th of the following June, after a short illness of five days. Some grave historians have attributed her death to poison, but it appears to have been occasioned by disease of the lungs. Her son Henry now assumed the title of King of Navarre.

Coligni had been induced to come to Court in September, 1571, while Jeanne d'Albret still thought it prudent to negotiate the marriage from within the walls of La Rochelle. Many changes had now taken place in the domestic life of Coligni. While at La Rochelle, being a widower, he had contracted a new marriage with Jacqueline d'Entremont, a great Savoyard lady and heiress ; who, fascinated with the Admiral's character, and determined, as she said, to be the Marcia of France, had proceeded to La Rochelle with the design of espousing him, in spite of the threats of the Duke of Savoy to confiscate all her estates. The Châtillons seem to have possessed an aptitude to inspire such passions. D'Anselot had married a lady of Lorraine under very similar circumstances, and had carried her off from Nanci under the very eyes of the Guises, who, however, seized upon her estates. But the gallant Colonel of the French infantry had died in 1569 ; and the Admiral's other brother, the ex-Cardinal Odet had expired in England this very year, beloved and esteemed by all for his amiable qualities and his love of learning. Both were thought to have been poisoned. These circumstances were not calculated to inspire the Admiral with confidence ; but at length, at the instance of Marshal Montmorenci, and having received the royal permission

brothers-in-law as a *bon diable*, and altogether insignificant.

¹ *Lettres, &c.*, del. Sr. Cl. Alessandrino, March 6th, 1572. MS. in Corsini Library,

ap. Ranke, *Franz Gesch.* B. i. S. 325. Cf. *Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat*, t. ii. p. 100 (ed. Paris, 1698).

to surround himself with a guard of fifty gentlemen, Coligni went to Court, in the hope of frustrating the faction of the Guises, and bringing about a war with their patron and protector, the King of Spain.

The Admiral's reception at Blois was of the warmest kind. Charles IX. presented him with 100,000 livres as a wedding gift, interceded with Emmanuel Philibert in favour of his wife, granted him for a year the enjoyment of the ecclesiastical revenues of his brother, the deceased Cardinal, and loaded with favours his son-in-law Téligni and the gentlemen of his suite. But more than by all these liberalities, Coligni was attached by the confidence apparently reposed in him by the King. The Admiral now seemed to be the principal counsellor of the French Crown, and in this capacity he developed the views of a true patriot and enlightened statesman, by endeavouring to unite the arms prepared for civil war in striking a blow against the power of Spain, by organizing the French marine, and founding a colonial dominion. Schemes of colonization, which involved an attack upon the Spanish possessions, had long occupied the mind of Coligni. In 1555 he had endeavoured to found a colony in Brazil; in 1562 and 1564 he had sent expeditions to Florida, a region hitherto unoccupied by Europeans; and while at La Rochelle, he had despatched a small squadron to reconnoitre the Antilles, and to concert the means of attack upon those islands. But, of all his views, those which regarded the Netherlands were the most important and the most feasible: namely, to extend the French frontier to the mouth of the Schelde, by re-uniting Flanders to the Crown, and to make Brabant, Holland, and Zealand independent of the Spanish King under the protectorate of the Nassaus. Never before had France had so favourable an opportunity for accomplishing that darling project as in the spring of 1572, after Briel had been seized by the insurgents, and the towns of Zealand and Holland were revolting, one after another, from the Spanish Crown.¹

The Admiral's views were supported by the party called the *Politiques*, which steered between the Court and the Hugonots. Its leaders were the Duke of Alençon and the Montmorenci family, whose chief members were the Marshal Duke of Montmorenci, the Marshal Count of Damville, and the Seigneurs of Méru and of Thoré. The French Court entertained at this time some ambitious schemes; it was seeking to establish a

¹ See next chapter.

sort of protectorate over the Protestant Princes of Germany ; it was turning its views towards the Crown of Poland, and even towards the Empire on the death of Maximilian ; and Charles had a lingering notion of asserting the claims of his ancestors to Milan and Naples. That King, as we have said, possessed considerable ardour, and it seems probable enough that he was occasionally dazzled by the Admiral's views ; an assumption which may serve to explain some of the anomalies observable in Charles's conduct at this period. In April, 1572, the French agent in the Netherlands told the Duke of Alva, that, unless he abrogated the obnoxious taxes which he had imposed, his master would break with Spain ;¹ and the negotiations with Elizabeth were continued, whose friendship was necessary to France in case of such a rupture. Catharine's youngest son, the Duke of Alençon, though only eighteen years of age, and twenty-one years younger than Elizabeth, was substituted for the Duke of Anjou as a suitor to the English Queen ; and a treaty of alliance between France and England was signed April 22nd, 1572.² Even the Turks were exhorting Charles to take advantage of the troubles in the Netherlands and to seize upon those rich provinces ;³ for the French Court, instead of joining the HOLY LEAGUE against Selim, as they were earnestly pressed to do by the Pope, had sent an ambassador to the Porte. Count Louis of Nassau had had secret interviews at Blamont with the Dukes of Anjou and Alençon ; and had received 100,000 livres as an earnest of the intentions of France ; and on Louis's arrival in Picardy early in May, he found several thousand French Hugonots, under Genlis, assembling for his assistance, not merely by permission of Charles IX., but even paid with his money. But this was the extent of the French policy in this direction, which, even if it had been sincere up to this time, now took an opposite turn. The movements of Genlis were betrayed to the Duke of Alva by some person at the French Court ; and the unfortunate men were cut to pieces.

The policy even of the Queen-Mother at this important crisis seems to have been variable and uncertain. Like all cunning yet irresolute persons, she was always providing some loophole for escape ; she would have two strings to her bow, and while she was negotiating with the Protestants she had not broken with the

¹ Letter of Morillon to Granvella, April 15th, 1572, ap. Michelet, *La Ligue*, p. 474, note.

² Camden, B. ii. p. 307 (ed. 1625) ;

Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 211.

³ Charrière, *Négociations*, &c. t. iii. p. 332.

Guises. It having been discovered, from an intercepted letter of the Countess of Northumberland, that towards the close of 1571 the Duke of Guise had spent two months with Alva in the Netherlands, Sir T. Smith mentioned this fact to Catharine in March, 1572; observing that it appeared, from the letter of the Countess, that the House of Guise would punctually follow all the directions of Spain; whereupon Catharine falsely denied that Guise had been with Alva, and added that the Court certainly knew where Guise was, since they communicated with him every four days.¹

It was some relief to the French Court, that Pius V. died during the course of these negotiations (May 1st, 1572). They expected to find less difficulty with his successor, Cardinal Buoncompagni, who assumed the title of Gregory XIII. The son of a Bolognese jurist, Buoncompagni, from his secular education and cheerful temper, resembled the fourth, rather than the fifth, Pius, and, indeed, he employed the ministers of the former Pontiff. Before entering the Church Gregory XIII. had had a son born out of wedlock, whom he now made Commandant of St. Angelo and Gonfalonier of Rome. Gregory's very lack of monasticism, however, threw him into the hands of Jesuits, whom Pius V., a Dominican, had kept at arm's length. Gregory bought and cleared a whole quarter of Rome to erect for that Society the immense *Gesù*, or Jesuit's College, containing twenty lecture-rooms, and as many chambers as there are days in the year. This institution, called the "Seminary of all Nations," was opened with twenty-five discourses in twenty-five different tongues. The Jesuits worked upon Gregory through his desire to improve Catholic education, and his affection for his son, whom they proposed to make King of Ireland; and we shall see in the sequel that he became the willing instrument of all their machinations.

After the death of Pius V., the Cardinal of Lorraine, who was of a cowardly disposition, and dreaded the menacing aspect of affairs in France, went to Rome to attend the Conclave, and to be out of harm's way. After his departure, the Dukes of Guise and Aumale re-appeared at Court, where they were favourably received, and were induced to sign a formulary of reconciliation with Coligni, upon his renewing the declaration which he had before made, that he had not participated in the murder of Guise's father. The Admiral seemed to enjoy the whole confidence of the King, and

¹ The letter is in Murdin, p. 193.

in return for the marks of affection lavished on him by Charles, agreed that the cautionary towns made over to the Hugonots should be surrendered some months before the stipulated time. Fortunately for that party, however, the arrangement was not carried into effect, and they had thus the means of renewing the war after the massacre of St. Bartholomew. On the defeat and capture of Genlis (July 19th) before mentioned, the whole aspect of affairs seemed to change at the French Court;¹ and after an interview with his mother at Montpipeau, early in August, Charles IX. appears to have abandoned his anti-Spanish policy.² He retained, however, or pretended to retain, his friendship for Coligni; and on the Admiral's return from a visit to Châtillon, seemed still bent on open war with Spain; he even instructed La Mothe-Fénelon, his ambassador at London, to urge Elizabeth to declare herself openly against that country, and to assist, by a diversion in Zealand, the attempt of the Prince of Orange to relieve Mons.³

The marriage of Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois, which, from the horrible massacre by which it was followed, has been called *les noces vermeilles*, or the blood-red wedding, was now about to take place. From the kinship between the parties a Papal dispensation was required, which was refused by Pope Gregory XIII., except on four conditions: namely, that the King of Navarre should, in the presence of Charles IX., make a secret profession of the Catholic faith; that the dispensation should be solicited by Henry himself; that he should restore to the clergy of Navarre their possessions and benefices; and that he should espouse Margaret with all the customary rites of the Roman Catholic Church. Such conditions were equivalent to a refusal, and Charles IX. wrote to his ambassador at Rome, instructing him to press the Pope to yield; to urge, among other reasons, that the marriage was *for the interests of religion*; and if the Pope should prove inexorable the ambassador was to signify to him his master's determination to proceed.⁴ As Gregory would not yield, Charles induced the Cardinal of Bourbon, a poor weak creature, to perform the marriage, by representing to him that a dispensa-

¹ In Genlis' baggage the Spaniards found a letter of Charles IX. to Count Louis, dated April 27th, 1572, promising to use all the means he had to rescue the Netherlands from the oppression under which they groaned. Alva's letter to Cayas, July 19th, 1572, in Gachard, *Corr. Philippe II.* t. ii. p. 269.

² Walsingham's *Letter*, August 10th, in Digges, p. 231; Cf. *Mémoires de Tavaunes*, t. iii. p. 292.

³ *Letter of Charles X. in Corr. de la Mothe-Fénelon*, t. vii. p. 314.

⁴ This letter was first published by M. L. Paris, in the *Cabinet Historique*, 5^{ème} livraison, September, 1856.

tion would arrive by the next courier ; and Monday, August 18th, was fixed for the ceremony. On the previous Sunday all the pulpits of Paris resounded with incendiary sermons. The marriage was celebrated on a scaffold erected before the grand entrance to the cathedral of Notre-Dame, according to a formula agreed upon ; after which the bride and the Catholic part of the Court heard Mass in the cathedral, while the bridegroom retired into the *cour de l'évêché*. It is said that Margaret refused to pronounce her consent, and that Charles IX. compelled her to give seeming token of it by forcibly bowing her head.

On the very day of the marriage Charles IX. wrote to Mandelot, the Governor of Lyon, ordering him not to permit any one unprovided with a royal passport to proceed into Italy within six days from that date. The only probable motive that can be assigned for such an order is, that the Court did not wish the Pope to hear of the marriage till he should receive at the same time other news which might console him for so flagrant a contempt of his authority. The first four days of the week were to be devoted to fêtes in honour of the marriage. On the very day after it, one Maurevert was lying in wait for Coligni with a loaded arquebus, at the house of M. de Pille de Villemur, a former tutor of the Duke of Guise, situated in the cloister of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. Catharine and the Duke of Anjou had arranged his murder with the Guises ; they communicated with the Duchess of Nemours, widow of Francis, the murdered Duke of Guise, and declared that they committed to her hands the vengeance she had so long desired to wreak on Coligni, the supposed assassin of her first husband. At this news the young Duke Henry of Guise was furious with joy, and pressed his mother to shoot the Admiral with her own hand ;¹ but Maurevert was chosen for the deed, a practised assassin, who had once before attempted the Admiral's life. On the following Friday, August 22nd, as Coligni was slowly walking home from the Louvre, and employed in reading a *requête*, Maurevert fired at him from a grated window of a house in which he was posted. Two balls took effect, one of them carrying away the fore-finger of the Admiral's right hand, the other entering his left shoulder. Coligni pointed with his mutilated hand to the house whence the shot was fired ; it was immediately searched, but the assassin had escaped by a back door. Charles IX. ordered an inquiry to be made into the matter, and caused the Admiral to be surrounded with Hugonots,

¹ Letter of the Nuncio Salviati, ap. Mackintosh, *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. App. H.

in order, as he pretended, to his security. In the afternoon, at the request of Coligni, Charles paid him a visit, accompanied by his mother and the Duke of Anjou. The Admiral, if the anonymous authority on which the anecdote is related may be trusted, spoke to the King earnestly and apart, advising him not to let his mother and brother have so much control over him; till Catharine, suspicious of what was passing, drew Charles away.¹ From this moment the fate of Coligni, it is said, was sealed. The King, however, seemed so determined to punish the attempt on the Admiral's life, that the Duke of Guise and Aumale requested and obtained permission to leave Paris; but they did not avail themselves of it. Large troops of Hugonots armed with cuirasses passed and repassed before their hotel, whose clamours for justice sounded very like threats.

No time was to be lost. On the afternoon of Saturday, August 23rd, Catharine and the Duke of Anjou sent for their trusty counsellors the Italians, Gondi, Count de Retz, the Keeper Birago, Louis de Gonzaga Duke of Nevers, together with Marshal de Tavannes. These six, it is said, having determined on the massacre of the Hugonots, proceeded together to the Louvre to work on the King's fears and extort his consent to it. A story was invented of a great Hugonot conspiracy to avenge the attempt on Coligni's life by seizing the King and royal family, and putting to death the Duke of Guise and other Catholic leaders; and it was affirmed that Coligni had sent for 6,000 German cavalry, and 10,000 foot from Switzerland. The only foundation for these charges seems to have been Coligni's having said to the Queen in one of the discussions in the council: "Madam, the King now shuns a war which promises him advantage; God forbid that another break out which he may not be able to avoid." Catharine chose to interpret these words as a threat, though they do not appear to have been so meant.² Catharine also urged upon the King that the Catholics on their side were rising; that Paris was already armed; the King must choose one of two parties, or fall between them. To these alarming representations, it is said, was added an appeal to filial and fraternal tenderness. The Hugonots were demanding vengeance on the Guises; but Charles could not sacrifice them without also sacrificing his mother and his brother; for Catharine avowed it was she and Anjou who had

¹ *Discours du Roi Henri III. in the Mémoires d'Etat de Villeroy*, t. ii. p. 68. This *Discours* professes to have been dictated to a "personnage que je ne puis

nommer." Cf. Mathieu, *Hist. de France*, ch. 9; Tatannes, *Mémoires*, ch. 27.

² Ranke, *Fr. Gesch.* B. i. S. 320.

instigated the attempt on Coligni, though only with the view of preserving the King himself. Charles is related to have resisted the proposal more than an hour, till Catharine and Anjou, fearing to be discovered, asked leave to retire from Court.¹

It is said that Catharine at first only demanded the life of the Admiral and five or six others—*les têtes de saumon*, as Alva called them; but that the King, in the ungovernable intensity of his alarm, insisted on a general slaughter. In the evening of that accursed day the Court sent for the Dukes of Guise, Aumale, and Montpensier, and the Bastard of Angoulême, and distributed among them the direction of the massacre. To Guise, as the capital enemy of Coligni, was assigned the quarter of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, in which the Admiral resided. A few heads were excepted from the general doom, among which the chief were the young King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé; also the Montmorencis, whom Guise wished to include as his ancient enemies, and whose orthodoxy was suspected, as being allied with the Châtillons. But though three of the brothers were at Court, Marshal Montmorenci, the head of the family, was absent, and it was feared that he would be driven by the murder of his brothers to take a desperate vengeance. Davila² blames this exception, as having destroyed the fruits of a measure which he regarded as a masterpiece of audacity and wisdom.

At midnight, or rather in the early morning of Sunday, August 24th, St. Bartholomew's Day, Catharine descended to the King's apartment in the Louvre, where the Duke of Anjou had already assembled Guise, Nevers, Birago, Tavannes, and Retz. Everything had been prepared for the massacre. The regiment of guards, recalled to Paris by the advice of Coligni himself, was posted along the river and around the house of the Admiral; the ex-Provost Marcel had assembled at the Hôtel de Ville the most fanatical leaders of the Catholic brotherhoods, who were stimulated by priests and monks. At the sound of the bell of the Palais de Justice, which was to toll the knell of the Hugonots at three in the morning, all "good Catholics" were to begin the work of blood. They would recognize one another by a white handkerchief round the left arm and a white cross in their hats. It was well known that a strong fanatical party might be relied on; as a plan had been long agitated among the Catholic *confréries* or associations to put themselves under trusty leaders, to extirpate the

¹ *Relat.* di Cavalli, ap. Ranke, *Fr. Gesch.* B. i. S. 330.

² *Lib.* v. t. ii. p. 122 (ed. Milan, 1807).

Hugonots, and make the King feel his error in giving them his confidence.¹ While expecting the fatal signal fear seized that royal party, the rulers of a great nation, assembled like midnight murderers to imbrue their hands in the blood of some of their worthiest subjects. At the last hour the King seemed to repent the step he had taken; Catharine, herself pale and trembling, was exhorting him to take courage, when suddenly the report of a pistol broke the silence of the night. It wanted more than an hour to three o'clock, but Catharine sent a hasty message to sound the bell of the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, which was the nearest, and which was answered by that of the Palais. At this signal the streets were suddenly filled with soldiers, lights appeared at all the windows, from almost every door issued armed men, wearing the appointed badges and shouting furiously, *Vive Dieu et le Roi!* The dull and solemn reverberation of the bells was succeeded by an indescribable tumult,—the shouts of murder and the cries of despair. The "Paris Matins" had begun.

We leave the details of that bloody night and fix our eyes on a single scene—the death of Coligni. The Admiral was awake, attended by his surgeon and a Calvinist minister named Merlin. At the first noise he thought it was some riot excited by the Guises; but when he heard the soldiers breaking into his house, and the reports of their arquebuses levelled against his servants, the truth stared him in the face. He rose from his bed, bade Merlin pray for him, and commended his soul to God. At this moment, Cornaton, one of his household, entered his apartment, exclaiming, "Monseigneur, it is God who calls us!" "I have long been prepared for death," replied the Admiral; "you and the rest had better fly." All obeyed except a German, who refused to quit him. Merlin and Cornaton escaped, but most of his people were massacred in attempting to save themselves by the roof of the house. Meanwhile, Cosseins, a captain of the guard, broke open the chamber door and rushed in, followed by a German named Besme, and Sarlabous, a Gascon captain and renegade Hugonot. "Arn't you the Admiral?" cried Besme. "I am," replied Coligni; "you should respect, young man, my years and my infirmities: but do your pleasure, you will not much shorten my life." As he uttered these words, Besme plunged a javelin into his breast,² and the others fell upon him and

¹ Nazzaret, *Umori di Francia*, MS. ap. Ranke, *Franz. Gesch.* B. i. S. 307.

² The Guises rewarded Besme by marrying him to a natural daughter of the

Cardinal of Lorraine. Amelot de la Houssaye, *Mém. Historiques*, &c., t. ii. p. 104 (ed. 1722).

pierced him with innumerable wounds. The Duke of Guise, who was in the court-yard with his uncle Anne and the Bastard of Angoulême, now called out, "Besme, have you finished?" "Yes." "Then fling him out of window; let us see him!" The body of the murdered admiral fell heavily on the pavement. The bastard of Henry II. wiped the blood from the face, and recognizing the features of Coligni, gave the venerable head a kick. The example was imitated by Guise. The head was then cut off by an Italian servant of the Duke of Nevers, to be sent to the Cardinal of Lorraine, at Rome,¹ and the mutilated trunk was dragged by the populace through the streets. It is said that as soon as it got light the King placed himself at a window of the Louvre, and shot, with a large arquebus, at everybody he could descry in the Faubourg St. Germain, but without effect, as the piece would not carry so far; while at the same time he kept crying, "Kill! kill!" Such a hunting party he had never had before.

In Paris the massacre lasted two days and nights. Many seized the occasion to get rid of their private enemies. Among the victims of this description was the illustrious Ramus, or La Ramée, the zealous reformer of the University of Paris. Ramus was sought out and delivered to paid assassins by Charpentier, a colleague whom he had often convicted of ignorance, and who had bought a chair in the College of France to lecture on the Greek mathematicians, though he openly avowed that he neither knew Greek nor mathematics.² The bloody example of Paris was followed, in consequence of secret verbal orders from the Court,³ by many provincial towns, beginning with Meaux, August 25th, and ending with Bordeaux, October 3rd. Thus, as Michelet remarks, the St. Bartholomew was not a *day* but a *season*. The towns where most Protestants were murdered were Lyon, Rouen, Bordeaux, Castres, Toulouse, Meaux, Orleans, Angers, and Bourges. Lyon numbered 800 victims. The massacres became a matter of business. Suitors at law killed their adversaries; candidates for places made vacancies by murdering the occupants; heirs secured possession by means of a bullet or two inches of steel. The offices of murdered

¹ Letter of Charles IX. to Mandelot, No. xviii. ap. Schlosser, B. xiii. S. 60.

² Mathematics were regarded by bigots as a dangerous study. Charpentier used to say, "Les mathématiques sont une science grossière, une boue, une fange, où un porc seul (comme Ramus) peut aimer

à se vautrer."—Michelet, *Guerres de Rel.* p. 458; Cf. Ranke, *Franz. Gesch.* B. i. S. 322.

³ Correspondence of Charles and Mandelot, ap. Schlosser, *loc. cit.*; Mackintosh, *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. App. E.; Thuanus, lib. iii.; Walsingham, *Letter to Burleigh*, October 8th, Digges, p. 269.

Hugonots were sold at the Louvre. The hangmen behaved admirably: they refused to act, saying that their vocation was only to kill in pursuance of justice; and the soldiers' also, at Lyon and elsewhere, declared that they would use their arms only in open warfare. The whole number of victims has been very variously estimated at from 20,000 to 100,000: the lower number is probably nearest the truth. They belonged chiefly to the higher and richer classes. Charles IX. went to the Hôtel de Ville to see Coligni burnt in effigy; he also paid a visit to Mont-faucon, where the real mutilated body was hung on a gibbet; and, with an excess of brutality, the Admiral's two youthful sons were dragged to the same disgusting spectacle.¹

Whether the St. Bartholomew was premeditated, or whether it was a sudden act forced upon the French Court by the ill-success of the attempt on Coligni's life, is still a disputed point. Recent historians, and especially those of France, seem, for the most part disinclined to aggravate the guilt of so repulsive a deed, by ascribing it to premeditation; and indeed the long train of cold-blooded and complicated treachery necessary to carry it out, is, to our modern notions, almost incredible. But, in order to gain the proper point of view, we must in imagination carry ourselves three centuries back, to a period when the work of Machiavelli formed the text-book of Princes; when almost any crime was deemed venial that served a policy supposed to be salutary; when assassination was a method practised by the greatest Sovereigns, and sometimes sanctioned, nay, even employed, by the reputed Vicar himself of Christ upon earth. From this point of view we shall adduce a few considerations which have led us to think that the most monstrous crime which disfigures the annals of the sixteenth century was the result of the most artful dissimulation.

Those who maintain that the massacre was a sudden, unpremeditated act, rely chiefly on the evidence of three contemporary writers, and on the improbability which, as they affirm, attends the contrary hypothesis. The three witnesses are, Tavannes and Margaret of Valois, in their Memoirs, and the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III., in a paper which he is said to have dictated to some unknown person at Cracow, when he was King of Poland; and the substance of their testimony is, that the massacre was first resolved on by the Court, as a measure of self-defence, after Coligni had been wounded. Waiving the objections, that

¹ Michelet, *Guerres de Rel.* p. 479.

the Memoirs of Tavannes are not the work of the Marshal, but were written many years after by his son, who, at the time of the St. Bartholomew, was only seventeen years of age; that Margaret, by her own confession, knew nothing of the deed before its perpetration, and afterwards, of course, only so much as the actors in it chose to tell her; and that the authenticity of the paper ascribed to the Duke of Anjou is viewed with the gravest doubt by the best historical critics; we allege simply the character of the witnesses as a ground for rejecting their evidence. It comes from the very conclave by which the massacre was ordered. Could such witnesses cover with infamy the King, their kinsman, or their master, and themselves also as his counsellors and advisers, by acknowledging that the massacre was only the last act of a series of the basest dissimulation and treachery? Could they belie the version published by the Court itself of the origin of the massacre? These considerations alone might induce us to pause before accepting a story which runs counter to the statements of every contemporary historian, Catholic as well as Protestant, who must have known, yet rejected, the account put forth by the Court. But further, we shall oppose to the story of these courtiers evidence just as direct and infinitely less liable to suspicion, as coming from persons who had no interest in concealing the truth.

Salviati, who was at that time the Papal Nuncio in France, was also told, and appears to have believed, the statement circulated by the Court; that, had the Admiral been killed outright, the massacre would never have taken place.¹ It appears, however, from Salviati's correspondence, that the Court of Rome were better informed in the matter than their Nuncio, and refused to believe this account; in adopting which, indeed, Salviati, on his own showing, must have been not a little credulous. He had heard with his own ears statements which might have led him to a very different conclusion; for in his letter, written on the day of the massacre, he remarks, that the putting to death of the Admiral and so many other brave men *agreed with what the Court had told him formerly at Blois*, when treating about the marriage of Henry of Navarre.²

Charles IX., as we have already related,³ had also led the

¹ Letter of Salviati, ap. Mackintosh, *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. App. K.

² "Adesso che hanno fatto morire l'Amiraglio, con tanti altri huomini di valore, conforme a ragionamenti altre volte

havuto con esso meco, essendo a Blès, e trattando del parentado di Navarra," &c. — *Ibid.* App. G.

³ Above, p. 322.

Legate Alessandrino to expect the same result; and Alessandrino, with more sagacity than Salviati, connected the massacre with the promise; for when the tidings of it arrived at Rome he exclaimed, "God be thanked! the King of France has kept his word."¹ Now this anecdote rests on the most unexceptionable authority. It is told by the Cardinal d'Ossat, a man of the highest character, in an official despatch to the French minister, written when he was at Rome negotiating for the divorce of Henry IV., and consequently not with the remotest view of supporting or refuting any speculative historical question whatever, but strictly as a matter of business. He heard it from the lips of no less a personage than Pope Clement VIII., who had been auditor of the Legate Alessandrino in France, had written down the French King's words with his own hand, and stated that the paper might still be found among those of the Legate. Clement did not merely relate this anecdote to Cardinal d'Ossat, he also mentioned it in full Consistory, as one of the grounds for forming a judgment in the matter of Henry's divorce. Yet, strange to say! Clement's testimony on this occasion has been impugned by a Roman Catholic priest, who has accused him, in one of the most weighty functions of his office, of having made this statement without having satisfied himself of its accuracy.² There is, however, ample confirmation, were it needed, of the soundness of Clement's memory on this occasion. Catena, who had been secretary of Alessandrino during his legateship, gives the words of Charles IX. almost literally as the auditor, but with a still more precise addition. The King, he says, subjoined, "I wish either to punish these villains and felons, and have them cut to pieces, or to reign no longer."³ The anecdote is also confirmed by Capilupi, a gentleman belonging to the Cardinal of Lorraine, who published an account of the circumstances attending the massacre only a few weeks after its perpetration, under the title of *Lo Stratagemma*, which was translated into French, and is published in the *Archives Curieuses*. This evidence seems irresistible. It may be objected, indeed, that it all comes from Rome, and that the Cardinals and prelates had agreed to be in

"Ajouta S. S. que lorsque la nouvelle de la Barthélemi vint à Rome, le dit Cardinal Alexandrin dit, 'Loué soit Dieu, le roi de France m'a tenu promesse.'—*Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat, loc. cit.*

¹ Dr. Lingard, *l'indication*, p. 59.

² "Rendete certo Pio, me non per altro effetto volere concludere questo

matrimonio col Navara, che per prender vendetta de' nemici di Dio, e per gastigar tanti rebelli, si come il fine dimostrerà.' . . . Et soggiugnendo, 'O io voglio punir questi malvagi et felloni, facendogli tagliar tutti a pezzi, o non esser Ré.'—*Vita di Pio V.* p. 197 (ed. Roma, 1587).

one story; but it may be further confirmed from quite another source. St. Goard, the French ambassador at Madrid, in a letter to Charles IX., in which he gives an account of the manner in which Philip II. received the news of the massacre, says, that he was loud in the praise "*of so long a dissimulation.*" St. Goard, it appears, had often assured the Spanish King of the plot that was hatching in France against the Hugonots; but Philip was incredulous; and St. Goard now called upon him never henceforth to doubt anything that the ambassador of Charles might tell him."¹

To any candid mind, however, the evidence of Cardinal d'Ossat alone is amply sufficient, nor is it controverted by M. Martin in his history of France, although he is a strenuous advocate against premeditation; but he seeks to evade it by suggesting that Charles IX., who he thinks would at that time rather have deceived the Pope than Coligni, made use of a *double entendre*, and by "enemies" meant, not the Hugonots, but the Spaniards. This ground, however, is completely cut away by the despatch of Salviati quoted above, which shows that the Hugonots were the contemplated enemies. To believe, moreover, that Charles was sincere in his professions of friendship to the Hugonots, demands a very large share of credulity, even in reasoning from constructive or circumstantial evidence; and this leads us to the second part of the case, or that of probability.

What are the facts? If Charles was sincere in his policy of conquering the Spaniards through the Hugonots, he abandoned it at the moment when it promised to be successful. But he had never heartily embraced it. The French soldiers whom he permitted to go into the Netherlands in support of the cause were all Hugonots; they were betrayed to Alva by secret information from the French Court, and cut to pieces; thus in reality forming part of the massacre. The preparations at sea show, perhaps, even still more strongly the *animus* of the French Court. The fleet, whose destination was pretended to be Flushing, was commanded by the most virulent enemies of the Reformation; among them was La Garde, notorious by the massacres of Mérindol and

¹ "Premièrement louant la résolution prise et la longue dissimulation de si grande entreprise, n'estant tout le monde ensemble capable de la pouvoir comprendre, l'aient mise si à propos, et contre toutes apparences et espérances." And further on: "Que si par le passé il (Philippe) avait pensé que je traitasse avec

peu de vérité, que de cette heure il était obligé d'en faire pénitence, et me donner pour l'advenir telle foy et crédit, qu'il ne falloit revoquer en doute chose que je disse de la part de vôtre Majesté."—Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives de la Maison de Nassau*, Suppl. t. ix. p. 126*.

Cabrières ; insomuch, that the magistrates of La Rochelle wrote to Coligni to communicate their suspicions that the fleet was destined against that town instead of Flushing.¹ The chief arguments against premeditation, drawn from a constructive probability, are : that it is incredible the King should have professed for so long a time a false friendship for Coligni, or that the Admiral should have been deceived by it ; that it is impossible but Anjou and Tavannes should have been acquainted with Charles's hypocrisy ; that Charles's visit to the wounded Admiral was inconsistent with guilt, and that he thereby exposed himself to imminent danger from the Hugonots ; that Catharine's jealousy of the Admiral's influence with the King shows that the latter must have been in earnest ; that if a general massacre had been meditated it was absurd to attack Coligni first, which would only serve to put the Hugonots on their guard, and perhaps occasion their flight from Paris ; and that there appears to be no reason why the attempt upon him should have been so long deferred.²

To these objections it may be replied : that the length of Charles IX.'s hypocrisy depended on his powers of dissimulation, which, according to the evidence of a contemporary writer,³ were very considerable ; and the insincerity of his character is shown by the falsehoods which he told after the massacre. That Coligni should have been deceived by his professions, shows only that he was of a nobler and more open nature than the King ; in fact, however, he was not altogether without suspicion ; but he preferred the interests of his country to his own life, and he declared that " he would rather that his corpse should be dragged through the streets of Paris, than that the civil war should be renewed."⁴ If Anjou and Tavannes were acquainted with Charles's hypocrisy, it was not for them to tell it. We have already touched on this point ; but, in fact, Charles himself, as we have said, seems to have been occasionally carried away with the Admiral's magnificent plans, though in the long run the treacherous part of his character prevailed. That the King should have visited the wounded Admiral does not prove him innocent, or the same fact

¹ See Martin, t. ix. p. 304, note.

² See Lingard, *l'indication*, p. 14 seq.

³ Papyre Masson, in his *Vie de Charles IX.*, printed in the *Archives Curieuses*, t. vii.

⁴ Thuanus, lib. lii. ap. Martin, t. ix. p. 304. Martin adds : " Coligni ne fermait donc pas entièrement les yeux sur le

danger ; mais les caresses du roi lui avaient inspiré une affection et une confiance qui percent le cœur. Il semblait au vieux soldat que l'heureux naturel de Charles IX. surmontait peu à peu les vices reçus du dehors, que le sang de France parlait plus haut que les leçons des Birague et des Gondi."

would also prove Catharine and Anjou innocent, who accompanied him ; and who, by Dr. Lingard's showing, were the authors of Coligni's assassination ; nor was there any danger from the Hugonots, who believed the assassin to have been hired, not by the Court, but by the Guises. Catharine's jealousy of the Admiral has doubtless been exaggerated in order to make out a plausible story ; and here again it might be justified by the circumstance that Charles occasionally wavered in his plans. The last two allegations, that it was absurd to attack the Admiral first, and to defer the attack so long, lead to a view of the subject not hitherto developed, and which we shall here briefly state.

A grand clue to the *dénouement* of the plot is afforded by the part played in it by the Guises, who were to be the instruments—we might rather say the *tools*—of the Court ; for, after they had been used, they were to be thrown aside and denounced, and the first of the King's falsehoods in endeavouring to evade the responsibility of the massacre was to lay it to them. Guise and his uncle Aumale came to Paris towards the end of May or beginning of June, when the marriage of Henry and Margaret was about to take place, and met with a most flattering reception. They were no doubt as ready then to murder the Admiral as they were two months later ; but this did not suit the views of the Court. It was premature. The death of Henry's mother, Jeanne d'Albret, on the 10th of June, caused his marriage to be postponed for several weeks, and the Court had good reasons for connecting the massacre with the marriage : all the Hugonots of note would of course come to Paris on its celebration, and would be thrown off their guard by its accomplishment, as an event which seemed to afford indisputable proof of the King's sincerity, as well as by the fêtes which followed the auspicious union. Two months more of irksome dissimulation for the Court, of vengeance deferred for the Lorraine princes ! Meanwhile Charles kept up their spirits, and entertained them, says the Spanish ambassador, writing to his Court on the 14th of June, with some "*equivocal* conversations which put them in good hopes."¹ At length, one by one, the weary days of expectation disappear ; the marriage is celebrated on the 18th of August, and next morning Maurevert, posted in a house belonging to the Guises, is lying in wait with an arquebus for the Admiral.

¹ " Le roi et les princes faisaient beaucoup plus d'accueil au Duc de Guise qu'à l'Amiral, et le roi tenait aux Lorrains des propos équivoques, qui leur donnaient

bonne espérance."—*Dépêche* de l'ambassadeur d'Espagne du 14 Juin. *Papiers de Simancas*, B. xxxiv. p. 30. ap. Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. ix. p. 296.

Is any further proof needed that the time of the assassination was determined by the time of the marriage ?

We may now answer the question why the attempt on Coligni was so long deferred. It was because all the Hugonots should be assembled together ; because they might probably be irritated by the murder to some act of violence, and thus afford a pretext for their massacre ; and because there would be an opportunity of transferring the blame of it from the Court to the Guises. A further proof of the connection between the marriage and the massacre is afforded by Charles IX. insisting that the marriage should be celebrated at Paris.¹ Jeanne d'Albret was very anxious that it should be performed in Béarn ; and if the object of the union had been merely to cement a friendship between the Court and the Hugonots, it mattered not where the ceremony took place. But in Béarn, where Protestantism prevailed, the massacre could not have been perpetrated.²

The news of the St. Bartholomew resounded throughout Europe like a clap of thunder ; but the sensations it awakened were widely different. In all Protestant countries there was a silence of horror and indignation, while in those of the Catholic faith the event was hailed with exultation and gladness. Pope Gregory XIII., urged on by Cardinal Alessandrino and the Cardinal of Lorraine, who wrote from Rome a letter full of joy and thanks, celebrated the massacre as one of the most signal triumphs ever gained by the Church. The guns were fired from the Castle of St. Angelo, bonfires were lighted in the streets of Rome, a solemn procession was made to the church of St. Louis, and a medal was ordered to be struck with the head of Gregory, and having on the reverse the exterminating angel slaying the Hugonots, with the legend *Hugonotorum Strages*. Gregory also caused a picture of the massacre to be painted in fresco in the Hall of Kings in the Vatican. The

¹ *Mém. de l'État. de France*, t. i. fol. 152, ap. Martin, t. ix. p. 294.

² The consentient opinion of all historians, that the St. Bartholomew was a premeditated crime, was first questioned by the Abbé de Caveyrac, in 1758, in a Dissertation appended to a Defence which he published of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Abbé's theory, however, seems to have met with little attention till it was revived by Dr. Lingard in a note at the end of the fifth volume of his *Hist. of England*. A critique on Dr. Lingard's statements, published by Dr. Allen in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. lxxxvii., produced a *l'indication* from the historian,

and a *Reply* from the reviewer. These pieces, with the account of the St. Bartholomew in Sir J. Mackintosh's *Hist. of England*, vol. iii., and the notes appended to it, pretty nearly exhaust the subject, with the exception of such fresh light as may have been thrown upon it from the *Archives* of Simancas and other new sources, from which a few notices have been adduced in the preceding examination. All the circumstances antecedent to the massacre have been carefully collected by Professor Soldan of Giessen, in a work which has been translated into French by M. Schmidt, under the title of *La France et la St. Barthélemi*.

celebrated Muretus afterwards addressed to Gregory, in classical Latin, a bombastic panegyric on that execrable day, in which he adverts to the Pontiff having gone on foot to return thanks to God and St. Louis.¹ The King of Spain was still more delighted than the Pope. When St. Goard, the French envoy at Madrid, waited on him with the news of the massacre, Philip laughed for the first time in his life, sarcastically remarking that Charles well deserved his title of "Most Christian," and that there was no King to compare with him for valour or prudence.² Not only was the bigotry of Philip gratified, he also saw that Charles had committed in his favour a great political blunder. On the other hand, a fast was ordered at Geneva, which was afterwards annually observed on the 24th of August. The virtuous Emperor Maximilian II. shed tears over the crime of his son-in-law, and lamented it in a touching letter to Lazarus Schwendi.³ Fénelon, the French ambassador at London, as he passed through the ranks of courtiers and ladies, all clothed in deep mourning, to communicate the dreadful event to Queen Elizabeth, was received with a dead silence, more cutting than the bitterest reproaches; and the Queen herself conveyed to him, with all that dignity which she so well knew how to assume, her sentiments of abhorrence for his master's deed. Political considerations, however, obliged her to moderate her indignation and resentment; being fearful that the Reformation was entirely suppressed in France, and that Charles IX. might now be induced to unite his arms with those of the Catholic King. The effect of so unexpected a blow was above all terrible in the Netherlands, where an exactly contrary policy had been expected from the French Court. The weapons fell from the hands of the Netherland patriots; the army of the Prince of Orange was dissolved, and the news was soon followed by the surrender of Mons. But in order to lay these things before the reader it will be necessary to take a review of the insurrectionary movement which had some years been going on in the Netherlands.

¹ A sentence may suffice as a sample, "Qua quidem nocte stellas equidem ipsas luxisse solito nitidius arbitror, et flumen Sequanam majores undas volvisse, quo citius illa impurorum hominum cadavera

evolueret et exoneraret in mare!"

² Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives, &c.*, loc. cit.

³ In*Goldasti, *Const. Imperiales*, t. ii. p. 383 (ed. 1609).

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE revolt of the Netherlands and the establishment of the Dutch Republic, the most remarkable fruits of that spirit of civil and religious liberty which the Reformation had engendered, form an episode of exceeding interest. Fortitude the most enduring, courage the most heroic, struggling for rational freedom against the narrowest and most obstinate bigotry enforced by bloody and ferocious tyrants, and at length emerging victorious from the strife—such are the materials from which History draws her brightest and most cheering as well as her most instructive pages. But before entering on the narrative of these momentous events, we must briefly recapitulate the situation of the Netherlands.

As many of the seventeen provinces comprehended under that name¹ as belonged to the House of Austria in 1512, were then formed by the Emperor Maximilian I. into a Circle of the Empire, called the Circle of Burgundy, which, as we have related above, was reconstituted and enlarged by Charles V. in 1548.² Of these provinces, those which adjoined the French border, viz., Luxembourg, Namur, Hainault, Cambray, and Artois, were called Welsh or Walloon, because in them a Romance or Latin dialect was spoken. In all the other provinces, with the exception of a small Walloon strip of Flanders and Brabant, and a small High-Dutch strip of Luxembourg and Limburg, some variety or other of the Low-Dutch language was universal; that of the midland ones being Flemish, that of the northern Dutch. They differed still more in their laws and customs than in language. Each province was a separate state, having its own constitution, which secured more liberty to those who lived under it than was then commonly enjoyed in most other parts of Europe. Brabant, in particular, possessed singular political rights, so that it was not uncommon for women to come from other provinces to lie in there, in order

¹ They consisted at the latter date of 4 duchies: Brabant, Limburg, Luxembourg, and Gelderland;—8 counties: Artois, Hainault, Flanders, Namur, Cambray, Holland,

Zealand, and Drenthe;—5 Seigniories or lordships: Friesland, Mechlin, Utrecht, Overijssel, Groningen. See above, p. 189.

² Above, p. 71.

to secure these privileges to their offspring;¹ and on the accession of a new Duke, at what was called his *Blyde Inkomst*, or *Joyeuse Entrée*, when the States took an oath of allegiance, they stipulated for the right of withdrawing it, in case the Duke should violate their laws and customs. The main practical links of union among the different Netherland provinces were the States-General, or assembly of deputies sent from each, and the Supreme Tribunal established at Mechlin, having an appellate jurisdiction over them all. The States-General, however, had no legislative authority; they were rarely convened, and chiefly for the purpose of voting supplies. Their members were not representatives chosen by the people, but deputies, or ambassadors from the provinces. The different provinces had also their own States, which were variously composed. Hence it will appear that Charles V. himself, with all his power as Lord of the Netherlands, was virtually only the head of a republican confederation. He had, however, made some innovations. He named and paid the judges composing the Mechlin Chamber; he sometimes nominated the provincial judges; he interfered in the election of magistrates. But the circumstance of his having been born in Flanders, the predilection which he always manifested for his native land, and the favours which he heaped on Netherlanders at the expense of his Spanish subjects, had rendered him popular in the Low Countries in spite of his encroachments and oppressions.

In the middle of the sixteenth century the Netherlands enjoyed a greater share of prosperity than any other European land. At that time the seventeen provinces contained more than 350 cities and 6,300 towns, besides innumerable villages. Commerce, agriculture, and manufactures flourished; and though the trade of some towns had fallen off after the discovery of the maritime route to the Indies, the deficiency had been more than made good by the rise of Antwerp, whose share, through Spain and Portugal, in Indian commerce rendered it the richest city in Christendom, whilst Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and other towns were by the same means also rapidly increasing in wealth. Hence the Netherlands formed the chief treasury both of Charles V. and Philip II. Charles drew from them in a few years twenty-four million ducats;² yet through the ill policy of Philip, they soon became unable to supply his necessities. Nor were the people of the Netherlands thriving only in a material sense. They were also

¹ Strada, *De Bello Belg.* lib. ii. p. 35 (ed. 1640).

² *Relatione di Soriano*, ap. Prescott, *Philip II.* vol. i. p. 310.

well educated, and it was rare to find even a peasant who could not read and write.¹

Among such a people the doctrines of the Reformation found easy entrance, and were soon extensively adopted. The Lutheran tenets were naturally the first to find acceptance, and they continued to predominate in the provinces bordering upon Germany, while Holland and Zealand abounded with Anabaptists. But Calvinism rapidly penetrated into the Walloon provinces, and its disciples soon outnumbered both the other sects put together. The state of religion in the Netherlands had early attracted the notice of Charles V., and between the years 1520 and 1550 he published no fewer than eleven "Placards;" or edicts, for the suppression of heresy. The last, which appeared in 1550, and has been already described,² formed the groundwork of Philip II.'s subsequent proceedings. Charles V. had early attempted to introduce the Spanish Inquisition into the Low Countries, and obtained a bull from his old preceptor, Pope Adrian VI., appointing an Inquisitor-General; but the people rose and compelled the new and unwelcome functionary to fly for his life. The scheme was then altered. By another bull four Inquisitors were appointed, belonging to the secular clergy, whose powers, which, however, during twenty years were ill defined, were in some degree placed under control of the law; and in 1546 it was decreed that no sentence pronounced by an Inquisitor should be carried into execution, except with the sanction of a member of the Provincial Council. Hence the Netherland tribunal was far less terrible than the Spanish. Nevertheless many thousand persons are said to have perished in the Netherlands during the reign of Charles for their religious opinions; in spite of which that Emperor, in the last year of his reign, confessed that heresy went on increasing.³

Such briefly was the condition of the Netherlands when they passed under the dominion of Philip II. of Spain, as Duke, or Count, or Lord of the various provinces, in the manner already related.⁴ The predilections of that King soon called him back to

¹ Guicciardini, *Descrittione de Paesi Bassi*, p. 41 (ed. 1581).

² See above, p. 199.

³ Letter of Charles, Brussels, January 27th, 1555; in Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe II.*, Rapport, &c., t. i. p. cxxii. The number of Protestant victims is variously computed at 30,000 (Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 18) and 50,000 (Watson, *Philip II.*, vol. ii. p. 101). Grotius even estimates

them at 100,000. *Annales*, lib. i. p. 17 (ed. 1658).

⁴ The chief sources for the history of the Netherlands, and their revolt under Philip II. are: Guicciardini, *Belgica, sive Inferioris Germaniæ, Descriptio*; Strada, *De Bello Belgico*; Bentivoglio, *Della Guerra di Fiandra*; Grotius, *Annales et Historiæ de Rebus Belgicis*; Basnage, *Annales des Provinces Unies, avec la Descrip-*

his Spanish realms. By birth, language, and manners he was entirely a Spaniard, and was always regarded as a foreigner by the Flemings; nor did his stay among them remove the unfavourable impression produced at his first visit. His cold and haughty manners ill accorded with the temper of the Netherlanders, and instead of meeting the hearty, joyous greetings of the people, he shut himself up in his carriage and seemed anxious to avoid their gaze.

A scene that occurred before Philip's departure already gave token of future troubles. In an assembly of the States-General at Ghent loud complaints were uttered of religious persecution and the presence of Spanish troops. Philip's first care after his accession had been directed to religion. He confirmed Charles's "Placard" of 1550; making, however, by the advice of the Bishop of Arras, no alteration in the original edict, in order to shelter himself under the popularity attaching to his father's name. He had also matured a scheme for a great increase in the Netherland episcopal sees, which was put in execution a year or two later. At present popular indignation was chiefly directed against the Spanish troops, who, though not more than 3,000 or 4,000 in number, had committed the most scandalous excesses. A paper signed by William Prince of Orange, Lamoral Count Egmont, and many other leading nobles, complaining of the pillage, insults, and other disorders daily perpetrated by the Spanish soldiery, was presented to the King before the adjournment of the States-General in the name of that body: Philip was furious at hearing remonstrances to which he was so totally unaccustomed. He abruptly quitted the hall, and turning round at the door, inquired "whether he also, as a Spaniard, was expected to leave the country?" His suspicions had already

tion historique de leur Gouvernement; Meteren, Hist. des Pays Bas (1315-1612) traduit du Flamand (La Haye, 1618); Brandt, Hist. of the Reformation in the Low Countries (from the Dutch. London, 1720); Aubéri, Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. des Provinces Unies; Petit, Chronique d'Hollande; Van der Vynckt, Hist. des Troubles des Pays Bas (extending from 1495 to the Peace of Westphalia, 1648; written in indifferent French, but with good judgment and information); Hopper, Recueil et Mémorial des Troubles des Pays Bas du Roi; Schiller, Gesch. des Abfalls der vereinigten Niederlande (interesting, but of little authority); Prescott, Hist. of Philip II.; Motley, the Rise of

the Dutch Republic. Recently published original documents relating to the subject are: Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, and Corr. de Philip II., edited by M. Gachard, who was employed by the Belgic Government to consult the archives of Simancas; Archives de la Maison d'Orange Nassau, published by M. Groen van Prinsterer (both these editors have endeavoured to place the conduct of Philip II. in the most favourable light); Corr. de Marguerite d'Autriche, published by Baron Reiffenberg f Bibliophiles de Belgique.

Sources accessible only to those who read Dutch or Flemish have not been mentioned.

been excited against Orange and Egmont by a letter of the Prince's which had fallen into his hands. William, when a hostage at the Court of France for the execution of the treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, had accidentally learnt more than was convenient of Philip's future policy. Henry II., who took him for a staunch Catholic, communicated to him the secret determination of himself and the Catholic King to extirpate heresy; but, although the Prince at that time belonged to the Roman communion; nobody could be further removed from bigotry, or entertain a more sincere dislike of all religious persecution.

Notwithstanding his suspicions, Philip found it impossible to neglect men of so much power and influence as Orange and Egmont, and he was obliged to leave them in possession of their governments, those of William being Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and West Friesland, while Egmont had Flanders and Artois. The King also found it politic to concede on the subject of the Spanish troops; but he would not yield a jot with regard to religion, declaring that he would rather not reign at all than rule over heretics. When on the point of embarking at Flushing for Spain (August 20th, 1559,) he could not help again manifesting his anger at the constraint which had been put upon him; and turning abruptly to the Prince of Orange, he accused him of having organized the opposition. William, in reply, having attributed it to the States, Philip seized his wrist, and shaking it violently, exclaimed in Spanish, "No, no! not the States, but you, you, you!"¹ An ominous separation! Orange took care not to trust himself on board the Spanish fleet.

Before his departure Philip II. had appointed his sister Margaret to be Governess of the Netherlands,—a natural daughter of Charles V. by a Flemish lady, and wife of Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma. Thus the Low Countries were administered almost consecutively by three Princesses of the House of Austria, and by all with distinguished ability. Margaret was now thirty-seven years of age. From her masculine understanding Strada² characterizes her as a man in petticoats; yet she was not destitute of the gentler qualities of her sex. Philip had received her with great state on her arrival at Brussels in June, 1559, and early in August presented her to the States-General as the future Regent. She was assisted in the government by the ancient

¹ "No los Estados, mas vos, vos, vos!"
—Aubéri, *Mém.* t. i. p. 11 (ed. London, 1754.) A speech the more bitter, because

ros in Spanish, like *toi* in French, implies contempt.

² *De Bell. Belg.* lib. i. t. i. p. 30 (ed. 1640).

councils,—the Council of Finance, the Privy Council for Justice and Home Affairs, and the Council of State for Foreign Affairs. The Prince of Orange and Count Egmont were included in the last, together with Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, and some members of the other councils. Besides these, Margaret had also a smaller council or cabinet, called the *Consulta*, consisting of only three members: these were, Count Berlaimont; President of the Council of Finance; Viglius, President of the Privy Council; and Granvelle. Berlaimont was a Hainault noble of the first class, of great integrity and loyalty. Viglius was an eminent Frisian jurist, a good writer, and sagacious statesman, of dogged tenacity and not over-scrupulous honesty. Granvelle we have already had occasion to describe as the minister of Charles V. His qualities were congenial with those of Philip; his manners were polished, he was a good courtier, and the Flemings detested him equally with his sovereign. His post of prime minister was an additional cause of hatred with the Flemish nobles, who thought that it should have been filled by one of their own body.

Philip had engaged that the Spanish troops should quit the Netherlands in four months, yet they still remained; which, as there was no foreign war to require their presence, could only be ascribed to a design to enforce the King's arbitrary acts; and Orange and Egmont resigned their employments, alleging that they dared not hold them because the government was become so unpopular. Granvelle saw the danger, and pressed Philip to withdraw the troops for fear of an insurrection. The King demurred on the plea that he could not pay their arrears; an allegation hardly to be credited considering their small number, although the royal exchequer was undoubtedly low. At length some members of the Council became security for the arrears, and the troops sailed in January, 1561, nearly a twelvemonth after the stipulated time.

In the same year the discontent was increased by the introduction into the Council of a plan for the erection of several new bishoprics. Hitherto the Netherlands had contained only four bishoprics, namely, those of Utrecht, Arras, Tournay, and Cambrai; the first of which acknowledged the Archbishop of Cologne as its metropolitan, while the last three were in the metropolitan province of Rheims. The extent of these four dioceses was enormous and inconvenient, Utrecht alone comprising 300 towns and 1,100 churches. Charles V. had contemplated erecting six new Netherland bishoprics, but effected nothing.

Philip II., however, soon after his accession, obtained the sanction of Pope Paul IV. for the erection of three metropolitan sees, namely, Utrecht, Mechlin, and Cambray; in which were to be comprehended the following bishoprics: in Utrecht the sees of Haarlem, Middleburg, Leeuwarden, Groningen, and Deventer; in Mechlin those of Antwerp, Hertogenbosch, Roermonde, Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres; in Cambray, those of Tournay, Arras, St. Omer, and Namur. The bull authorizing the establishment of these sees had arrived just when Philip was on the point of quitting the Netherlands; but it had not been thought expedient to prosecute the scheme till the period just mentioned.

So vast an increase in the Netherland hierarchy excited the suspicion and discontent of Catholics as well as Protestants. The latter were naturally hostile to a scheme which threw so much fresh ecclesiastical power into the hands of the Pope and the King; for the new bishops were to be named by Philip, but subject to the approbation of the Roman See; and as the King's persecutions in Spain were well known, the whole scheme was regarded only as a prelude to the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition. The Catholics also were alarmed at the thoughts of that formidable tribunal, and the nobles of that confession had additional reasons for discontent with the scheme. The nomination of so many bishops by the King would diminish the power of their order; while, as various ancient abbeys were either to be suppressed or to be deprived of great part of their revenues in order to furnish out the incomes of the new prelates, the nobility would thus lose a source of provision for their younger sons. The whole odium of the measure fell on Granvelle, who was to be Archbishop of Mechlin and Primate of the Netherlands, and who had early in this year, through the intercession of the Regent Margaret, received from Paul IV. a Cardinal's hat.

The clouds were gradually gathering, yet it was some time before the storm burst. The measures of the King and his minister were firmly but quietly opposed. Philip having called upon the Netherlands to assist the Catholic party in France with troops, the Prince of Orange invited the Knights of the Golden Fleece to assemble at his palace (May, 1562), when the majority agreed that the minister must be resisted. Only a pecuniary aid was sent to France. Soon after we find Orange and Egmont complaining to the King that they had no share in the government, although they were held responsible for its measures by the

people. The great nobles began to absent themselves entirely from the Council, and indeed from all public business, and to treat the minister and his measures with sarcasm and ridicule. Granvelle grew alarmed, and talked of resigning. In March, 1568, the nobles formed themselves into a league, in which they were supported by the people. Great part of the Walloon population, inflamed by the French Hugonot preachers, sympathized with their brethren in France; for churches on the model of that of Geneva had been established in the southern Netherlands in 1561, and a formal confession of the Calvinistic tenets subscribed. The union of the Protestants with the local authorities had given them a political standing.¹ Large assemblies met and chanted the psalms of Marot, and at Valenciennes two Calvinist ministers condemned to be burnt were rescued by the people. Philip, who did not understand the genius of the Netherlanders, and wished to render them as submissive as his subjects in Spain and Italy, urged his ministers to use the most vigorous measures; without reflecting that the Netherlanders were protected by laws which the Regent and her cabinet naturally demurred to violate.

In the opposition organized against the government three men stood out pre-eminent: William, Prince of Orange, Count Egmont, and Count Horn; and as they played a leading part in the troubles which ensued it will here be proper to give some account of them.

The family of Nassau, from which William, Prince of Orange, was descended, had its origin from the old Counts of Laurenburg, who in the twelfth century built the Castle of Nassau on the Lahn, and henceforth were called Counts of Nassau. In the thirteenth century the family became divided into two branches, the elder of which, in 1292, gave an Emperor, Adolf of Nassau, to Germany. The younger, but more distinguished branch, besides the petty sovereignty of Nassau Dillenburg, also acquired large private possessions in the Netherlands. Count Engelbert II., who had distinguished himself in the time of the Emperor Maximilian I. and Charles the Bold of Burgundy, having died without issue, the family possessions were ultimately divided between his two nephews, Henry and William. The German possessions fell to the share of William, who turned Protestant; while Henry, the elder brother, inherited the family domains in Luxembourg, Brabant, Flanders, and Holland, and became the confidential friend of the Emperor Charles V. In 1515, Henry married

¹ Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 18 (Mrs. Austin's transl.).

Claude de Chalon, sister of Prince Philibert of Orange ; to which principality his son, René of Nassau, succeeded. René died of wounds received at the siege of St. Dizier in, 1544, and, having no legitimate children, left his titles and estates to his cousin, William of Nassau. William, who thus acquired the principality of Orange,¹ besides large possessions in the Netherlands, was born at his father's castle of Dillenburg, April 25th, 1533. Both his parents were Lutherans, but he himself was bred up at Brussels in the Catholic faith, in the family of the Regent Queen Mary of Hungary, and under the tuition of a brother of Granvelle. Charles V., in whose household he became a page at the age of fifteen, soon discerned his abilities, and at the siege of Marienburg gave him the command of the Imperial army over the heads of veteran captains. Charles afterwards employed the Prince with great success in several diplomatic missions, and manifested the confidence which he reposed in him by making him, as already related, his envoy, when he abdicated the Imperial Crown.²

While the light hair and complexion of Philip II. gave him the appearance of a Fleming, the Prince of Orange, on the contrary, looked like a Spaniard. His complexion, hair, and beard were dark ; his brown eyes were full and expressive ; his head was small, the forehead capacious, and as he advanced in life furrowed with the lines of care and thought ; the other features were well chiselled. He was above the middle height, and well-proportioned though somewhat spare. In temper he was cheerful and convivial. The surname which he acquired of "the Silent," was not derived from a morose taciturnity, but from his knowing how to conceal what it was not prudent to tell. He was said to be an assiduous reader of Machiavelli. William married in early life a daughter of Count Buren, who soon died, leaving him a son Philip and a daughter Mary, afterwards married to Count Hohenlohe.* He next addressed himself to Anne, daughter of the Elector Maurice of Saxony,—a match highly disagreeable to the Court of Brussels, by which it was warmly opposed. Long negotiations ensued, in which the Prince is said not always to have observed a perfect candour ; but at length all obstacles were overcome, and the marriage was celebrated at Leipsic in August, 1561. Anne, however, was not remarkable for chastity, and after thirteen years' cohabitation, the Prince was obliged to dismiss her.

Lamoral, Count Egmont was descended from the Dukes of

¹ The principality of Orange, on the Lower Rhone, was restored to him by the peace of Cateau-Cambresis.

² Above, p. 114.

Gelderland. In right of his mother he also inherited the principality of Gaveren, or Waveren, near Ghent, but he always preferred the title of Egmont. Of handsome person and attractive manners, of generous impulses but no great ability, Egmont was the *beau idéal* of a dashing cavalry officer; and his victories at Gravelines and St. Quentin were the result rather of a brilliant valour than of military genius. Philip de Montmorenci, Count of Horn, belonged to a branch of the French family of that name which had established itself in the Low Countries. He had been Governor of Gelderland and Zutphen, and Admiral of the Netherlands; but, like Egmont, he was not distinguished by ability. These two nobles are but the *fortis Gyas fortisque Cloanthus* of the Prince of Orange.

In March, 1563, Orange, Egmont, and Horn addressed a letter to Philip, in the name of the Coalition, in which they represented to him that, in consequence of the odium incurred by Granvelle, his affairs in the Netherlands could never be successfully conducted by that minister; and they prayed for his dismissal. After considerable delay, the Spanish King answered this application on the 6th of June. He observed that the nobles had not alleged any specific grievance against Granvelle, and that he was not accustomed to dismiss his ministers on mere vague and general charges; he hoped soon to visit the Netherlands in person, meanwhile he should like to see one of the nobles in Spain, and discuss the matter with him. To this communication Orange and his confederates replied (July 29th) in a firm and dignified tone, to which the ears of Philip were but little accustomed. They observed that it was not their intention to turn accusers; the state of the country, the discontent and disorders which prevailed, were sufficient evidence of the minister's incapacity; that they did not solicit his condemnation, but simply his removal; nor did they esteem him so highly as to undertake a journey to Spain on his account. And they begged the King, since he reposed so little confidence in their opinions, that he would be pleased to dispense with their further attendance in the Council, where under these circumstances they could not be present without a loss of dignity. The Regent Margaret, who was much alarmed at the state of affairs, seconded the application for the Cardinal's dismissal. Philip, whose favourite maxim was "that he and time were a match for any two others,"¹ resorted to his usual artifice

¹ *Que lui et le temps en valaient deux autres.*—Van der Vynckt, *Troubles des Pays Bas*, t. ii. p. 199.

of procrastination. The Duke of Alva, whom he consulted, advised him on no account to dismiss Granvelle, but to divide the nobles, by gaining over some of them till he could punish the others. The Cardinal, meanwhile, displayed surprising fortitude, and clung to office amid a perfect storm of disapprobation. At length, after the lapse of more than half a year, the Coalition received an answer, in February, 1564, intimating that the King would deliberate further on the matter. Moved, however, by another and still more pressing application on the part of Margaret, Philip had already written a short letter of dismissal to the Cardinal, to be used in case of need; and such was the dissatisfaction manifested by the nobles at the King's answer, that Granvelle found it prudent to make a virtual resignation under the pretext of paying a visit to his aged mother in Franche-Comté. In March, 1564, he retired to his estate near Besançon, where he amused himself with art and literature, of which he was a liberal patron; but he still kept up an active correspondence with the King, and it was not long before he re-entered Philip's service.

The news of the Cardinal's departure was received with joy and exultation, which found a vent in lampoons and caricatures. The aristocracy discarded their splendid liveries, and adopted universally a plain, dark grey, while the *aiguillette* on the shoulder was replaced by a head and fool's cap; the head bore a striking resemblance to the Cardinal's, and the cap was red. When Margaret at length persuaded them to lay aside this badge they substituted for it a sheaf of arrows, the origin of the device afterwards assumed by the Seven United Provinces. In times of public disturbance trifles like these are not to be despised; they serve as the rallying ensigns of faction, display its strength, and promote its organization.

After the removal of Granvelle, the Netherland government was divided. The Regent Margaret inclined towards the nobles, and her correspondence at this period testifies great disgust at the Cardinal. On the other hand, the policy of the ex-minister was still pursued by Berlaimont and Viglius, the two remaining members of the *Consulta*. Hence the measures of the government became feeble. Calvinism spread; Hugonot preachers and refugees came in great numbers from France and made many proselytes; the proceedings of the Inquisition occasioned serious riots at Bruges, Antwerp, and Brussels; while the disordered state of the finances and the increase of the public debt aggravated the popular discontent. It was in such a state of things.

that Philip wrote to Margaret instructing her to proclaim and enforce the decrees of the Council of Trent (August, 1564). He was constantly urging the Regent to measures of severity; and so well was he served by his spies that he would sometimes denounce particular individuals by describing their personal habits and appearance with an accuracy that would have done credit to a minister of police. As the pressure was becoming unendurable, it was determined to adopt a former suggestion of the King's, and to despatch Count Egmont to Madrid to state the grievances of the nation and to urge Philip to visit the Netherlands in person. The mission was regarded as one of no small danger. Egmont's friends had secret forebodings of Spanish dungeons and assassins; and they signed with their blood an agreement that if any harm should come to him they would take ample vengeance on the authors of it. Their fears, however, were on this occasion groundless. Philip adopted the more politic method of conciliation; treated Egmont with the most flattering attention; made him a present of 100,000 crowns, and bestowed upon him several offices in the Netherlands. The Count's head, which was none of the strongest, was completely turned. On his way home he wrote to the King from Valladolid that "he was the best satisfied man in all the world;"¹ and he brought back to his countrymen a most favourable account of the disposition of the Spanish Court. Yet he had scarcely returned when letters from the King arrived, in which, although Egmont's behaviour at Madrid was noticed in the most flattering terms, Philip declared that if he had a hundred thousand lives he would rather lose them all than permit any change in religion; and he recommended a commission to be formed of three bishops and a number of jurists to "instruct" the people in their spiritual concerns, advising at the same time some other method of execution in the case of heretics.² These recommendations were faithfully carried out. Condemned heretics were executed in their dungeons at midnight, by fastening their heads between their knees and suffocating them in tubs of water.³ The spy system was worked with redoubled activity. Even looks and gestures were noted. The striking contrast between Egmont's report and the actual state of things could not escape observation. The people accused the Count of having sold himself; the Prince of Orange reproached him to his face with forgetting the views

¹ Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe II.*, t. i. p. 349.

² *Ibid.* p. 347.

³ Meteren, t. ii. p. 30 d.; Brandt, *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 151.

of his confederates and the best interests of the country, though he had remembered himself and accepted the King's bounty.¹ William, however, saw that Egmont was only a dupe; the people held him to be a traitor. Either imputation was sufficiently mortifying to a man of Egmont's temper. He now saw through Philip's artifices, declared that they were intended to ruin him with his countrymen, and announced his intention of throwing up all his offices.

In October, 1565, Philip indited, at his country retreat in the wood of Segovia, the letter which may be said to have decided the fate of the Netherlands. It was his will that the Inquisitors should proceed as heretofore, and as they were entitled to do both by divine and human law; the edicts must all be enforced, both his father's and his own. This letter filled the government with the most gloomy apprehensions. Viglius was for concealing it till the King could be again consulted, but the Prince of Orange, supported by Egmont and Horn, prevailed on the Regent to publish it immediately. It was the wish of Orange to hasten on the catastrophe. "Now," he exclaimed, "we shall see the beginning of a remarkable tragedy!" All hope of toleration vanished with the publication of the royal despatches, which were regarded as a declaration of war. The press teemed with pamphlets and lampoons; secret meetings were held; resistance was hinted at; Orange and Egmont were called on to stand forth and defend their country.

The time was not yet come for the Prince of Orange to take the lead of an organized resistance; but he was preparing himself for such an event, and he foresaw and favoured its inevitable approach. His motives have often been the subject of discussion. His panegyrists have held him up as the model of a disinterested patriot, while his enemies have charged him with being actuated by selfishness, hypocrisy, and ambition. The motives of men are usually inscrutable to human eyes; their nature is often mixed, so that the subject of them himself may not be always conscious of the predominating influence. William, as a Netherland noble, would naturally resent the neglect displayed towards his order, while as the firm and consistent friend of civil and religious liberty he viewed with abhorrence the bigoted and tyrannical conduct of the Spanish King. To these grievances, which he shared in common with his countrymen, were added others of a more personal kind. Having enjoyed so much of the confidence of

¹ Letter of Morillon to Granvelle, June 22nd, 1565 (*Papiers d'Etat*, t. ix. p. 344).

the Emperor Charles V., Orange might naturally have expected a large share in the counsels of his son; instead of which Philip entrusted the direction of affairs to the Archbishop of Mechlin, a foreigner, and the Prince's enemy. On Philip's departure for Spain, Orange wished the regency of the Netherlands to be given to Christina, the widowed Duchess of Lorraine, a niece of Charles V., whose daughter he hoped to marry, and thus to obtain an influence in the government; but Granvelle and the Duke of Alva, who thought that Margaret was a much better Spaniard than Christina, not only defeated the Prince's object, but also procured that he should be disappointed of his intended bride. Thus his patriotism felt the additional stimulus of private wrongs; but it would never have obtained a field for its exercise, had not the conduct of the Spanish government been revolting to the whole mass of the Netherland population.

Towards the close of the year 1565, the symptoms of popular disaffection became so alarming, that Margaret begged the King would allow her to resign the government; but Philip answered the application only with a cool expression of regret that his despatch from Segovia should have occasioned so much offence. It was universally believed in the Netherlands that at the meeting between Alva and Catharine de' Medici at Bayonne, in June, an arrangement had been made with France for crushing their liberties. Numbers of the Netherlanders emigrated; 30,000 of them established themselves in England, whither they brought their capital and their skill. Egmont had escorted from Spain Margaret's son, the young Prince Alexander Farnese, whose marriage with Doña Maria of Portugal was celebrated at Brussels, November 11th, 1565. On that day, Francis Junius, a young Calvinistic divine, a native of Bourges in France, and pastor of the Hugonot congregation which assembled in secret at Antwerp, preached a sermon at Cuilenburg House at Brussels, before a small party of Netherland nobles. After the sermon was concluded, they entered into an agreement to resist the oppressions of the government, by forming a league, in which Philip de Marnix, Lord of Ste. Aldegonde, played a prominent part. Ste. Aldegonde, the intimate friend of the Prince of Orange, was a man of the most varied accomplishments. He was at once a scholar and a poet, a brave soldier and an able diplomatist, and had devoted so much study to theology, that it was said he could argue victoriously with a bench of bishops. Other leaders were Henry, Count Brederode, remarkable chiefly for his ancient descent, which he traced through

five centuries from the Counts of Holland, otherwise a dissolute, vapouring character¹; and Count Louis of Nassau, a younger brother of the Prince of Orange. In a meeting held at Breda, in January, 1566, the league promulgated their views in a paper called the COMPROMISE,¹ attributed to the hand of Ste. Aldegonde. The document contained a severe denunciation of the Inquisition as an illegal, pernicious, and iniquitous tribunal; the subscribers swore to defend one another against any attack that might be made upon them; and declared, at the same time, that they did not mean to throw off their allegiance to their Sovereign, but, on the contrary, to maintain peace, and to prevent, as far as it lay in their power, all sedition, tumult, and rebellion. In the course of two months, the Compromise was signed by about 2,000 persons, including many Catholics: but only a few of the great nobles could be prevailed on to subscribe it. The original document bore only the signatures of Brederode, Charles of Mansfeld, and Louis of Nassau. The league had been formed without the knowledge of the Prince of Orange, who expressed his disapprobation when he heard of it, and recommended that no violent measures should be adopted. Nevertheless he, as well as most of the members of the Council of State, sympathized with the objects of the movement. William, as Governor of Holland and Zealand, in a remarkable letter² which he addressed from Breda to the Regent, January 24th, 1566, refused to enforce the obnoxious laws; and several other Governors declared that they would not see their countrymen burnt by thousands. Margaret did not hear of the league till the spring of 1566, when she took some vigorous steps to resist it, by strengthening the garrisons of fortresses, calling out the *compagnies d'ordonnance*, &c. She had, however, formed a correct idea of the importance of the movement; she perceived that no middle course would answer, that it must either be put down at once with a high hand, or the malcontents appeased by ample concessions; and in her despatches to her brother she clearly indicated her preference for conciliation.

The Prince of Orange at first kept aloof from the league, and at this period Egmont, who was of a more impulsive temper, seemed to act the leading part: but the nation relied solely upon William. The latter gave at least a tacit sanction to the league

¹ The document is in the *Archives de la Maison d'Orange Nassau*, t. ii. init. Cf. Watson, *Philip II.* vol. i. p. 254.

² *Corr. de Guillaume le Taciturne*, t. ii. p. 109.

in the spring of 1566, by joining the members of it in a petition to the Regent which he had himself revised. It had been resolved that the petition, or "Request," should be presented by a numerous deputation; and on the evening of the 3rd April, two hundred members of the league, armed and mounted, and headed by William's brother, Count Louis of Nassau, and by Brederode, entered Brussels. On the following day, Brederode read to them a letter which he had just received from Spain announcing the burning by the Inquisition of Morone, a well-known Netherland nobleman. This news caused great exasperation. On the 5th of April the confederates went in solemn procession from Cuilenburg House to the Palace to present their petition, which was couched in respectful terms.¹ Margaret received them graciously; and when on the following day they came in still greater force to receive her answer, she referred them to the decision of Philip, assuring them at the same time that she would use her influence in favour of their prayer.

At a banquet which took place a little afterwards, at which three hundred of the confederates were present, Brederode related to the guests what took place after the presentation of the "Request."² The Regent, he said, appeared at first a little disconcerted, till Berlaimont, in order to reassure her, after they were gone, told her that the petitioners were nothing but a parcel of *Gueux* (beggars). "My friends," continued Brederode, "have no objection to the name; they are ready to become beggars in the service of their country." This sally was applauded with loud cries of "*Vivent les Gueux!*" amidst which Brederode left the apartment. He soon returned with a wallet and a wooden bowl, such as were used by mendicants; both were sent round the table, and each guest pledged his confederates with redoubled shouts of "*Vivent les Gueux!*" Orange, Egmont, and Horn, who were passing at the time, attracted by the noise, entered the hall, and are said to have joined in the cheers: an incident afterwards employed against Egmont and Horn at their trial. The term *Gueux* remained ever after the appellation of the Netherland malcontents. A medal was struck in gold and silver, called the "Gueux penny," having on the obverse the King's head, with the legend, *Fidèles au Roy*, and on the reverse two hands grasping a beggar's wallet, with the further inscription, "*jusques à la besace.*" The

¹ It is in the *Archives de la Maison d'Orange Nassau*, t. ii. p. 80 sqq.

² For an account of this scene, see

especially Vandervynckt, *Troubles des Pays Bas*, liv. ii. ch. 7 (t. i. p. 192, ed. 1836).

confederates quietly left Brussels, April 10th, firing a grand salute with their pistols outside the gate. The greater part of them proceeded to Antwerp, where they were enthusiastically received. The result of the petition was that the government caused a document to be drawn up which they called a "*Moderatie*," or "Moderation," because it professed to be a mitigation of the existing law respecting heresy; although all the alleviation consisted in substituting the halter for the faggot. The people, by a pun which holds good in Flemish, called it the "Murderation."¹

It was about this time that the missionaries, or field-preachers, began to appear in the Netherlands. These men preached at first in the woods and forests at night; but, gaining courage after a while, they began gradually to appear in the open plains, in the villages, and even in the suburbs of towns. A platform was erected for the preacher, round which gathered the women and children; the men stood outside, generally armed; the outer ground was kept by patrols on horseback, while barricades of waggons were thrown across the roads to prevent the approach of the military. Besides religious topics, the missionaries frequently touched with pathos and eloquence on the misfortunes of the country, mingled occasionally with violent abuse of the Inquisition, the Pope, and the clergy; and the meeting was usually concluded by the singing of psalms, either in French or Flemish. At Antwerp these assemblies sometimes consisted of 20,000 or 30,000 persons, among whom were some of the wealthiest citizens;² and they excited so much alarm, that the Prince of Orange, at the request both of the Regent and of the magistrates of Antwerp, proceeded to that city, and used his best endeavours to allay the tumults. Even at Brussels, the seat of government, the singing of psalms and shouts of "*Vivent les Gueux!*" might be heard at night, and many of the leading citizens wore the insignia of the league. The Regent offered 700 crowns for every preacher that was brought in, whether dead or alive; notwithstanding which, and the daily executions, the preachings still proceeded.

As the year 1566 wore on, affairs assumed a still more alarming aspect. Louis of Nassau, with the connivance of his brother William, had begun to subsidize a considerable German force. The leaders of the movement were loud in their demands that the States-General should be convened; and Margaret, whose situation was become embarrassing, urged her brother Philip either to consent to this measure or to come in person into the

¹ Motley, *Dutch Repub.* vol. i. p. 527.

² Motley, *Dutch Repub.* vol. i. p. 537.

Netherlands. In such a juncture, Charles V. would have hastened to the scene of action; Philip II. preferred to write his decision from the wood of Segovia (July). He consented to the abolition of the Inquisition in the Netherlands; but its place was to be supplied by investing the bishops with inquisitorial powers. He left it to Margaret to devise some scheme for the modification of the edicts; which, however, when thus amended, were to be submitted for his approval. He conferred on the Regent power to pardon all persons except those already condemned; but he absolutely forbade the assembling of the States-General; and at the same time he remitted money to Margaret for the purpose of levying German mercenaries. Yet he was not sincere even in the trifling concessions which he deemed it prudent to make. At the very moment of writing them, he protested before a notary, in the presence of the Duke of Alva and two other persons, that they had been wrung from him by force, and that consequently he did not feel himself bound to ratify any pardon granted by the Regent.¹ The Catholic zeal of Philip had received a fresh impulse from the accession of Pius V., to which Pontiff he was singularly devoted. Pius wrote both to Philip and Margaret, exhorting them not to give way, and offering men and money to assist them in washing out heresy in the blood of the heretics.

Meanwhile the anti-Catholic movement was spreading in the Netherlands. The churches in and about St. Omer, Tournay, Ghent, Ypres, and other places were broken into, and the images, altars, and glazing shattered to pieces. Like scenes of havoc took place in the cathedral of Antwerp, where the image of the Virgin was seized and rolled in the dust. The disturbances spread into Holland, Utrecht, Friesland, everywhere in short except a few places in the southern provinces; in less than a fortnight 400 churches were sacked in Flanders alone. The authority of the Regent preserved order in Brussels; yet such was her alarm that she thought of flying to Mons, a thoroughly Catholic town. The Council remonstrated against such a step; Egmont threatened; the magistrates of Brussels shut the gates. Being thus a sort of prisoner, Margaret was forced to make concessions. On the 23rd of August she signed an instrument by which she engaged that no members of the league should be molested on account of their past conduct, and consented that the Reformers, provided they were unarmed and did not molest the Catholics, should hold their

¹ Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe II.* t. i. pp. cxxxi. and 443 sqq. Cf. Reiffenberg, *Corr. de Marguerite*, pp. 96—105.

religious assemblies, until the King and the States-General should determine otherwise: while the confederates on their part took an oath that they would assist her in suppressing all disturbances. Margaret, however, was highly mortified by this proceeding, and she wrote to her brother urging him to come in person and subdue the country.

Until these disturbances, the Regent had acted with the party of the Prince of Orange; but she now returned to the conservative party in the Council, which she had abandoned two years before, and took as her chief counsellors Viglius, Berlaimont, Arschot, and Count Mansfeld. The Orange party bore the estrangement of the Regent with great coolness, with the exception of Egmont, a staunch Catholic and conservative, although his generous temper led him to sympathize with his oppressed fellow-countrymen. The Prince of Orange, Count Horn, and Count Hoogstraaten proceeded into their respective governments and made arrangements by which the malcontents were to retain some of the churches which they had seized, and to give up others; while Egmont on the other hand proceeded with severity against the rioters in his provinces of Flanders and Artois. Order seemed for awhile to be restored, and the league fell into abeyance.

These divisions among the leaders of the opposition necessarily strengthened the Regent's hands. In fact the confederacy was composed not only of Lutherans and Calvinists, hostile to one another, but also of Catholics hostile to both. Before the close of 1566 the Prince of Orange, whose religion always sat easily upon him, seems to have returned to the Lutheran faith, in which as a child he had been bred up, but which at the early age of eleven, through his education at the Imperial Court, he had changed for Catholicism. Margaret began to restrict the concessions which she had made. She told the Governors of provinces that the licence which she had granted for preaching must be construed literally, and that she would not suffer under it the exercise of other Protestant rites, as baptism, the burial service, &c. Thus interpreted, the licence was nothing but a mockery. The Regent was also raising German and Walloon levies. From these proceedings, as well as from the secret advices which he received from Madrid, the Prince of Orange foresaw that religion and liberty must soon be asserted by the sword; for William's spies are said to have peered into the very letters which Philip II. had locked in his desk at night; nay, even into the memorandums which he put into his pocket on going

to bed. Among his agents was Van den Esse, the King's secretary.¹ He knew that Philip's anger was chiefly directed against the great nobles. Montigny, brother of Count Horn, who had been deputed to Madrid and detained by Philip, also supplied intelligence, and informed his brother that he must be prepared either to fight or fly. Open war was evidently at hand. Margaret's troops had laid siege to Valenciennes, a town noted for heresy. On the other hand Count Louis of Nassau and Brederode were busy in organizing resistance. The royalists under Count Meghem made an attempt on Bois le Duc, which failed, but they succeeded in taking Utrecht. In March, 1567, a bloody battle was fought near Antwerp, between the insurgents, led by Marnix, lord of Tholouse, and the royalists under Lannoy, in which 1500 of the *Gueux* fell, and 300 more were afterwards massacred in cold blood. During this fight, the Prince of Orange, who was at Antwerp, having caused the gates to be shut in order to prevent the citizens from joining Tholouse, a great riot ensued. William was received with shouts of execration and epithets of the Pope's servant, antichrist, &c. A clothier levelled at him an arquebus, which was fortunately pushed aside by another hand; yet the Prince continued calmly to address the mob, and such was the influence of his character that he at length persuaded them to cry with him, *Vive le Roi!* Valenciennes surrendered soon after (April 2nd); Maestricht, Ghent, Ypres, Oudenarde, and many other towns consented to admit garrisons; Meghem and Aremberg restored the royal authority in Gelderland, Groningen, and Friesland; and in the course of a few weeks, except at Antwerp and some places in Holland, all resistance was subdued. Margaret now proposed to the chief nobles an oath of implicit obedience to the King. Most of them complied; but Brederode, Horn, and Hoogstraaten declined it, and resigned their governments and commands. Orange, also, in spite of the wheedling of the Regent, most positively refused to swear, alleging that such an oath would imply a foregone breach of it; but he saw his danger, and determined to leave the country, although Margaret employed every effort to detain him. A last attempt was made through Count Egmont, who had taken the oath, and who had an interview with William at Willebroek. Each strove, but without success, to win over the other to his views, and they now parted for ever, though with mutual esteem and kindness; William ominously predicting that the Spaniards

¹ Pontus Payen, MS.; ap. Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. i p. 502.

would use the Count as a bridge to pass into the Netherlands. It should, however, be remembered that the situation of the two men was different. Egmont's possessions lay entirely in the Low Countries, and his whole hope was consequently bound up with that country, while the Prince had lands in High Germany. To one of these, Dillenburg, the place of his birth, William now retired, carrying with him his younger son, Maurice; his heir, Count Buren, was studying at Louvain. Many other nobles followed the Prince's example, and fled into Germany; among them his brother Louis, Count Hoogstraaten, and others. William in, his retirement applied himself to the study of the Lutheran religion, for which purpose he procured the services of an eminent divine.

Philip's authority seemed to be now completely re-established in the Netherlands. Antwerp submitted and received a large garrison; Margaret entered that city in great state, and attended a *Te Deum* in the cathedral, as if a victory had been achieved over some foreign enemy. The meeting-houses of the Reformers were pulled down and their schools closed; and four of the ring-leaders in the late riots were put to death. The Regent published, May 24th, a severe and bloody edict, ordaining that all Protestants who had preached in public, as well as all who had aided and abetted them, and all printers of heretical tracts should be punished with death and confiscation of their property; while lighter penalties were imposed for minor offences, so that hardly a single Protestant could escape some of its provisions.¹ Yet Philip II. ordered Margaret to recall this edict, as too lenient;—it did not proscribe private worship! Holland was the only province which still remained refractory. Brederode, from his head-quarters at Viana, endeavoured to stir up the citizens of Amsterdam to revolt, but, finding his party subdued, escaped into Westphalia, where in the summer of 1568 he died of a fever, brought on, it is said, by disappointment and hard drinking. After Brederode's departure, Amsterdam submitted to the Regent; but numbers of the citizens availed themselves of the permission to leave the city, and their example was imitated by the inhabitants of many other towns in the Netherlands. France, Germany, and especially England, afforded a refuge to these fugitives. The stream of emigration had already set in towards the last-named country. It was computed in 1566 that there were 30,000 Netherlanders settled in Sandwich, Norwich, and other places assigned to them by Queen Elizabeth; and from a return of the

¹ See the Edict in Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe*, t. i. p. 550.

population of London in the following year, it appeared that the Netherlanders domiciled there equalled all the other foreigners put together. Thus England was enriched, through the impolitic conduct of Philip II., with foreign capital and skill ; each Netherland manufacturer was compelled to employ at least one English apprentice ; the produce of the loom became an article of export instead of import ; and the Protestant cause flourished in its strongest hold through the very means adopted abroad for its repression.¹ A chief motive for the flight of the reformers was the rumoured approach of the Duke of Alva with his Spaniards. Those who remained were exposed to *dragonnades*, and wherever they assembled in numbers were ridden down by the military. Crowds of wandering exiles filled the roads, along the sides of which gibbets were erected *in terrorem*.

It may admit of a question whether the disturbances would have revived in the Netherlands but for the entry of the Duke of Alva and his troops. Margaret had succeeded in quelling them ; she was tolerably popular, at least among the Catholic part of the population ; and she naturally felt indignant that when she had done the work, another should come to enjoy the profit and reputation. Philip talked of going in person into the Low Countries ; he even directed Margaret to prepare some vessels to convey him to Zealand ; and when he sent Alva instead, it was only, he said, to prepare the way for himself. But though fond of sedentary toil, Philip had an aversion to long journeys, and probably never contemplated keeping his word. It was Pope Pius V. who advised the hesitating Philip to take up arms. "He who negotiates without arms," Pius observed, "must submit to receive laws ; with arms, he can dictate them."² Alva took leave of his Sovereign in April, 1567, and proceeded to Carthage, where a fleet under Andrew Doria was awaiting him and his army. His commission of Captain-General was here delivered, the instructions in which were so minute that Alva complained of them as betraying a want of confidence. Charles V. had never so hampered him ; but such was Philip's character. The commission, however, which was dated March 1st, invested Alva with the civil as well as military command in the Netherlands, and was, therefore, in fact, a virtual dismissal of Margaret.³ Landing at Savona,

¹ Letter of the counsellor Assonleville to Cardinal Granvelle, January 15th, 1566, in *Corr. de Philippe II.* t. i. p. 392. The Prince of Orange estimated that up to this period 50,000 persons had been put to death in the Netherlands in con-

formity with the edicts. Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, &c. t. ii. p. 22.

² Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. ii. S. 377.

³ The document is in Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe II.* t. ii. App. No. 102.

Alva began his march with a picked body of Spanish veterans, 10,000 in number, all superbly equipped; and he was also accompanied by many noble volunteers. His forces marched in three divisions, each a day behind the other, so that the quarters vacated by one division were occupied on the following night by another. Philip, as related in the preceding chapter, had obtained permission for his army to pass through part of France, and he had caused a map to be made of the proposed route through Savoy. Alva led the van over Mont Cenis. In order to facilitate his march, he took with him no artillery; but to each company, were attached men who carried huge muskets to be fired from rests, such as had hitherto been used only for the defence of fortresses. As Alva's route lay near Geneva, Pope Pius V. exhorted him to clean out that nest of devils and apostates,¹ and the Genevese put themselves into a posture of defence; but Alva did not attempt the enterprise, alleging that it lay not within his commission. Passing through Burgundy and Lorraine, he was met at Diedenhofen by Egmont and several of the Netherland nobles. The Spaniards entered Brussels August 22nd, amid the silence of the people; and at the threshold of the palace an altercation took place between Alva's guard and that of the Regent. His reception by Margaret was most chilling.

Alva was now sixty years of age, and with increasing years was grown only more stern and inflexible—a fitting instrument of Philip's intolerance. One of his first acts was to replace the Walloons in the garrisons of the principal towns by Spaniards, who were indulged in reckless license. He also caused new fortresses to be constructed. In accordance with his maxim, that the surest method of suppressing all revolutions is to get rid of the leaders, he determined on seizing Counts Egmont and Horn. Egmont thought that he had nothing to fear; the more wary Horn was induced to come to Brussels by protestations of friendship on the part of Alva and his son Frederick de Toledo. On the 9th of September the two nobles were invited to a banquet at the Grand-Prior's; and before it was over they received a message from Alva that he would be pleased to see them after dinner at Jassy House, his residence, in order to consider some plans for the fortification of Antwerp. During the repast, the Grand-Prior earnestly whispered to Egmont to fly the place on his swiftest horse; but Noircarmes and others dissuaded him from a flight which would have the appearance of guilt. Accompanied

¹ Leti, *Vita di Filippo II.* t. i. p. 487.

by Horn, he therefore repaired to Jassy House, where the Council was assembled. When it broke up, Alva strolled with Egmont through some of the adjoining apartments, till at length they entered a small room filled with soldiers, when Davila, captain of the Duke's guard, approached Egmont, demanded his sword, and told him that he was a prisoner. The Count, as he yielded his sword with dignity, only remarked, in allusion to Gravelines and St. Quentin, that it had more than once done the King good service. Horn was entrapped in a similar manner in another part of the house by Alva's son Frederick. It will be remembered that Alva had employed much the same artifice in order to seize the Landgrave Philip at Halle.* The prisoners were carried to Ghent, the command of which place had been given to Ulloa, one of Alva's most trusty captains.

The arrest of Egmont and Horn does not appear to have been ordered by Philip II., who, when the Regent complained of it, denied that it had been done by his command,¹ although, by furnishing Alva with blank warrants, Philip had given him an absolute discretion. In the letter in which Alva announced what he had done, he also counselled the Spanish Court to arrest Horn's brother, Montigny, who was still at Madrid. The seizure of Egmont and Horn occasioned no attempt at resistance or insurrection; but it was the signal for increased emigration; which, however, a few weeks later, was prohibited on pain of death and confiscation.

Alva next proceeded to organize that terrible tribunal which, instead of its official title of the "Council of Tumults," obtained from the people the name of the "Council of Blood." It consisted of twelve judges, among whom were Berlaimont and Noircarmes; but the soul of it were two Spanish lawyers, Del Rio and especially Juan de Vargas, a man of infamous character; and to these men was assigned the prosecution of Egmont and Horn. This court, though established by Alva's sole and verbal appointment, possessed a power as arbitrary as that of the Inquisition; it sat in Alva's own house, who at first presided over it in person; its jurisdiction, within the limits assigned to it, was supreme, and its award final. Its proceedings were so contrary to all law and justice, that Berlaimont, Noircarmes, and some of the more respectable members soon withdrew, and the whole business fell into the hands of the two Spaniards, with Blasere and Hessels,

¹ *Dispaccio di Cavalli*, September 16th, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 61 (Mrs. Austin's translation).

two Netherlanders, who equalled them in atrocity. The manner of its proceedings may be learnt from a single anecdote. On one occasion it was found that a man summoned for trial had been executed before he was arraigned; and it further appeared from his papers that he was entirely innocent. "Never mind," cried Vargas; "so much the better for him when he is arraigned in the next world!"¹ Hessels would often fall asleep during the trials, and when awakened to pronounce judgment would rub his eyes and exclaim, *Ad patibulum! ad patibulum!* (to the gallows! to the gallows!)²

The Prince of Orange and the nobles with him were summoned by the Council to appear at Brussels and answer the charges brought against them within six weeks, under pain of confiscation and perpetual banishment; and a long list of accusations against them was proclaimed by the public crier at Brussels and Breda. William answered by denying the authority of the tribunal. By the advice of Cardinal Granvelle, who was now employed at Rome in the service of Philip, William's son, Count Buren, was seized at Louvain, and sent to Madrid, where, by the blandishments of the Court, he was entirely alienated from the Protestant cause; and being detained twenty-nine years in Spain, became almost a Spaniard in his habits and disposition. The plans of finance, or rather the schemes for extorting money, devised by Alva and his master, were on a par with their administration of justice. The great instruments were confiscation and terror. Alva wrote to Philip he would have every man feel that his house might fall about his ears. Margaret, finding that she had become a mere cipher in the presence of Alva, obtained the King's permission to retire from the government before the end of the year; and Alva was now made Regent and Governor-General, with all the powers she had formerly possessed. Philip would not allow his sister to assemble the States-General in order to take a formal farewell; and she therefore took her leave in letters addressed to the principal cities. She retired first to Parma and afterwards to Naples. Her resignation caused general regret, and several of the provinces voted her large donations.

Margaret's government, though far from spotless, came out in strong relief when contrasted with that of Alva. After her departure began a complete reign of terror. On the 16th of February,

¹ Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.* ap. Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii. p. 145.

² Aubéry *Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire de Hollande*, p. 44. This Hessels was

afterwards summarily hanged without trial by Ryhove, when that demagogue had possession of Ghent (1578).

1568, a sentence of the Holy Office condemned *all* the inhabitants of the Netherlands to *death*! excepting only from the universal doom a few persons especially named. A royal proclamation, dated ten days later, confirmed this decree, and ordered it to be carried into immediate execution, without distinction of age, sex, or condition.¹ Philip had now compassed the wish of the Roman tyrant, that all his subjects had but one neck! Such a sentence, in its literal sense, was, of course, only an impotent though atrocious absurdity; yet it was by no means entirely a dead letter. On Ash Wednesday alone 500 citizens were dragged from their beds, all of whom received sentence of death. Alva, in a letter to Philip, coolly estimates at 800 heads the executions to take place after Passion-week.² The higher criminals were beheaded, the lower ones hanged; obstinate heretics were burnt. Death was often aggravated by torture; and in order to avoid disturbance, the tongue of each prisoner was fastened with an iron ring and seared with a red-hot iron. There were also sentences of banishment and confiscation by wholesale; in one alone were comprehended thirty-five citizens of Amsterdam. These penalties, as we have said, were made a temporary source of revenue, but by drying up the fountain-head; for trade decayed, and the towns became depopulated; at Ghent half the houses were abandoned. The people in the interior, who could not escape so easily as those in the border provinces, banding together in large bodies, took refuge in the forests, where they committed all sorts of excesses, and became nothing more nor less than banditti; whence they obtained the name of *Gueux Sauvages*, or Wild Beggars. The mild and enlightened Emperor Maximilian II. addressed to Philip an autograph letter (March 2nd, 1568), in his own name and that of the German Electors, in behalf of the oppressed Netherlanders, interceding also for Egmont and Horn; and he even reminded the Spanish King that the Netherlands formed part of the Empire, and were entitled to be protected by the humane law of the Imperial constitution. Philip replied by vaunting his regard for justice, which had prevented him from putting an end to the disturbances in a single day. He asserted that all the world would at last approve his conduct, and declared that he would not act differently, though he should risk the loss of the provinces, and though the sky should fall upon his head!³ So besotted was he

¹ See Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii. p. 158, and the authorities there cited.

² *Corr. de Philippe II.* t. ii. p. 23.

³ See Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe II.* t. ii. p. 27.

at once with bigotry, and with his notions of the divine right of Kings!

Meanwhile the Prince of Orange was making every exertion to raise an army to repress these tyrannies. He applied for assistance to the English government, the German Princes, the French Hugonots; he raised money by contributions from the Netherlands, from the nobles attached to him, and by pawning his own plate and jewels; and by the end of April he had collected a considerable force, which would have been still larger but for the bigotry of the zealous German Lutherans, whose divines openly preached that the Hugonots and Calvinists of France and the Netherlands were rebels and sacramentaries, and that it would be doing God good service to abolish and ruin them.¹ Orange had planned a campaign to consist of an attack in three divisions. A French adventurer named Cocqueville was to lead a body of Hugonots into Artois; Count Hoogstraaten, accompanied by other nobles, was to penetrate into Brabant; the Prince's brothers, Louis and Adolf, were to attack Groningen; while William himself, fixing his head-quarters with a reserve force near Cleves, was to join any division that might stand in need of support. When on the point of thus openly taking up arms against his Sovereign, Orange, in reply to the sentence of condemnation which had been passed upon him, published in the summer of 1568 a paper or manifesto, which he called his "justification."² The chief purport of it was to repudiate the jurisdiction of the infamous Council of Blood; and it was concluded with an eloquent burst of indignation against Philip, who had forgotten the Prince's services and those of his ancestors, and had robbed him of his honour and his son, both dearer to him than life, while at the same time the King had degraded himself by breaking all his royal oaths and obligations. William also announced in this paper his change of religion.

Two of the attacks projected by Orange completely failed. Hoogstraaten's division was beaten by Davila about the end of April, and the remnant of it joined the reserve at Cleves; Cocqueville's force of about 2,500 men was cut to pieces at St. Valéri, July 18th, by Marshal de Cossé, Governor of Picardy, scarce 300 men escaping. Louis of Nassau was more successful in Groningen against the Count of Aremberg and a body of Spanish veterans. Louis had taken up a strong position near Winschoten. His rear

¹ See Groen van Prinsterer, *Arch. de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*, t. iii. p. 334.

² Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii. p. 180 sq.

was covered by the abbey of Heyligerlee and a thick wood ; in front the ground sloped down to an extensive morass ; his left was protected by a hill, and on his right he had planted his cavalry, under his brother Adolf. Aremberg was loth to attack so strong a position, till, nettled by the taunts of the Spaniards, who accused him of cowardice and treachery, he gave the order to advance. The Spaniards had soon occasion to repent their rashness. Their vanguard immediately became entangled in the morass, where it was at the mercy of the enemy's musketeers and pikemen, while Louis's cavalry charged their rearguard in flank, and put them completely to the rout. Aremberg himself fell, and 1,600 of his men ; besides which the royalists lost nine guns, their military stores, and a considerable sum of money. On the other side, Count Adolf was slain. Such was the BATTLE OF HEYLIGERLEE, fought May 23rd, 1568.¹

The victory of Heyligerlee proved the death-warrant of Counts Egmont and Horn. Although those noblemen had been imprisoned nearly nine months, their trial was not yet finished, and Alva now determined to bring it to a close. In his correspondence with Philip, Alva observed that this disaster to the royal arms had thrown the people into a ferment ; it was necessary, therefore, to show that he did not fear them, and to crush all hope that the prisoners could be liberated by a fresh insurrection ; and he adverted to the error of Charles V., who, by retaining the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse in custody, instead of putting them to death, gave occasion to a new conspiracy, by which he was ignominiously driven from Germany, and almost deprived of the Imperial Crown.² As a prelude to the proceedings against Egmont and Horn, nineteen members of the Union, chiefly men of rank, and including both Catholics and Protestants, were condemned to death, and were executed June 1st, in the great square before the Hôtel de Ville at Brussels. The Catholics were beheaded, the Protestants burnt. Other executions followed during the next two days.

Egmont and Horn, who had been treated with great rigour in the Castle of Ghent, and hardly allowed the necessaries of life, were now told that the time allowed for their defence had expired, and that no further evidence could be heard. Both prisoners being Knights of the Golden Fleece claimed to be tried by the statutes of the order ; while Egmont, as a Brabanter, further appealed to

¹ Alva's correspondence respecting this invasion is in Gachard, t. iii.

Dispaccio di Cavalli, July 3, 1568, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 62.

the protection of the *Joyeuse Entrée*, and Horn, as a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, demanded to be judged by his peers, the Electors and Princes of Germany. But precedents and constitutional forms were of no account in the eyes either of Alva or of his master. Alva declared that he represented Philip not as head of the order, but as sovereign of the land, and refused to receive any more petitions; while the King of Spain violated without scruple the oath which he had sworn both to the Fleece and to the *Joyeuse Entrée*. The wives of both prisoners made great exertions in their favour, but in vain, although Egmont's consort was sister to the Rhenish Palgrave, Frederick III. Egmont's indictment consisted of ninety-nine articles, of which the principal were, plotting to expel the King of Spain from the Netherlands; conspiring against the life and character of Cardinal Granvelle; demanding the removal of that minister and inventing the foolscap livery; requiring that the three Councils should be fused into one; demanding the assembly of the States-General; declaring that the edicts were too rigorous, and that he would not assist in burning 40,000 or 50,000 men; making arrangements with the Prince of Orange and others for the levying of troops; permitting at his table the cry of *Vivent les Gueux!* and many other charges of a similar description.¹ The accusations against Count Horn were of much the same kind. Casembrot, Lord of Beckerzel, Egmont's secretary, who had been condemned to death for signing the "Compromise," was tortured in the most barbarous manner to make him accuse his master; and when nothing to justify the Count's condemnation could be extorted from the secretary, Alva directed that he should be torn asunder by horses. On the 2nd of June, the Council of Tumults pronounced Egmont and Horn guilty, and they were sentenced to death by that illegal and arbitrary tribunal. On the same day a body of 3,000 soldiers was despatched to Ghent to escort the prisoners to Brussels, which city they entered on the 4th, and were conducted to the Broodhuis in the market-place. Alva sent for the Bishop of Ypres, and told him to prepare the two noblemen for the fate they were to suffer on the following day; and when the Bishop, who was a personal friend of Egmont's, fell at Alva's feet and implored him to grant a somewhat longer time for preparation, the Duke sternly rebuked him, telling him that he had not been summoned to obstruct the course of justice, but to discharge towards the prisoners the duties of his holy office.

¹ See the *Procès d'Egmont*, ap. Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii. p. 177.

At the news of his unexpected fate Egmont was at first struck with astonishment and dismay ; but soon recovering himself, prepared, with the assistance of the good Bishop, to meet his death with calmness and resignation. He then addressed a letter to his wife, and another¹ to Philip, in which he protested that he had done nothing against the King, and besought him to have pity on his wife and children. He was beheaded in the great square on the morning of the 5th of June, and met his death with constancy. Horn's execution followed on the same scaffold about noon. He also died with fortitude, though he displayed more violence and indignation than Egmont at his unmerited fate. He was outshone by Egmont, who, though far from being a great man, was a showy personage, brave, sparkling, popular, but weak and vacillating. Horn, who was of more quiet, retiring manners, passed for morose ; yet he also was but a commonplace character, and has been rendered conspicuous only by his tragic fate. More than two years after, Horn's brother, Baron Montigny, who, though a prisoner in Spain, had been tried and condemned by the Council of Tumults at Brussels, was privily put to death by order of Philip II. in the fortress of Simancas. He and the Marquis of Bergen had been despatched, in 1566, to Madrid, to lay before Philip the critical state of the Netherlands, and to demand an alteration of policy. They never returned. Bergen appears to have died a natural death, hastened on by fear and anxiety : Montigny was executed by the *garotte*, October 16th, 1570. It was given out that he also had died from natural causes ; but the true story has at length come out from Philip's own letters preserved in the archives of Simancas.²

Since his victory at Heyligerlee, Count Louis of Nassau had been forced to remain inactive, for want of funds to pay his troops ; and Alva, after the execution of Egmont and Horn, resolved to march against him in person. Louis, having thus opposed to him the most consummate captain of the age, at the head of 15,000 veterans, while his own army, though superior in number, was composed of raw recruits, deemed it prudent to evacuate Groningen and East Friesland ; and he took up a fortified position at Jemgum, between Emden and Leer. It would have been difficult to select a worse position. He had shut himself up, as in a *cul-de-sac*, in a small peninsula, formed by the river Ems and the Dollart, so that in case of a reverse, retreat was impossible. Here he was attacked by Alva on the 20th and

¹ Strada, t. i. p. 235.

² See Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe II.* t. ii. p. 158 sq.

21st July ; his whole army was dispersed or killed, and he himself escaped with difficulty by stripping and swimming across the Ems. His men had basely fled before the action began, and Louis was obliged to fire with his own hand the guns which defended the road leading to the position. After this victory, Alva marched against Orange, who had at length appeared on the banks of the Meuse and the Schelde with so considerable a German force that Alva did not venture to attack him ; but knowing that he had no money wherewith to pay his troops, resolved to wear him out by delay. The plan succeeded : the Prince's army could not be kept together, and he and his brother Louis retired into Germany, whence they afterwards proceeded, with about 1,200 horse, to assist the Hugonots in France. The campaign being thus concluded, Alva made his triumphant entry into Brussels ; and he soon after gave a signal proof of his vanity and arrogance by causing a bronze statue of himself to be erected at Antwerp, which represented him trampling upon a monster bearing emblems typifying the Petition, the Compromise, and the ensuing Insurrection. An inscription on the pedestal described him as having extinguished heresy and rebellion, and restored the Netherlands to peace and justice. He also caused several medals to be struck, equally offensive by their vanity and presumption.

The next year or two was passed in comparative tranquillity, although Alva still continued his cruelties and oppressions. Having dried up by his impolitic government the usual sources of revenue, he naturally found himself in want of money, and he was forced to have recourse to an assembly of the States-General in order to obtain supplies ; but he experienced nothing but unwillingness and opposition. His extortionate system of taxation, as it reached everybody, procured for the Spanish government more universal hatred even than the religious persecutions, and alienated Catholics as well as Protestants. Regardless of the essential difference between the two countries, Alva applied the Spanish system of finance to the Netherlands, and in March, 1569, issued decrees for a tax of the one-hundredth penny, or one per cent., on all property real and personal ; of the twentieth penny, or five per cent., on every transfer of real estate ; and of the tenth penny, or ten per cent., on every article sold. This last tax, which was similar to that called the *Alcavala*, in Spain, naturally occasioned the utmost anger and consternation in a commercial country like the Netherlands. It was Alva's ill-success as a financier that first led Philip to withdraw from him his confidence ;

and the increasing disorders in the Netherlands at length determined the Spanish King to supersede him.

In the civil disorganization produced by bad government had risen up, besides the *Gueux Sauvages* already mentioned, a host of formidable pirates, called *Gueux de la Mer*, or Beggars of the Sea. These rovers, to whom the Prince of Orange had granted letters of marque, were accustomed, without any very scrupulous regard to international law, to seize all the prizes they could lay their hands on, which they sold in English ports. These practices had occasioned disputes between the Spanish government in the Netherlands and that of Queen Elizabeth, between which there already existed a bad feeling, occasioned by Elizabeth having temporarily laid an embargo on some vessels having money on board for the Netherland government; an act which Alva had retaliated (January, 1569,) by not only seizing all English property in the Low Countries, but also by arresting every Englishman he could lay hands on. Alva, however, advised Philip not openly to resent the injuries of Elizabeth till he had subdued his revolted subjects in the Netherlands; and for the next three or four years it was difficult to say whether Spain and England were at peace or war. Elizabeth helped the patriots in the Netherlands with money, while Philip fomented sedition and conspiracy in England. The aggressions of the water *Gueux*, however, became at length so daring, and the remonstrances of the Spanish government so loud, that, in March, 1572, Elizabeth found herself obliged to issue an order forbidding her subjects to supply the Dutch pirates with provisions. This event may be said incidentally to have occasioned the foundation of the Dutch Republic. La Marck, one of the chief leaders of the water *Gueux*, finding himself obliged to leave England, sailed with twenty-four vessels to Voorne, the northernmost island of Zealand, and succeeded in seizing Brielle, its chief town, which, with its fortified harbour, now became the stronghold of these pirates. Hence the revolt gradually spread to other northern towns and provinces. The island of Walcheren, and then Enkhuysen, the key of the Zuider Zee, threw off the Spanish yoke; and their example was soon followed by Oudewater, Dort, Haarlem, Leyden, Gorcum, Gouda, Medemblik, Alkmaar, and other places, as well as by many towns in Utrecht, Gelderland and Overijssel. The towns of Friesland next received patriotic garrisons. The Prince of Orange summoned deputies from the nobles and twelve principal towns of the county of Holland, to meet at Dort, July 15th,

1572. Amsterdam and Rotterdam, being still in possession of the Spaniards, could not comply with this requisition; but deputies from eight towns appeared, and declared that they recognized William as Philip's lawful Stadholder in Holland, Zealand, Friesland and Utrecht, and that they would use their influence with the other provinces to procure his appointment as Protector of all the Netherlands during the King's absence. The revolt was assisted by the talents of Ste. Aldegonde, whose ode of *Wilhelmus van Nassouwe*, the Dutch Marseillaise, has remained the national air. At the same time he published his *Byenkorf* (Beehive), a satire on the Romish Church, in the manner of Ulrich von Hutten.

In these alarming circumstances, Philip thought it prudent to try a change of policy. The bow, drawn too tightly, had snapped in his hands, and he was therefore disposed for a while to relax his coercive policy. He was further embarrassed at this period by an empty exchequer, and by the attitude assumed by the French Court, which, as we have related in the preceding chapter, seemed heartily to have embraced the cause of the Netherland Calvinists. The mere sojourn of Coligni at Paris, and the expectations which resulted from it, gave an immense moral force to the patriotic party in the Low Countries. Louis of Nassau, with the aid of a body of French Hugonots headed by La Noue, had succeeded in seizing Valenciennes and Mons (May, 1572); a diversion which had disabled Alva from immediately attending to the revolt in Holland. While Alva was employed in besieging Louis in Mons, the Prince of Orange appeared on the Meuse with an army levied in Germany, captured Roermonde and Louvain, obtained possession of Mechlin through the mediation of the Lord of Dorp, and advanced to the relief of Mons by Dendermonde and Oudenarde, which he took. Abandoned by his master, oppressed by the difficulties which surrounded him, Alva had completely lost his head and taken to consulting the necromancers.¹ The capture of Genlis, and a body of Hugonots with whom he was marching to the relief of Mons (July 19th), who, as we have already related, were betrayed by the French Court, somewhat improved the prospects of Alva. It was September ere Orange arrived before Mons, and his hopes of assistance from France had now been completely frustrated by the massacre of St. Bartholo-

¹ "Le duc d'Albe est désespéré. On a mandé son fils. Son secrétaire n'ose pas rester seul avec lui; à chaque nouvelle on dirait qu'il va rendre l'âme. Ce

qui me déplaît c'est qu'il écoute les devins, la nécromancie."—*Letter of Morillon, ap. Michelet, Guerres de Rel. p. 408.*

² *Ante*, p. 324,

mew, and the change of policy on the part of the French Court. While he lay encamped at Hermigny, William was nearly seized in his tent on the night of September 11th by a *camisade* of the Spaniards. His guards had fallen asleep; but he was alarmed by a little spaniel which always passed the night on his bed. He had barely time to escape. His master of the horse, his two secretaries, and some of his servants were cut down, his tents burnt, and 600 of his men killed, while the Spaniards suffered a loss of only sixty. As William was ill-provided with funds for the payment of his troops, who had already begun to murmur, his only resource was an immediate action, which, however, Alva carefully avoided; and the Prince was at length compelled to retreat¹ by Nivelles, Mechlin and Orsoy. On crossing the Rhine he disbanded his troops, who had begun to mutiny. After his departure, his brother Louis obtained an honourable capitulation from Alva (September 20th), who had begun to despair of reducing Mons, and agreed that all the soldiers and volunteers who had borne arms during the siege should be dismissed with the honours of war. La Noue and his band of Hugonots retired into France. La Noue was received with distinction by Charles IX., and afterwards employed by him in negotiating with the Hugonots in La Rochelle; but the soldiers who came with him appear to have been put to death.² With a horrible perfidy, Charles IX., after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, had instructed Mondoucet, his envoy in the Netherlands, to urge upon Alva the necessity of putting to the sword, as rebels to the Crown of France, all the French prisoners whom he had made, or might capture in Mons, although they had been despatched into the Netherlands with Charles's sanction. "If he tells you," said Charles, "that this is tacitly requiring him to put to death all the French prisoners now in hand (Genlis and his companions), as well as to cut to pieces every man in Mons, you will say to him that this is exactly what ought to be done, and that he will be guilty of a great wrong to Christianity if he does otherwise."³ Yet at the same time he instructed Mondoucet to maintain the closest but most secret intelligence with the Prince of Orange. To the slaughter of the French, Philip of course cordially agreed,

¹ He was followed by an assassin, one Heist, a German, hired by the Duke of Alva, who, however, found no opportunity to take his life. *Letter of Mondoucet to Charles IX.*, ap. Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii. p. 399.

² "To gratify the King of Spain, those 800 that came from Mons were put to the sword."—Walsingham in Digges, p. 269.

³ *Letter to Mondoucet*, discovered by Emile Gachet in the library at Rheims, ap. Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii. p. 395.

and in a letter to Alva added this postscript with his own hand : " I desire that if you have not already rid the world of them, you will do so immediately, and inform me thereof, for I see no reason why it should be deferred." ¹ Genlis and his companions accordingly fell victims. The opinion that Alva faithfully observed the capitulation of Mons, seems to be erroneous. ² Many of the volunteers who had lingered behind were put to death ; a Commission of Tumults, like that at Brussels, was erected by Noircarmes, and for nearly a year executions went on. The fall of Mons involved that of the other towns of Brabant and Flanders, and put an end to the temporary revolution of the southern provinces. Alva determined to make an example of Mechlin, where neither man, woman nor child was spared.

Orange ultimately retired into Holland, where the revolt had been completely successful. We have already adverted to some symptoms of a milder policy on the part of Philip. He contemplated superseding Alva by the Duke of Medina Celi, which nobleman had been despatched with a fleet to reduce the Beggars of the Sea on the Netherland coasts. But the Duke's fleet, consisting of fifty large ships was useless in those shallow waters ; the rebels, who had three times the number of small vessels, completely worsted him, and he was glad to save a remnant of his fleet in Sluys. He saw how difficult would be the government of the Netherlands, and he declined to relieve Alva from responsibilities which he had himself created, though he assisted that commander with his presence at Mons. During William's absence the revolt in Holland was conducted by his deputy Stadholder, Sonoy ; while in Gelderland, Friesland, and Utrecht, it was organized by Count van den Bergh, who had married a sister of the Prince's. When Orange appeared in Holland he was formally recognized as Stadholder, and a council of State was assigned him to conduct the government. He soon afterwards obtained possession of Gertruidenberg.

After the capture of Mons, Alva returned to Brussels and left the conduct of the war to his son, Frederick de Toledo. Zutphen and Naarden successively yielded to Frederick's arms, and became the scenes of the most detestable violence. Alva ordered his son not to leave a single man alive in Zutphen, and to burn down all the houses,—commands which were most literally obeyed. The treatment of Naarden was still more revolting.

¹ Letter of Philip, 18th Sept., 1572, in Gachard, *Particularités inédites sur la Saint-Barthélemy*, *ibid.* p. 391.

Ibid. 403.

The town had capitulated, and Don Julian Romero, an officer of Don Frederick's, had pledged his word that the lives and property of the inhabitants should be respected. Romero then entered the town with some 500 musketeers, for whom the citizens provided a sumptuous feast; and he summoned the inhabitants to assemble in the Gast Huis Church, then used as a town hall. More than 500 of them had entered the church when a priest suddenly rushing in, bade them prepare for death. Scarcely had the announcement been made when a band of Spanish soldiers entered, and, after discharging a volley into the defenceless crowd, attacked them sword in hand. The church was then fired, and the dead and dying consumed together. But these cruelties only steeled the Netherlanders to a more obstinate resistance; nor must it be concealed that in these *plusquam civilia bella*, where civil hatred was still further embittered by sectarian malignancy, the Dutch sometimes displayed as much cruelty and brutality as their adversaries. During the struggle in Zeeland, a surgeon at Veer cut out the heart of a Spanish prisoner, and, fixing it on the prow of a vessel, invited his fellow-townsmen to fix their teeth in it,—an invitation with which many complied.¹

The war was continued during the winter (1572-73). In December the Spaniards marched to attack a fleet frozen up near Amsterdam. It was defended by a body of Dutch musketeers on skates, who, by the superior skill of their evolutions, drove the enemy back and killed great numbers of them. In consequence of this extraordinary combat, Alva ordered 7,000 pairs of skates, and directed his soldiers to be instructed in their use. Siege was then laid to Haarlem, which town, warned by the fate of Zutphen and Naarden, made a defence that astonished all Europe. A corps of 300 respectable women, armed with musket, sword, and dagger, and led by Kenau Hasselaer, a widow of distinguished family, about forty-seven years of age, enrolled themselves among its defenders, and partook in some of the most fiercely contested actions. Battles took place upon Haarlem lake, on which the Prince of Orange had more than 100 sail of various kinds; till at length Bossu, whose vessels were larger, though less numerous, entirely defeated the Hollanders, and swept the lake in triumph (May 28th). The siege had lasted seven months, and Frederick de Toledo, who had lost a great part of his army

¹ Mosley, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 366. This barbarous act is perhaps more than paralleled by one of Alva's; who, two or three years after the capture of Briel, caused a

nobleman named Uitenhove, who had assisted in the capture, to be roasted alive at a slow fire.—Brandt, *Hist. of Ref. B. x.* (vol. i. p. 306, ed. 1720).

by hunger, cold and pestilence, was inclined to abandon the enterprise; but he was kept to it by the threats of his father, and on the 12th of July Haarlem surrendered. Don Frederick had written a letter solemnly assuring the besieged that no punishment should be inflicted except on those who deserved it in the opinion of the citizens themselves; yet he was in possession of strict orders from his father to put to death the whole garrison, except the Germans, and also to execute a large number of the inhabitants. Between 2,000 and 3,000 were slaughtered; 300 were drowned in the lake tied by twos, back to back.

The resistance of Haarlem and other places determined Alva to try what might be done by an affectation of clemency; and on the 26th of July he issued a proclamation in which Philip was compared to a hen gathering its chickens under the parental wing. But in the same breath his subjects were admonished not to excite his rage, cruelty, and fury; and were threatened that if his gracious offers of mercy were neglected, his Majesty would strip bare and utterly depopulate the land, and cause it to be inhabited by strangers.¹ So ludicrous a specimen of paternal love was not calculated to inspire the Hollanders with much confidence; and Alkmaar, the next town to which Don Frederick laid siege, though defended only by 800 soldiers and 1,300 citizens against 16,000 veterans, also resolved to hold out to the last extremity. Enraged at this contempt of what he called his clemency at Haarlem, Alva resolved to make Alkmaar an example of his cruelty, and he wrote to Philip that every one in it should be put to the sword.² But the inhabitants made an heroic defence and repulsed the besiegers in many a bloody assault; till at length the superstitious Spaniards, believing that the place was defended by the devil, whom they thought the Protestants worshipped, refused to mount to the attack, suffering themselves rather to be run through the body by their officers; and Don Frederick, finding from an intercepted letter that the Prince of Orange contemplated cutting the dykes and flooding the country, raised the siege (October 8th).

About this time, William published an "Epistle in the form of supplication to his Royal Majesty of Spain, from the Prince of Orange and States of Holland and Zealand," which produced a profound impression. It demanded that the privileges of the country should be restored, and insisted on the recall of the Duke of Alva, whose atrocities were vigorously denounced. Orange,

¹ Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii. p. 460.

² *Corr. de Philippe II.* t. ii. p. 402.

as Stadholder, had always acted as the King's representative in Holland, and gave all his orders in Philip's name. He had recently turned Calvinist, and in October publicly joined the Church at Dort. It was reserved for the two greatest Princes of the age to alleviate by their apostasy the evils inflicted on society by a consistent but bloodthirsty bigotry: an apostasy, however, which approached more nearly than the orthodoxy of their adversaries the spirit of true Christianity.

The siege of Alkmaar was one of the last acts under Alva's auspices in the Netherlands, and formed a fitting termination to his career. He had himself solicited to be recalled, and in December, 1573, he was superseded by Don Luis de Requesens, Grand Commander of St. Iago. In fact, Philip had found this war of extermination too expensive for his exhausted treasury. Alva boasted on his journey back that he had caused 18,600 Netherlanders to be executed. He was well received by Philip, but soon after his return was imprisoned, along with his son, Don Frederick: the latter for having seduced a maid of honour, his father for recommending him not to marry his victim.¹ Alva was, however, subsequently released to undertake the conquest of Portugal, as will be related in another chapter. Requesens, the new Governor, had been vice-admiral to Don John of Austria, had distinguished himself at the battle of Lepanto, and had subsequently governed the Milanese with reputation. He was mild and just, and more liberal than the generality of Spaniards, though inferior to Alva in military talent.² He attempted immediately after his arrival in the Netherlands to bring about a peace through the mediation of Ste. Aldegonde; but Orange was too suspicious to enter into it. Requesens put down robbery and murder; but he was neither able to abrogate the Council of Tumults nor to lighten the oppressive taxes. Philip had selected him as Governor of the Netherlands as a pledge of the more conciliatory policy which he had thought it prudent to adopt; yet Requesens' hands were tied up with such injunctions as rendered all conciliation hopeless; and he was instructed to bring forward no measures which had not for their basis the maintenance of the King's absolute authority and the prohibition of all worship except the Roman Catholic.³

The *Gueux* of the sea were at this time most troublesome to the

¹ See the *Apologie* of the Prince of Orange.

² "Largitor et comis plusquam Hispanis solitum; peritiam Albano impar, haud

egens tamen bellicæ laudis."—Grotius, *Ann.* p. 60 (ed. 1658).

³ Letter of Philip, March 30th, 1574, in *Corr. de Guillaume le Taciturne*, t. iii.

Spaniards, as their small vessels enabled them to penetrate up the rivers and canals. A naval action had been fought (October 11th, 1573) on the Zuider Zee between Count Bossu, who had collected a considerable fleet at Amsterdam, and the patriot Admiral Dirkzoon, in which Bossu was completely defeated, and taken prisoner. One of the first acts of Requesens was to send a fleet under Sancho Davila, Julian Romero, and Admiral Glimes to the relief of Middelburg, which had been besieged by the patriots upwards of eighteen months, and was now reduced to the last extremity. Orange visited the Zealand fleet under the command of Louis Boissot (January 20th, 1574), and an action ensued a few days after, in which the Spaniards were completely beaten. Requesens himself beheld the battle from the lofty dyke of Schakerloo, where he stood all day in a drenching rain; and Romero, who had escaped by jumping out of a porthole, swam ashore and landed at the very feet of the Grand Commander. The Hollanders and Zealanders were now masters of the coast; but the Spaniards still held their ground in the interior of Holland. After raising the siege of Alkmaar, they had invested Leyden, and cut off all communication between the Dutch cities.

The efforts of the patriots were less fortunate on land, where they were no match for the Spanish generals and their veteran troops. It had been arranged that Louis of Nassau should march out of Germany with an army of newly-levied recruits and form a junction with his brother William, who was at Bommel on the Waal. Towards the end of February, 1574, Louis encamped within four miles of Maestricht, with the design of taking that town; but finding that he could not accomplish this object, and having suffered some losses, he marched down the right bank of the Meuse to join his brother. When, however, he arrived at Mook, a village on the Meuse, a few miles south of Nymegen, he found himself intercepted by the Spaniards under Davila, who, having outmarched him on the opposite bank, had crossed the river at a lower point on a bridge of boats, and placed themselves directly in his path. There was now no alternative but to fight, and battle was delivered on the following day on the heath of Mook, when fortune declared against the patriots. The gallant Louis, seeing that the day was lost, put himself at the head of a little band of troopers, and, accompanied by his brother Henry, and Duke Christopher, son of the Elector Palatine Frederick III., made a desperate charge, in which they all perished and were never heard of more. The only effect of Louis's invasion was to

cause the Spaniards to raise the siege of Leyden, which, however, they resumed May 26th.

The defence of Leyden formed a worthy parallel to that of Haarlem and Alkmaar, and acquired for the garrison and the inhabitants the respect and admiration of all Europe. A modern historian¹ has aptly observed that this was the heroic age of Protestantism. Never have the virtues which spring from true patriotism and sincere religious conviction been more strikingly developed and displayed. Leyden was defended by John van der Does, Lord of Nerdwyck, a gentleman of distinguished family, but still more distinguished by his learning and genius, and his Latin poetry published under the name of Joannes Douza. The garrison of Leyden was small, and it relied for its defence chiefly on the exertions of the inhabitants. The revictualling of the city had been neglected after the raising of the first siege, and at the end of June it became necessary to put the inhabitants on short allowance; yet they held out more than three months longer. Orange, whose head-quarters were at Delft and Rotterdam, had no means of relieving Leyden, except by breaking down the dykes on the Meuse and the Yssel, and thus flooding the country; a step which would involve the destruction of the growing crops, besides other extraordinary expenses; yet he succeeded in obtaining the consent of the States of Holland to this extreme and desperate measure. On the 3rd of August he superintended in person the rupture of the dykes on the Yssel; at the same time the sluices of Rotterdam and Schiedam were opened; the flood began to pour over the land, while the citizens of Leyden watched with anxious eyes from the so-called Tower of Hengest the rising of the waters. A flotilla of 200 flat-bottomed vessels had been provided, stored with provisions for the relief of the town, and manned by 2,500 veterans under the command of Boisot. But unexpected obstacles arose. Dykes still appeared above the water, and had to be cut through amid the resistance of the Spaniards. Twice the waters receded under the influence of the east wind, and left the fleet aground; twice it was floated again, as if by a providential interposition, by violent gales from the north and west, which accumulated on the coast the waters of the ocean. Meanwhile the besieged were suffering all the extremities of famine, the most disgusting garbage was used for food, and caused a pestilence which carried off thousands. In this extremity a number of the citizens surrounded the burgomaster,

Adrian van der Werf, demanding, with loud threats and clamours, that he should either provide them food or surrender the city to the enemy. To these menaces Adrian calmly replied, "I have taken an oath that I will never put myself or my fellow-citizens in the power of the cruel and perfidious Spaniards, and I will rather die than violate it." Then, drawing his sword, he offered it to the surrounding crowd and bade them plunge it in his bosom, and devour his flesh, if such an action could relieve them from their direful necessity. This extraordinary address filled the people with amazement and admiration, and inspired them with a new courage. Their constancy was soon rewarded with deliverance. On the night of the 1st October a fresh gale set in from the north-west; the ocean rushed furiously through the ruined dykes; the fleet had soon two feet of water, and pursued its onward course amid storm and darkness. It had still to contend with the vessels of the enemy, and a naval battle was fought amid the boughs of orchards and the chimney-stacks of houses. But this was the last attempt at resistance on the part of the Spaniards. Appalled both by the constancy of their adversaries and by the rising flood, which was gradually driving them into a narrower circle, the Spaniards abandoned the two remaining forts of Zoetermonde and Lammen, which still stood between the fleet and the city. From the latter they fled in alarm at the noise of the falling of a large portion of the town walls which had been thrown down by the waters, and which in the darkness they luckily mistook for some operation of their adversaries; otherwise they might easily have entered and captured Leyden. The fleet of Boisot approached the city on the morning of October 3rd. After the pangs of hunger were relieved, the whole population repaired to church to return thanks to the Almighty for their deliverance. On the 4th of October another providential gale from the north-east assisted in clearing off the water from the land. In commemoration of this remarkable defence, and as a reward for the heroism of the citizens, was founded the University of Leyden, as well as a ten days' annual fair, free from all tolls and taxes.¹ During this siege the *Gueux* had been again successful at sea. On the 30th of May, Boisot defeated between Lilloo and Kalloo a Spanish fleet, took the admiral and three ships, and chased the rest into Antwerp.

¹ The siege is described by two contemporary Dutch writers, Jan Fruytiers and Bar. The English reader will find

all he can desire in Mr. Motley's excellent description (*Dutch Rep.* pt. iv. ch. ii.).

The bankrupt state of Philip II.'s exchequer,¹ and the reverses which his arms had sustained, induced him to accept, in the following year, the proffered mediation of the Emperor Maximilian, which he had before so arrogantly rejected, and a congress was held at Breda from March till June, 1575. But the insurgents were suspicious, and Philip was inflexible; he could not be induced to dismiss his Spanish troops, to allow the meeting of the States-General, or to admit the slightest toleration in matters of religion; and the contest was therefore renewed with more fury than ever. The situation of the patriots became very critical when the enemy, by occupying the islands of Duiveland and Schouwen, cut off the communication between Holland and Zeeland; especially as all hope of succour from England had expired. Towards the close of the year envoys were despatched to solicit the aid of Elizabeth, and to offer her, under certain conditions, the sovereignty of Holland and Zeeland. Requesens sent Champagny to counteract these negotiations, which ended in nothing. The English Queen was afraid of provoking the power of Spain, and could not even be induced to grant the Hollanders a loan. The attitude assumed at that time by the Duke of Alençon in France, also prevented them from entering into any negotiations with that Prince.

In these trying circumstances, Orange displayed the greatest firmness and courage. It was now that he is said to have contemplated abandoning the Netherlands and seeking with its inhabitants a home in the New World, having first restored the country to its ancient state of a waste of waters; a thought, however, which he probably never seriously entertained, though he may have given utterance to it in a moment of despondency. On June 12th, 1575, William had married Charlotte of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Montpensier. The Prince's second wife, Anne of Saxony, had turned out a drunken, violent character, and at length an intrigue which she formed with John Rubens, an exiled magistrate of Antwerp, and father of the celebrated painter, justified William in divorcing her. She subsequently became insane. Charlotte of Bourbon had been brought up a Calvinist, but her father having joined the party of the persecutors Charlotte took refuge with the Elector Palatine; and it was under these circumstances that she received the addresses of the Prince of Orange.

The unexpected death of Requesens, who expired of a fever,

¹ Philip compromised with the public creditors at 58 per cent. See Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, K. iv. § 11.

March, 5th, 1576, after a few days' illness, threw the government into confusion. Philip II. had given Requesens a *carte blanche* to name his successor, but the nature of his illness had prevented him from filling it up. The government therefore devolved to the Council of State, the members of which were at variance with one another; but Philip found himself obliged to intrust it *ad interim* with the administration, till a successor to Requesens could be appointed. Count Mansfeld was made commander-in-chief, but was totally unable to restrain the licentious soldiery. The Spaniards, whose pay was in arrear, had now lost all discipline. After the raising of the siege of Leyden they had beset Utrecht and pillaged and maltreated the inhabitants, till Valdez contrived to furnish their pay. No sooner was Requesens dead than they broke into open mutiny, and acted as if they were entire masters of the country. After wandering about some time and threatening Brussels, they seized and plundered Alost, where they established themselves; and they were soon afterwards joined by the Walloon and German troops. To repress their violence, the Council of State was fain to restore to the Netherlands the arms of which they had been deprived, and called upon them by a proclamation to repress force by force; but these citizen-soldiers were dispersed with great slaughter by the disciplined troops in various rencounters. Ghent, Utrecht, Valenciennes, Maestricht were taken and plundered by the mutineers; and at last the storm fell upon Antwerp, which the Spaniards entered early in November, and sacked during three days. More than 1,000 houses were burnt, 8,000 citizens are said to have been slain, and enormous sums in ready money were plundered. The whole damage was estimated at 24,000,000 florins. The horrible excesses committed in this sack procured for it the name of the "Spanish Fury."

The government at Brussels was at this period conducted in the name of the States of Brabant. On the 5th of September, De Hèze, a young Brabant gentleman, who was in secret intelligence with the Prince of Orange, had, at the head of 500 soldiers, entered the palace where the State Council was assembled, and seized and imprisoned the members. William, taking advantage of the alarm created at Brussels by the sack of Antwerp, had persuaded the State Council to call a general Netherland congress. To this assembly, which met at Ghent on the 14th September, all the provinces, except Luxembourg, sent deputies. The deputies of the southern provinces, although many of them viewed the Prince of Orange with suspicion, feeling that there was no security

for them so long as the Spanish troops remained in the citadel of Ghent, sought his assistance in expelling them, which William consented to grant only on condition that an alliance should be effected between Holland and Zealand on the one part and the other provinces of the Netherlands on the other part. This proposal was agreed to, and towards the end of September, Orange sent several thousand men from Zealand to Ghent, at whose approach the Spaniards surrendered, and evacuated the citadel. The proposed alliance was now converted into a formal union by the treaty called the PACIFICATION OF GHENT, signed November 8th, 1576; by which the Congress agreed, without waiting for the sanction of Philip, whose authority, however, was nominally recognized, to renew the edict of banishment against the Spanish troops, to suspend all placards against heresy, to summon the States-General of the northern and southern provinces, according to the model of the assembly which had received the abdication of Charles V., and to forbid anything to be done by Holland and Zealand against the Roman Catholic religion outside their own territory. About the same time, all Zealand, except the island of Tholen, was recovered from the Spaniards.

At this point we leave for a while the affairs of the Netherlands, to return in another chapter to those of France; but we shall first direct our attention to the reign of the Emperor Maximilian II., who expired this year (1576). Under his pacific sway the history of Germany presents little of European importance, and we shall therefore only briefly advert to some of the more remarkable events of his reign. His wars in Hungary and with the Turks, the only occurrences not of a domestic nature, have been already related.¹ The grand feature of Maximilian's reign is his wise moderation in religious matters. To him belongs the honour of being the first European Sovereign to adopt toleration, not from policy, but principle. The Diet assembled at Augsburg in 1566 would have excluded the Calvinists from the religious peace, and recognized only Papists and Lutherans; but when the Elector Palatine, Frederick III., surnamed the Pious, the only Calvinist Prince in Germany, protested, Maximilian procured for him a tacit toleration. As King of Bohemia, Maximilian annulled the *Compactata* in the first Diet which he held at Prague; and in consequence, the middling and lower classes of the Bohemians, who were mostly Calixtines, and had hitherto enjoyed their religion only by sufferance, openly professed Lutheranism, whilst other

¹ See Chapter xxii.

sects also publicly displayed their dissent from the Romish Church. This is, perhaps, the first example of unlimited toleration given by any monarch. In the following year he relaxed the religious despotism in Austria; but he was arrested by political considerations from carrying out these concessions so far as he might otherwise have done, though he did not withdraw those already granted. His wife, Mary of Castile, a daughter of Charles V., was led by the Jesuits, against whose arts Maximilian himself was proof. The marriage of his eldest daughter Anne to Philip II. of Spain, in November, 1570, strengthened the Roman Catholic party in Austria. Maximilian's oldest son Rodolph, through the influence of his mother, Mary, and her brother, Philip II., was educated in Spain in the strictest principles of the Roman Catholic faith.

The early part of Maximilian's reign was disturbed by a foolish and abortive conspiracy on the part of John Frederick II. of Saxe-Gotha, who ruled, along with his brother, John William, the dominions of the Ernestine Saxon line. The Duke, who was weak and credulous, was haunted with the idea of recovering his father's Electorate; and William of Grumbach, a Franconian knight, who had taken refuge at his Court, after procuring the assassination of the Bishop of Würzburg, by working on this fancy made him the tool of his plots. A necromancer was employed, who, after many magical rites and incantations, by means of an optical illusion, exhibited to John Frederick his own figure, clothed in the Electoral cap and robes. Infatuated with this delusion, he was persuaded to consent to the assassination of his cousin the Elector Augustus; after which the knights and nobility were to rise, and not only to recover the Electorate, but even place John Frederick on the Imperial throne. These projects being discovered, and the Duke having refused to dismiss Grumbach, both were included in the Imperial ban published by the Diet of Augsburg, 1566. The execution of the sentence was intrusted to the Elector Augustus, who laid siege to Gotha. After a blockade of three or four months, the garrison revolted for want of pay, seized Grumbach and the leaders of his party, and delivered them and the town to Augustus by capitulation (April, 1567). The Elector, on entering Gotha, caused his cousin to be apprehended and sent to Vienna, where he spent the remainder of his life, a prisoner in the Castle of the Neustadt. Grumbach and his principal adherents were put to death.

Maximilian, after his treaty with the Porte in 1567, continued

the war in Hungary; till at length, John Sigismund, weary of the Turkish insolence, concluded a secret treaty with the Emperor in 1570, by which he agreed to resign the title of King elect of Hungary. It was also arranged that he should marry Maximilian's niece, Anne, daughter of Albret III., Duke of Bavaria; but the Bavarian princess was persuaded by the Jesuits to withhold her consent, because John Sigismund was a Socinian. That Prince, however, died in the following year (March, 1571), when all his possessions reverted by the treaty to the Emperor, except Transylvania, which, on the death of John Sigismund without issue, was to be considered as an elective principality dependent on Hungary. The Transylvanian Diet elected Stephen Bathory for their voyvode; and their choice was confirmed by Maximilian and the Turks.

In the last year of his life (January, 1576), Maximilian confirmed the title of Francesco, son of Cosmo de' Medici, as Grand Duke of Tuscany, in consideration of Francesco paying a large sum of money, and marrying the Emperor's sister Jane. This affair had excited a violent contest between the Emperor and Rome. Maximilian had annulled the act of Pius V. in erecting the Grand Duchy, and in 1572 had recalled his ambassador from Rome, because Gregory XIII. refused also to annul the bull of Pius for that purpose. After the deposition of the Duke of Anjou¹ (Henry III.) in Poland, Maximilian became a competitor for the Crown of that Kingdom, and obtained the suffrages of the Polish Senate; but Stephen Bathory, by consenting to marry Anne Jagellon, sister of the late King Sigismund II., then fifty years of age, was elected by the Palatine and nobles. Maximilian was preparing to contest the Crown with Stephen, when he was surprised by death, October 12th, 1576, aged forty-nine. One of his last acts was the confirmation of the Turkish truce with Amurâth III., the son and successor of Solim II. Maximilian was one of the most amiable and enlightened Princes that ever occupied the Imperial throne.

Both Philip II. and Charles IX. had entered into secret negotiations with the German Princes in 1573, with a view to obtain the Imperial Crown after the death of Maximilian; and although Philip had made it the business of his life to extirpate heresy, yet he pledged himself, in case of his being elected, to withdraw the Spaniards from the Netherlands, to recognize the union of those provinces with Germany, and, consequently, their claim to the

¹ See below, p. 397.

benefits conferred upon Protestants by the treaty of Passau, and to restore the Prince of Orange and his "accomplices" to their dignities.¹ So much for Philip's sincere religious conviction, the only plea urged in extenuation of his ruthless bigotry! But Maximilian was succeeded by his son Rodolph II., who had been elected King of the Romans in October, 1575, and had previously received the Crowns of Hungary and Bohemia.

We now return, in a fresh chapter, to the affairs of France after the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

¹ *Letter of Gaspar de Schomberg to the Duke of Anjou, Paris, Feb. 10, 1573, in* Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives, 4^e s. t. iv.* p. 30.

CHAPTER XXIV.

WHEN the massacre was ended, the first impulse of the French Court, alarmed at its own deed, was to deny having originated it; and in the instructions sent to the Governors of Provinces, to the "good towns," and to the ambassadors at Protestant Courts, the Guises were designated as the authors of it. It was very far from Catharine's wish to break with the Protestant powers, and thus chain herself to the policy of Rome and Spain. Her first project had been to excite between the Guises and the Hugonot chiefs a strife that should prove fatal to the latter, and in which the King should not appear; and she would willingly have continued this plan after the massacre had been perpetrated; but it was frustrated by Marshal Montmorenci, who, finding that the King denied all participation in the massacre, prepared to unite his party of the *Politiques* with the remnant of the Hugonots, in order to take vengeance on the Guises. This step would have placed Catharine between two parties, neither of which adhered to the King; and it therefore became necessary for Charles to avow an act which he had not feared to perpetrate. Fresh letters contradictory of the former ones were despatched, stating that the execution was necessary to prevent an accursed conspiracy of the Admiral and his adherents against the royal family;¹ and on the 26th of August the King, after hearing a solemn Mass, proceeded to hold a *lit de justice*, when he declared that all that had occurred on the 24th of August had been done by his command. The Court, however, were heartily ashamed of themselves, and when the Legate Orsini, whom the Pope had sent to congratulate them on the occasion, arrived at Paris, he was requested not to talk too much of the "great day," and the King and Queen-Mother absented themselves when he entered the capital. On passing through Lyon, Orsini had complimented the citizens on the zeal which they had displayed for the Catholic faith, and publicly absolved all those

¹ See his letter to Mondoucet, his envoy in the Netherlands, in the *Compte Rendu*

de la Comm. d'Hist. (Belg.) ap. Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. ii. p. 393.

who had been concerned in the massacre, as they knelt before him at the cathedral.

Although the lives of Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé had been spared, a watch was kept over them, and they were importuned to change their religion. Henry, who had early been bred a Catholic, and whose faith always sat easily upon him, went over. Condé at first displayed more firmness. Charles IX. having sent for him and proposed the choice of three things, Mass, death, or Bastille, Condé replied by refusing the first alternative and leaving the choice of the other two to the King. He subsequently yielded, however, to the exhortations of the Jesuit Maldonato and of Suréau des Rosiers, an apostate Calvinist minister; and the two "converted" Princes wrote to the Pope to receive them back into the fold of the Church (October 3rd). Their conversion was followed by that of many others; but the Princes were insincere, and contemplated revoking their compulsory recantation on the first opportunity. Their conduct shows a sad falling off from the earnestness and courage of the early Hugonots. In fact, as M. Michelet well remarks, the French wars of religion end with the massacre of St. Bartholomew; the ardour of fanaticism was succeeded by the indifference of scepticism, and the history of the subsequent struggle is only that of political intrigue under religious pretences.

The princes and grandees of the "cause" were now for the most part either dead, or in exile, or turned renegades; but the principles of the Reformation found support in the citizen class, among whom they had engendered a spirit of republican liberty, and a desire to revive the municipal institutions of the Middle Ages; and though the higher classes in the Protestant towns and districts seemed inclined to submit to the royal ordinances, their selfish and timid egotism was borne down by the enthusiasm of their inferiors. La Rochelle, La Charité, Montauban, and Nîmes were the principal towns in the hands of the Hugonots, who likewise held many fortresses in the Cévennes; but La Charité was soon taken by the royal forces. After the St. Bartholomew, a considerable body of Hugonot soldiers, as well as all the reformed ministers of the surrounding country, had thrown themselves into La Rochelle, which seemed capable of sustaining a long siege; and as the Court at this period, being engaged in canvassing for the Polish Crown for the Duke of Anjou, were desirous of appearing to treat the Hugonots with moderation and clemency, they employed La Noue to conciliate the Rochellois and negotiate

the terms of their surrender. That commander, who, as already related, had just escaped from Mons, plainly told the King when he accepted the office that he would do nothing detrimental to the liberties of the citizens; and the ambassador finished by taking the command of those with whom he had been sent to treat. The negotiations with the Hugonots continued, however, till the winter. Meanwhile their towns were agitating the scheme of a federative Republic with a sort of Roman dictatorship; and though the plan came to nothing, it served to breed an indomitable spirit of resistance. La Rochelle attracted all eyes. After taking the command, La Noue strengthened the fortifications; the mayor, Jacques Henri, stored the town with provisions, and upwards of fifty Calvinist ministers excited by their discourses the religious enthusiasm of the inhabitants. Biron and Strozzi, the commanders of the royal forces, made their first approaches in December; and in February, 1573, the Duke of Anjou came to take the command in chief, accompanied by the Duke of Alençon and all the Princes, including the King of Navarre and Condé. These latter, however, are said to have given the citizens information of all that was passing in the royal camp.

La Rochelle was left entirely to its own resources; it received no help from England; for Elizabeth found it necessary at this period to keep on good terms with the Court of France. The party of Mary was becoming troublesome in Scotland; they had seized and fortified themselves in the Castle of Edinburgh; Elizabeth was fearful that they might obtain the assistance of the French King, and she was obliged to send a force into Scotland to reduce them. With a view to conciliate Charles IX. she consented to become godmother to his infant daughter, and despatched the Earl of Worcester with the present of a gold font to be used at the baptism. The French Hugonots, enraged at what they considered an act of apostasy, intercepted the English squadron, killed some of Worcester's suite, and captured and plundered one of his ships. While Elizabeth was still irritated by this hostile conduct, Charles sent De Retz to London, who in a great measure succeeded in pacifying her respecting the late massacre, and persuaded her to refuse a loan which some envoys from La Rochelle were soliciting. But her ministers would not consent to arrest the ships which the Count of Montgomery was collecting at Plymouth for the succour of La Rochelle: an expedition, however, which proved almost abortive; for though Montgomery succeeded in throwing some provisions into the place, he was prevented by

the royal fleet from entering the harbour; and as he was forbidden to return to the English ports, he was obliged to take refuge in the roads of Belle Isle. The heroic defence of the Rochellois has been described by De Thou. Their town, naturally very strong, the ramparts being surrounded with marshes, was assailable at only one point, so that four thousand men could repel five times their number. The garrison were animated with the most courageous spirit; even women and children took part in the defence. On the other hand Anjou was now deprived of the military talent of Tavannes; a great many of the nobility were slain or wounded in the trenches; and the royal army was decimated by a terrible malady whose symptoms resembled those of the *cholera morbus*. Under these circumstances the French Court were glad of the pretence of the Duke of Anjou's election to the Crown of Poland, in order to renew the negotiations for a peace.

Sigismund Augustus, or Sigismund II., the last King of the House of Jagellon, had died in the preceding year. During a reign of nearly a quarter of a century, Sigismund had ruled the half republican, half monarchical Poland with considerable glory; he had augmented its territory by the acquisition of Livonia, and had reduced the Dukes of Courland to acknowledge the supremacy of the Polish Crown. The Kingdom, however, was distracted both by the restless turbulence of the nobility and by religious quarrels. The Lutheran doctrines, which had been particularly furthered and protected by Prince Radzivill, had made great progress in the Polish dominions; Courland and Livonia were altogether of that persuasion; and although a religious toleration had been agreed on, the Papal Nuncios and the numberless priests, who had considerable influence in the Senate, were constantly sowing the seeds of dissension. When Catharine de' Medici learnt that the Poles were at variance respecting the election of a King, she recommended her favourite son the Duke of Anjou, and despatched Schomberg, a German in the service of France, and Montluc, Bishop of Valence, to canvass in his interest. His competitors were a son of the King of Sweden, the Duke of Prussia, a son of the Czar of Muscovy, Stephen Bathory, Voyvode of Transylvania, and, the most formidable of all, the Archduke Ernest, son of the Emperor Maximilian. Montluc, a prelate whose moderation caused him to be suspected of heresy, secured the Protestant party among the Poles by concessions which the French Court was afterwards obliged to disavow, even engaging among other things that ven-

geance should be taken on the perpetrators of the St. Bartholomew.¹ The Turks, the Pope, and the German Lutheran Princes, fearful of seeing an Austrian Archduke seated on the throne of Poland, united in recommending Anjou; and after an interregnum of ten months the French Prince was elected for their Sovereign by 30,000 or 40,000 armed and mounted Polish nobles assembled in the field of Wola, near Warsaw, the place of election (May 9th, 1573). They had previously made him sign an agreement prepared by the States that nobody should be punished or persecuted on account of his religious tenets, although the Polish bishoprics and prebends were to remain in the hands of the Catholics. They had also required him to subscribe a capitulation, or *Pacta Conventa*, which, as in most instances of the same kind, augmented the power of the nobles, while it encroached upon that of the Crown. The prevailing anarchy was increased by its regulations, by which it was provided that no King should ever be chosen during the lifetime of another, and that even the form and order of election should remain unsettled. In September, Montluc returned to Paris accompanied by a numerous and splendid deputation of Polish nobles, who had come to escort their new Sovereign to his dominions. The Poles, who entered Paris in fifty carriages and four, excited the astonishment of the Parisians by their half-fantastic, half Oriental costume. Their dresses were adorned with costly furs and numerous jewels; their red beards and heads shaved behind after the Tartar fashion gave them a half savage aspect, which was still further increased by their bows, their enormous quivers, and their grotesque crests of wide-spread eagle's wings with which both themselves and their horses were accoutred. But if their outward appearance provoked the wonder of the multitude, the French Court was still more surprised at the variety and extent of their intellectual attainments, which formed so strong a contrast with the ignorance of the young courtiers. The liberal toleration of the Polish government, and the cosmopolitan spirit of the people, assisted by that facility for acquiring foreign languages which distinguishes the Slavonic races, had rendered Poland the centre of the intellectual movement of Europe; and even the disciples of Socinus and Servetus, who met at Geneva only persecution and death, found there a refuge and a home.

The French Court had concluded a peace with the Hugonots before the arrival of the Polish embassy. From the wording of

¹ La Popelinière, *Hist. de France*, t. ii. fol. 177.

the treaty, it seemed to be only a capitulation of the three towns La Rochelle, Nîmes, and Montauban, which, indeed, derived the chief advantages from it, and remained as it were three independent republics; but the royal edict,¹ dated from the Castle of Boulogne in July, 1573, extended much further, and secured to the remainder of the Hugonots liberty of conscience, and an amnesty for everything that had occurred since the preceding 24th August. The privilege of worship was, however, very much restricted; La Rochelle, though not required to admit the Duke of Anjou or any of his troops, was obliged to recognize the authority of a royal governor; and the three towns engaged to keep envoys at Court for two years, as hostages for their fidelity. The Duke of Anjou lingered as long as he could at Paris. The Polish Crown had been procured for him through the love and ambition of his mother Catharine, and the hatred and jealousy of Charles IX.; he himself was loth to quit France, as the declining health of his brother promised a speedy vacancy of the Crown, and as he was moreover engrossed by a criminal but unsuccessful passion for the wife of Condé, Mary of Cleves, to whom he afterwards addressed from Poland letters written with his blood. But Charles, with many oaths and blasphemies, insisted on his departure, and told Catharine that either he or his brother must quit the kingdom.

Meanwhile, in spite of the peace, the Hugonots of Languedoc and Guienne had assembled at Montauban and Nîmes on the anniversary of the St. Bartholomew, and rejecting with disdain the edict of July, they drew up and adopted the scheme of a confederate republic, by which those provinces were to be formed into two great governments. Their forces numbered near 20,000 men, and their demands—such was the abortive result of the wicked policy of the Court—were greater than what they had made before the massacre. At the same time the party of the “*Politiques*” or “*Peaceable Catholics*” had increased, and was more than ever disposed to form an alliance with the Hugonots, and with the House of Nassau. France was inundated with revolutionary pamphlets and with works of a deeper kind, such as the *Franco-Gallia* of Hotman, the fundamental principle of which, supported by researches into the early history of France, is an elective monarchy and the sovereignty of the people in their national assemblies. Till the *Contrat Social* of Rousseau, the

¹ In La Popelière, t. ii. fol. 183 s. 19.

Franco-Gallia has not been surpassed, for the boldness of its political theories, by any work published in France.¹

Early in 1574 Poitou and other south-western provinces joined the union with Languedoc and Guienne. The Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre had intended to escape from Court in Lent and put themselves at the head of the movement; but their design was discovered, and they were placed under *surveillance* at Vincennes. Alençon betrayed all his associates in the most cowardly manner. The Prince of Condé escaped into Germany; Marshals Montmorenci and Cossé were arrested, but nothing could be proved against them. A few subordinates were put to death. Catharine sent the accomplished assassin Maurevert² to murder La Noue, whom the Poitevins had elected for their leader; but he did not succeed; and Catharine also failed in an attempt to poison Marshal Damville. Alençon and Navarre were cited to answer before a commission, when Margaret wrote an excellent defence for her husband, though there was no great love between them. The seizure of the Princes did not prevent the insurrection in the south, which, from the season, obtained the name of the *Prise d'armes du mardi gras*. It was headed by La Noue, who with some difficulty persuaded the Rochellois of the necessity of again taking up arms; and a great part of Poitou, Saintonge, and Languedoc was once more brought under the power of the Hugonots.

Charles IX. expired in the midst of these disturbances, May 30th, 1574, at the age of twenty-three. His miserable end moved even some of his enemies with pity. The short and broken sleep which rarely visited him was troubled by the most hideous visions. The bodies which he had seen floating down the Seine re-appeared to him in his dreams; the air seemed filled with cries of woe; and sometimes on awaking he found himself bathed in his own blood, which recalled to him that of his subjects, so abundantly shed by his orders. His only consolation was that he left no heir. Thus perished a King whose name will always be associated with one of the greatest political crimes that stain the pages of modern history. He had some brilliant qualities; that love for art which distinguished his grandfather Francis I., a lively imagination, poetical talent, and a taste for music, which afforded him some relief in the torments of his last

¹ It has been analysed by Thierry in his *Considérations sur l'Hist. de France*.

² Maurevert himself was at length

killed by the son of a gentleman whom he had murdered.

illness. By his consort, Elizabeth of Austria, Charles IX. left a daughter who died young, and by his mistress, Mary Touchet, an illegitimate son.

Charles, before his death, signed an ordinance appointing his mother Regent till the return from Poland of the Duke of Anjou, who now succeeded to the throne of France with the title of Henry III. Catharine wrote to him to come back without delay, nor was Henry disinclined to follow this advice. He was as little pleased with the Poles as they were with him; yet they kept him a sort of prisoner in his palace at Cracow, lest by a hasty escape he should expose the Kingdom to the confusion and anarchy of an interregnum. He contrived however to slip away secretly, like a criminal, on the 17th of June, carrying off with him Crown jewels to the value of 300,000 crowns. He rode twenty leagues almost without drawing bridle, till he reached the frontier of Moravia, pursued all the way by the Poles; but although the distracted state of France required all his cares, he made no haste to return thither. After enjoying himself at Vienna, where the Emperor Maximilian II. used every endeavour to wean him from the fanatical party, and thus assuage the civil wars of France, Henry proceeded to Venice; which city, in spite of its commercial and political decline, was famed, down to the eighteenth century, for its high play, its balls, its operas, and other dissipations. Henry lingered two months in Italy, and at Turin was induced by his favourite, whom the Duke of Savoy had bought, to surrender to that Sovereign the few places which France still possessed in North Italy, except the Marquisate of Saluzzo. He did not arrive at Lyon till September, but even then, although his name still retained some prestige as the reputed victor of Jarnac and Moncontour, instead of attending to the war he spent two months in regulating the etiquette of the Court and other frivolities. His character presents a strange mixture of the most effeminate luxury and the most abject superstition. Proceeding from Lyon to Avignon, he enrolled himself among the Flagellants, an order of fanatics introduced from Italy into that city when it was the residence of the Papal Court. The Flagellants, clothed in a sort of sack, either black, white, or blue, according to the company, and having a cowl with apertures only for the eyes, were accustomed to traverse the streets of an evening by torchlight, singing the *Miserere* and inflicting upon themselves the discipline of the lash. The example of the King was followed by the whole Court, and even Henry of

Navarre enrolled himself among the penitents. These mummeries cost the Cardinal of Lorraine his life. As he followed the procession with bare shoulders and half-naked feet he was seized by the evening dew, which is extremely dangerous in that climate, and died on the 26th December. It was not till January, 1575, that Henry III. turned his face to the north. On the 13th of February he was crowned at Rheims, and two days after he married Louise of Lorraine, a daughter of the Count of Vaudemont. The Princess of Condé, the object of his former criminal attachment, was now dead; but this marriage was also one of love. He had seen and admired Louise when on his way into Poland, and rejected in her favour the offer of a daughter of Philip II.

After the death of Charles IX., Catharine de' Medici had made a truce with the Hugonots till the end of August, in order to await the return of Henry III.; and she even consented to give them 70,000 livres to pay their troops. Nevertheless, in July and August, 1574, they held a great meeting at Milhaud, in Rouergue, where, as Henry of Navarre was still detained at Court, they chose the Prince of Condé for their leader; and they collected funds to pay an army which Condé, now in Germany, was to raise in that country. Their league was shortly after subscribed by the late Constable Montmorenci's second son, Marshal Damville, who was Governor of Languedoc. When Henry III. was at Turin, the Duke and Duchess of Savoy invited Damville to their Court, and endeavoured to reconcile him with his Sovereign; but Catharine and Birago advised Henry to the contrary; and, on his return into France, Damville hoisted the standard of the confederates at Montpellier, Beaucaire and Lodève. Thus, while the King was sunk in folly and dissipation, all was anarchy in France. The Catholics themselves were divided, part of them following the young Duke Henry of Guise, now aged twenty-four, who, though superior to his father Francis in personal appearance and address, and in the arts that acquire popular favour, was not equal to him in military talent. The "Politicians," or more moderate Catholics, called also the "Malcontents," inclined rather to the Hugonots than to the party of the Guises. The members of the different alliances made war or concluded separate peaces with one another; fortresses were attacked and taken, and the authority of the King and of the royal tribunals was only so far respected as they could enforce their decrees by arms. The centralization which it had been the

aim of Louis XI. to establish was threatened with dissolution. Not only the governors of provinces but even the commandants of towns and castles felt themselves almost independent of the Crown, and compelled the King to continue their commands to their sons or nearest kinsmen;¹ a state of things which lasted down to the reign of Louis XIII. The different leagues, of their own authority, named officers and placemen, raised and administered taxes, directed the proceedings of the law as well as the operations of the military force, and especially all that concerned the exercise of the Protestant religion.

Henry of Navarre and the Duke of Alençon went to meet the King on his return into France at Pont de Voisin, and excused themselves as well as they could from the practices with which they were charged; but though Henry III. declared that they were free, a watch was still kept upon them. Between the King and his brother Alençon a mutual hate prevailed, which rendered it easy for their followers to use them both in the cabals and intrigues with which the *Mémoires* of that period are filled; and the mortal nature of their enmity may be judged from the circumstance that the King, being attacked with a disorder in the ear, concluded that he had been poisoned by his brother, and urged the King of Navarre to murder him.² After the accession of Damville to their cause, the deputies of the Hugonot towns who resided at the Court as hostages easily persuaded Alençon to make his escape, and he at length joined the Protestant army in Poitou; though he sent a secret message to the Pope that it was not his intention sincerely to embrace their cause. The deputies just mentioned played a singular part. Being commissioned by the King to proceed into Germany and dissuade Condé from the plans he was meditating, they employed themselves instead in negotiating with the Count Palatine, John Casimir, to raise an army for him. John Casimir insisted upon hard conditions. He would have security for the payment of his troops; he insisted upon being the arbiter of peace and war; and he stipulated that in the event of a reconciliation he should have the government of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. These terms were accepted, and Condé assumed the title of Lieutenant of the Duke of Alençon.

The King abandoned to the Guises the conduct of the war in 1575. After his return Henry sank lower and lower in a despicable

¹ See *Relat.* of Contarini. ap. Ranke, *Franz. Gesch.* B. i. S. 370.

² Mathieu, ap. Martin, t. ix. p. 418.

profligacy and imbecility. His only serious pursuit seemed to be the study of the Latin grammar. He was entirely engrossed by youthful favourites, or *mignons*, of whom there were about a dozen that vied with him in dress and foppery. Four of these, St. Luc, D'O, Arques, and Caumont, were remarked gradually to obtain the ascendancy, and were called the "four Evangelists." Arques became Duke of Joyeuse and Governor of Normandy and Havre de Grâce; Caumont was made Duke of Epernon, and successively Governor of Metz, Boulogne, Calais, and Provence. By these favourites Henry was entirely governed, and he affected not to obey his mother, although he is said to have been the only person for whom she had ever felt any affection. As Henry would not return at the summons of the Poles, they deposed him, July 15th, 1575. The French envoy persuaded the Diet to defer the election of another King till December; yet Henry took no steps to second the wish of his mother and procure the election of the Duke of Alençon. The Poles elected, as we have said, Stephen Bathory, Voyvode of Transylvania; who, after marrying Anne Jagellon and returning to the Catholic faith, was, after the death of the Emperor Maximilian II., his competitor, generally recognized as King.

In the autumn of 1575 the German auxiliaries began to enter France. On the 10th of October, Guise and his brother Mayenne defeated at Dormans their advanced guard of 4,000 or 5,000 men under Montmorenci de Thoré, who had embraced the Calvinist faith at Geneva. In this encounter Guise received a wound in the cheek, which entitled him, like his father, to the surname of the *Balafré*. The Court hung undecided between the parties. The King feared the exploits and the popularity of Guise, and dreaded at the same time the triumph of the Hugonots. Under these circumstances, Marshals Montmorenci and Cossé were dismissed from custody to mediate a peace, and they succeeded in effecting a truce of seven months—from November 21st, 1575, to June 25th, 1576—on conditions which excited the anger and jealousy of the ultra-Catholics. The King undertook to pay the Count Palatine's troops; to grant the Hugonots and Politicians six cautionary towns, Angoulême, Niort, La Charité, Bourges, Saumur, and Mézières; and to pay the garrisons which Alençon and Condé might place in them, as well as a Swiss guard for his brother. But the truce was observed by neither party. The commandants of Bourges and Angoulême would not obey the King's orders to surrender these towns to Alençon, who received

instead Cognac and St. Jean d'Angely. In February, 1576, Condé and John Casimir, at the head of 18,000 German troops, marched through Champagne and Burgundy, crossed the Loire and Allier, and formed a junction with the army under Alençon in the Bourbonnais. At the same time the King of Navarre, on pretence of a hunting party, contrived to escape from Court, and succeeded in reaching his government of Guienne. It was several months, however, before he returned to the Hugonot confession, nor would he join the generalissimo, Alençon; but he sent deputies to a congress which met at Moulins to consider of the conditions to be prescribed to the King. These amounted to an almost complete surrender of the royal authority; yet a peace was concluded, and on the 14th of May the King in person laid before the Parliament an edict embodying its conditions, the fifth which had been promulgated in the short space of thirteen years. This peace, called LA PAIX DE MONSIEUR,¹ was the most advantageous one the Hugonots had yet made. The exercise of their religion was to be freely allowed throughout the Kingdom, except at Paris and in the precincts of the Court, till a General Council should be assembled; mixed chambers (*chambres mi-parties*), or courts composed of an equal number of Catholics and Protestants, were to be instituted in all the Parliaments of the realm; and the massacre of the St. Bartholomew was disavowed. The interested aims of the Hugonot leaders appeared in the advantageous conditions which they secured for themselves. Each strove to turn the King's embarrassment to his own advantage. Alençon obtained as an apanage the provinces of Anjou, Touraine, and Berri, with complete jurisdiction both in civil and military affairs, the right of presentation to all royal prebends, and a pension of 100,000 crowns. From this time he assumed the title of Duke of Anjou, formerly borne by his brother. The King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and Marshal Damville were re-established in their offices and governments; John Casimir received a sum of money and the promise of a still larger one, and other leaders were gained by assurances of future favours.

The Court was not sincere, as the ultra-Catholics must have known, in their negotiations with the Hugonots. But Guise and his party had gained nothing, and the conditions of the peace afforded an excellent theme by which the Jesuits might arouse the fanaticism of the people. The question of the succession to the

¹ The title of *Monsieur* began in the latter half of the sixteenth century to be given to the King's eldest brother.

Crown was also a good handle for exciting jealousy and alarm. The King was childless, and as many believed, impotent; his brother, the Duke of Anjou, the next heir, had declared himself the protector of the Protestants; and if he also should die without children, the Crown devolved to the House of Bourbon, the heads of which, the King of Navarre and Condé, were Hugonots. But what gave the ultra-Catholics the most immediate cause of offence was a secret article in the treaty by which Condé was to have the government of Picardy; and it was principally this that called the LEAGUE into existence. Picardy was again become completely Catholic, and one of its principal nobles, the Baron d'Humières, governor of Péronne, Montdidier, and Roye, was not only a zealous Papist, but had also a personal feud with Condé.

There can be no doubt that the first foundation of the great Catholic League may be traced back to a much earlier period.¹ Some associations to protect the old religion had been formed as early as 1563 by the guilds and other civic unions, and especially by the spiritual brotherhoods, which attracted the Court and the nobility by their religious mummeries, their penances, and church goings, and the populace by the spectacle of their gorgeous processions. But the League was now first formally organized by the Baron d'Humières with the assistance of the Jesuits. The neighbouring nobility and the principal citizens of the towns of Picardy were convened in secret meetings, and an act of union was framed which was intended to be submitted to the King. A still more important document, however, drawn up apparently by the Duke of Guise and his friends, and addressed not only to the Leaguers of Picardy but also to all the Catholic nobility of the kingdom, must be regarded as the real constituent act of the League. This act, which begins like a formal treaty, "In the name of the Holy Trinity," and concludes with the formula of an oath to be taken by all those who joined the League, professes its object to be to restore the entire word of God, and to uphold the service of the Holy Roman Catholic Church; to maintain the King in his authority, but as subordinate to the States-General; to restore the ancient liberties enjoyed under Clovis; and to assert these objects to the death against whomsoever it might be.²

¹ Michelet ascribes its real origin to the year 1561, when the King having formed a resolution to sell some Church property, the Parisian clergy addressed themselves to the King of Spain and the Duke of Guise (*La Ligue*, p. 89).

² The act is in *La Popelinière*, t. ii. fol. 320; Cayet, *Chronol. Noven.* Introd. *sub. init.* One of the best authorities for the history of the League is Simon Goulart, a Protestant minister, whose *Mémoires de la Ligue* were published from 1589 to 1599.

Thus it is plain that the Catholic chiefs had taken a leaf from their adversaries' book, and designed to entice the people by the hope of a political revolution combined with the maintenance of the ancient religion. The League soon acquired numerous adherents. It was eagerly signed by the Parisians, who were followed by the people of Picardy, Poitou and Touraine; and it had already received the signatures of considerable towns and even whole provinces, before the King was aware of its existence. The moment was well chosen, as the States were to assemble at Blois early in the winter. But before they met, a Hugonot publication acquainted the King with his real situation. The papers of an advocate named David, a man of ill reputation who had died at Lyon on his return from Rome, fell into the hands of the Hugonots, and were immediately published by them. Their contents were of the most extraordinary kind, and contained a plan for exterminating the Hugonots, and seizing and bringing to trial the King's brother. When this had been accomplished, the Duke of Guise, as rightful heir to the Crown by descent from Charlemagne, was, with the Pope's sanction, to shut up the King in a monastery, in like manner as the Duke's ancestor Pipin had formerly treated Childeric. Guise was then to be proclaimed King, and the authority of the Holy See was to be fully restored through the abolition by the States of the liberties of the Gallican Church. How far the Duke was connected with the origin of this paper does not appear; he probably merely connived at the plan; but it is certain that the Cardinal de Pellevé, a creature of the Guises, who was then at Rome, cordially promoted David's project, spoke of it in the Consistory, and communicated it to Philip II. It is by no means improbable that the Guises had formed an ulterior plan to seize the Crown. They had hoped to enjoy a large share of the government under Henry III., especially as that King had chosen his consort from their house; yet they found themselves elbowed out by the King's minions. They were fond of tracing the antiquity of their descent, as superior to that of the reigning dynasty; yet, even if their pretensions be allowed, it was not the Duke of Guise, but the Duke of Lorraine, of the elder branch of the family, who would have been entitled to the Crown. Henry III. at first deemed the papers of David to be a Hugonot forgery, till St. Goard, his ambassador in Spain, sent him another copy, which had been forwarded to Philip II.

These discoveries tended to increase the alarm of Henry III.,

who, forgetting that it ill becomes a King to declare himself the leader of a party among his subjects, could think of no other means of combating the League than by placing himself at the head of it. The assembly of the States-General was a stormy one. The cowardly act of which the King had been guilty in subscribing the League deprived him of all respect. All that he gained by it was, that everything militating against the royal authority should be struck out of the document; which was then laid before the States for their acceptance, and ordered to be signed throughout the kingdom. The new act excluded the Bourbons from the throne by limiting the succession to the House of Valois. Many of the deputies signed it, while others refused. The States forbore to vote the King any supplies, and would not even consent to the alienation of the Crown lands; but they insisted on the extirpation of Protestantism.

As the conditions of the peace had not been observed, the Hugonots were still in arms, and had been making conquests while the States were sitting. The King of Navarre, who had been declared chief of the counter-league, and Condé, his Lieutenant-General, had subdued and occupied many places in Guienne, Poitou, and the neighbouring provinces, while Marshal Damville had done the like in Languedoc. The King had sent deputies from the States to negotiate with them, but without effect. Condé and Damville at once refused to recognize the assembly at Blois. The answer of the King of Navarre was somewhat milder and more politic. "Tell the assembly," said he, "that I constantly pray to God to bring me to a knowledge of the truth, and, if I am in the right way, to maintain me in it; if not, to open my eyes. Inform them that I am prepared not only to renounce error, but also to stake my possessions and my life for the extirpation of heresy out of the realm, and if possible out of the world." Thus even at this period we see Henry of Navarre, who had already been twice a Catholic and twice a Protestant, wavering between the two religions, and prepared to accept either as circumstances might direct. His answer was highly unpalatable to the Calvinist ministers.

The Court had fulfilled its engagements with the Duke of Anjou, who not only deserted his former friends, but also took the command of an army to act against them, although he owed everything he had obtained to his having joined their party. The Court also succeeded in seducing Marshal Damville from the "cause." An aristocrat and a soldier, Damville was little

inclined to obey the commands of stormy meetings of civilians and to connect himself with the democratic republic of the Hugonots. More difficulty was experienced in treating with the King of Navarre; but at length he also was induced to accept the terms of a peace which was published at BERGERAC in September, 1577.¹ There were two treaties, one public, the other secret; but it is unnecessary to detail conditions which were only meant to be observed so long as might be convenient, and it will suffice to state, that, on the whole, they were less favourable to the Protestants than those of the Peace of Monsieur. The only point to be remarked is, that by one of the articles, the King, as it were by a side wind, suppressed the Catholic League as well as the Hugonot confederations.² The Pope and the King of Spain, as well as the Guises, had used their utmost endeavours to prevent the concluding of this treaty; and Gregory XIII. had offered King Henry III. 900,000 livres towards the expenses to be incurred by continuing the war. But many circumstances combined to incline the French Court to peace; particularly the refusal of the States to vote any money, the menaces of John Casimir, and the disclosures respecting the projects of the Guises.

The King, instead of availing himself of this interval of repose to fortify himself against his enemies, only sank deeper and deeper into vice and infamy. His conduct can be compared only with that of the weakest as well as the worst of the heathen Roman Emperors, and offers, in the portentous union of beastly impurity with fantastic superstition a striking parallel to that of Elagabalus. At the opening of the States-General he appeared in diamond ear-rings; in his orgies he would often assume the manners and dress of a woman;³ and though the national exchequer was empty, he and his mother gave *fêtes* that cost 100,000 livres, in some of which the guests were waited on by women either half-naked or in man's attire. The minions by whom Henry was surrounded were ferocious as well as profligate; duels and murders were of every-day occurrence; the Court resembled

¹ This peace is also called the Peace of Poitiers.

² "Seront toutes ligues et associations et confrairies faites et à faire, sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, au préjudice de notre présent édit cassées et annullées," &c.—Art. 65. The edict is in *La Popelinière* (t. ii. fol. 385), whose History concludes with this peace. The secret articles in Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 308 sq.

³ As described in the *Tragiques* of d'Au-

bigné, a poet as well as an historian:—

"Pour nouveau parement il porta tout ce jour
Cet habit monstrueux, pareil à son amour,
Si qu'au premier abord chacun était en peine
S'il voyoit un roi-femme ou bien un homme reine."

Liv. ii. *Princes*, p. 72.

at once a slaughterhouse and a brothel, although, amid all this corruption, the King was the slave of monks and Jesuits, whom he implicitly obeyed. It was about this time (December, 1578) that he instituted the Military Order of the Holy Ghost, that of St. Michael having of late years fallen into contempt through being bestowed too lavishly and prostituted to unworthy persons.

Meanwhile the Guises were using every effort to rekindle the war, which Catharine, on the other hand, was endeavouring to prevent. With this view she travelled, in August, into the southern provinces, and had an interview with Henry of Navarre at Nérac, bringing with her Henry's wife, her daughter Margaret; a circumstance, however, which did not add to the pleasure of their meeting. Henry received the ladies coldly, and they retired into Languedoc, where they passed the remainder of the year. Nevertheless the negotiations were sedulously pursued; for a peace with the Hugonots was, at this time, indispensable to the Court. The exactions of the King, in order to satisfy his minions, were met with resistance, especially in the more Catholic provinces, where the dissatisfaction was fomented by the Guises: and Henry was obliged to purchase from that influential family a sort of tacit truce, by according to them pecuniary favours. In February, 1579, a secret treaty was signed at Nérac, by which the concessions granted to the Protestants by the peace of Bergerac were much extended. In these negotiations Catharine affected a scriptural language, similar to that used by the Calvinist ministers; which the ladies of the Court called "the language of Canaan," and studied it over-night in the chamber of the Queen-Mother amid bursts of laughter, Mademoiselle d'Atri, one of Catharine's "flying squadron," being the chief preceptor. Catharine spent nearly the whole of the year 1579 in the south, endeavouring to avert a renewal of the war by her intrigues; rather than by a faithful observance of the peace. But the King of Navarre saw through her Italian artifices, and was prepared to summon his friends and captains at the shortest notice.

The hostilities which he foresaw were not long in breaking out, and in a way that would seem impossible in any other country than France. When the King of Navarre fled from Court, in 1576, he expressed his indifference for two things he had left behind, the Mass and his wife. Margaret, the heroine of a thousand amours, was equally indifferent, and though they now contrived to cohabit together, it was because each connived

at the infidelities of the other. Henry was in love with Mademoiselle Fosseuse, a girl of fourteen, while Margaret had taken for her gallant the young Viscount of Turenne, who had lately turned Hugonot, and was an important acquisition to that party both by his personal qualities and his vast estates. The Duke of Anjou being at this time disposed to renew his connection with the Hugonots, Margaret served as the medium of communication between her brother and her husband; while Henry III., with a view to interrupt this good understanding, wrote to the King of Navarre to acquaint him of the intrigues of his wife with Turenne. Henry was neither surprised nor afflicted at this intelligence; but he laid the letter before the guilty parties, who both denied the charge, and Henry affected to believe their protestations. The ladies of the Court of Nérac were indignant at this act of Henry III., "the enemy of women;" they pressed their lovers to renew hostilities against that discourteous-monarch; Anjou added his instances to those of the ladies; and in 1580 ensued the war called, from its origin, *la guerre des amoureux*, or war of the lovers: the seventh of what are sometimes styled "the wars of religion!" The Prince of Condé, who lived on bad terms with his cousin, had already taken the field on his own account, and in November, 1579, had seized on the little town of La Fère, in Picardy. In the spring of 1580 the Protestant chiefs in the south unfurled their banners. The King of Navarre laid the foundation of his military fame by the bravery he displayed at the capture of Cahors; but on the whole the movement proved a failure. Henry III. had no fewer than three armies in the field, which were generally victorious, and the King of Navarre found himself menaced in his residence of Nérac by Marshal Biron. But Henry III., for fear of the Guises, did not wish to press the Hugonots too hard, and at length accepted the proffered mediation of the Duke of Anjou, who was at this time anxious to enter on the protectorate offered to him by the Netherlanders.¹ Anjou set off for the south, accompanied by his mother and her flying squadron; conferences were opened at the Castle of Fleix in Périgord, and on November 26th, 1580, a treaty was concluded which was almost a literal renewal of that of Bergerac. Thus an equivocal peace, or rather truce, was re-established, which proved of some duration.

At this period the conquest of Portugal by Philip II., by adding a new force to his already almost irresistible power,

¹ See next chapter.

diverted for a time the attention of the French from their own domestic troubles to the affairs of Spain, and revived in them all that ancient jealousy of the House of Austria, which seemed to have slumbered while they were invoking the aid of Philip in support of bigotry and faction.

It was during the reign of Emanuel I., or the Great, as we have already seen, that Portugal laid the foundation of its greatness, by its conquests in Asia, Africa and America. Emanuel was succeeded by John III., who reigned from 1521 to 1557. Under this King Portugal attained its highest pitch of commercial prosperity, and Japan was added to the countries with which it traded in the East (1542). The seeds of its decline were, however, already sown, and partly by the policy of John himself. That monarch had shown much favour to the Jesuits, even before they were definitively established, and had caused two of Loyola's first companions, Francis Xavier and Simon Rodriguez, to be sent for missionary purposes into Portugal. Xavier repaired to the East Indies and to Japan as a missionary, and helped wonderfully to spread Christianity and civilization, while Rodriguez went as a missionary to Brazil. But the footing which this Society obtained in Portugal, and the fanaticism which they necessarily introduced, gave a fatal blow to the prosperity of the country, where, under John's successors, the persecution of the Inquisition became even more intolerant than in Spain. The authority of the Jesuits increased during the long minority of King Sebastian who, at the death of his grandfather, John III., was a child only three years old. His bigoted grandmother, Catharine, a sister of Charles V., on whom devolved his guardianship, placed him under the direction of the Jesuits; and when, in 1561, Catharine retired into a convent, the same course was pursued by his new guardian, Cardinal Henry, a brother of John III., and Archbishop of Braga, Evora and Lisbon, and also Grand-Inquisitor of Portugal. Cardinal Henry was entirely a churchman. In his view the material prosperity of the kingdom was but as dust in the balance when compared with the interests of the Church; and instead therefore of intrusting Sebastian's education to statesmen and men of the world, he placed him under a fanatical gentleman, Dom Alexis de Menezes, who acted as his chamberlain, and a Jesuit father, Luis da Camara, as his teacher and confessor. By these men the mind of Sebastian was filled with romantic and fantastical views of religion. The Pope and his glory formed the chief object of his contemplation; he dreamt

of nothing but acquiring the crown of Christian Knighthood by crusades against the Moslems, and of reducing East and West under the Cross of Christ and the victorious banner of Portugal. This martial and religious ardour found, however, an opportunity to exert itself nearer home. In 1574 Dom Sebastian undertook an expedition into Africa, where for some time he waged with the Moors an undecisive war; which a few years after he was tempted to renew, to his own destruction and the downfall of his Kingdom.

Muley Mohammed, Sultan of Morocco, by altering the law of succession, and appointing that the Crown should fall, on the death of the reigning Sovereign, to his eldest brother instead of to his son, had filled that empire with civil tumult, conspiracy, and murder. Muley's son, Abdallah, in spite of his father's law, contrived to seize and retain the sceptre; and in order to transmit it to his son, Muley Mohammed, he murdered all his brothers except two; of whom one had escaped to Constantinople, and the other, Muley Hamet, on account of his seemingly harmless character, was suffered to live. On the death of Abdallah, his son, Muley Mohammed, also put his brothers to death, and attempted to seize his uncle, Muley Hamet, who, however, escaped to Constantinople; and returning in 1575 with a Turkish force, defeated his nephew in two battles, and seized the throne. Muley Mohammed now sought foreign assistance; first from Philip II., by whom it was refused, and then from Sebastian. The prospect thus opened to that adventurous and fanatical King of subduing Africa and vanquishing the Moslems proved irresistible. It was in vain that his grandfather's counsellors, as well as his grandmother Catharine and Cardinal Henry, dissuaded him from so wild a project; he had determined to venture his whole kingdom on the enterprise, and he applied to the Catholic King, his maternal uncle, to help him in it. At an interview which he had with Philip II., at the shrine of the Virgin at Guadalupe, that Sovereign, as well as the Duke of Alva, also counselled Sebastian to abandon the undertaking; but finding his nephew's resolution unalterable, Philip at length promised to support him with 50 galleys and 5,000 men. Sebastian sailed from Tangiers, the residence of Muley Mohammed, June 24th, 1578, with an army consisting of Portuguese, Castilians, and Germans, and a large body of volunteers, including most of the Portuguese nobility and many prelates. Among his forces was a body of 600 Italians, commanded by Thomas Stukely, an Englishman, who had been destined by

the Pope for an expedition to Ireland. The point of attack was El Arish, or Larache, which might easily have been reached by sea. Sebastian, however, preferred to march through the sandy desert of Alcacerquivir, where he was encountered by 40,000 Moorish cavalry. A battle ensued at Alcacer, three or four days' march from El Arish, in which Dom Sebastian was defeated and slain, and his whole army nearly annihilated. The French traveller, Le Blanc,¹ who was present at the battle, says that he saw the corpse of Sebastian in a chest filled with quicklime; but the Portuguese believed their King to have escaped alive, and that he would reappear among them; an opinion which caused many pretenders to spring up after the Spaniards took possession of Portugal. As Sebastian did not make his appearance, Cardinal Henry assumed the regency, and was at length proclaimed King. As the Cardinal was old and childless, many claimants to the throne appeared, the chief of whom were Philip II. of Spain, Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, Catharine, Duchess of Bragança, and Antonio, Prior of Crato. Philip II.'s claim was founded on his being son of the eldest sister of John III. The Prince of Parma and the Duke of Bragança had severally married daughters of John III.'s youngest brother, but the Duke of Bragança asserted that his offspring had a better claim to the throne, as there was an ancient law excluding all foreigners from the succession. Antonio was the natural son of Louis, the next brother of John III.; but he endeavoured to show that he was born in lawful wedlock; and further maintained that, as the founder of the dynasty was a bastard, an illegitimate origin would not unconditionally exclude him from the throne. King Henry would not declare himself for any of the claimants; and though, at an assembly of the States at Almeria, a considerable part of the clergy and nobles inclined to favour the pretensions of Philip, the great body of the citizens and people appeared to be against him. Under these circumstances no resolution was come to, and soon afterwards King Henry died, January 31st, 1580.

In anticipation of this event, Philip II. had prepared to seize the Portuguese Crown by assembling an army of 24,000 Spanish and Italian veterans, on pretence of a threatened invasion by the Sultan of Morocco. The command of this force was intrusted to the Duke of Alva, as we have mentioned in a former chapter, although that veteran captain was then in such disgrace that Philip would not admit him to an interview, but communicated

¹ *Voyages de Le Blanc*, pt. ii. ch. 22, p. 164.

his orders in writing. Meanwhile the Portuguese had declared themselves in favour of Dom Antonio, who had been taken prisoner in Morocco, but contrived to escape after a slavery of forty days. Antonio was declared King at a popular meeting at Santarem; was afterwards proclaimed at Lisbon, June 24th, 1580, and was soon surrounded by a large body of citizens and peasants who flocked to his standard. But these undisciplined bands were incapable of making head against Alva and his veterans. Antonio, who displayed great personal valour, was defeated and wounded in a bloody battle at ALCANTARA, and the Spaniards successively took possession of Coimbra and Lisbon. In this campaign Alva displayed the same cruelty that he had shown in the Netherlands, though it took a different direction; and we are surprised to hear that this unrelenting champion of the orthodox Church caused 2,000 monks to be put to death in Portugal. Antonio, who had assembled 5,000 or 6,000 men at Oporto, found resistance hopeless. He fled to Viana, intending to escape by sea, but failing in the attempt, hid himself several months in different parts of the country; and although Philip offered a reward of 8,000 ducats for his discovery, nobody was found base enough to betray him. At length, in January, 1581, he succeeded in escaping in a Netherland ship to Calais, where the French government afforded him protection.

Philip II., who, during Alva's campaign, had repaired to Badajoz in order to be nearer to the scene of action, entered Portugal after its conquest had been achieved; and in April, 1581, he received the homage of the Portuguese States assembled at Thomar. The youthful son of the Duchess of Bragança, who, during the Spanish invasion, had been kept a prisoner by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, sent to Philip an act renouncing his pretensions to the Crown, which the Spanish King, while affecting to consider it as unnecessary, nevertheless took care to lay up among the archives of Simancas. From Thomar, Philip proceeded to Santarem, where by an affected display of benevolence he attempted to make the people forget the cruelties they had suffered at the hands of Alva and his soldiers. Philip spent about two years in Portugal in consolidating his new conquest. His eldest surviving son Dom Diego, whom the Portuguese States had recognized as their future Sovereign, having died at Lisbon in November, 1582, he caused them to do homage to his next son, Philip, at another assembly held January 26th, 1583. In the following February he returned into Spain, after appointing Car-

dinal Albert, brother of the Emperor Rudolph II., Governor of Portugal.

Nothing can show more strongly the want of a combined political action—the obedience, so to speak, of the European system—than the apathy and indifference with which the great Powers regarded the subjugation of Portugal by Spain; a conquest which annexed for more than half a century to the already overgrown power of the Spanish monarchy, not only the remaining western portion of the Iberian peninsula, with its fertile fields and noble harbours, but also the rich and extensive possessions of Portugal in America and the Indies. It was not till after the conquest was irrevocably completed that France and England began to show any anxiety about its results. The affairs of Portugal, indeed, tended to divert awhile from England those plots of the Pope and the Spanish King which so seriously menaced the safety of Elizabeth. In 1578 Gregory XIII. began to renew his designs against the English Queen; and one of his favourite projects was to seize Ireland for his nephew Buoncompagni. It is curious to see how similar were the ideas then entertained abroad respecting Ireland, and unfortunately with more justice, to those which still prevail in many parts of the Continent.¹ Ireland was represented to Gregory as the victim of English cruelty and rapacity, as a country so ripe for rebellion that an army of 5,000 men would easily secure its liberation. With a view to this conquest the Pope took into his service one Thomas Stukely, the English refugee before mentioned, bestowed on him the title of Marquis of Leinster, gave him 40,000 crowns, and raised for him several hundred Italian troops. Gregory also sent Sega as his Nuncio into Spain, to gain over Philip II. to the project, who promised to assist it with men and money; and Stukely sailed from Cività Vecchia with his Italians to join a small Spanish and Portuguese force in the Tagus. But Dom Sebastian persuaded Stukely to join him, as we have already seen, in his wild enterprise in Morocco, where both he and Stukely perished; and as Philip's subsequent invasion of Portugal led him to diminish his army in the Netherlands, the romantic zeal of Sebastian had the unforeseen effect of promoting the cause of Protestantism and

¹ “. . . i quali (i ministri Inglesi) per arricchire se stesso usavano tutta l' arte della tirannide in quel regno, come trasportando le commodità del paese in Inghilterra, tassando il popolo contra le leggi e privilegi antichi, e mantenendo guerra e

fattioni tra i paesani—non volendo gli Inglesi che gli abitanti imparassero la differenza fra il viver libero e la servitù.” — *Discorso sopra il regno d'Irlanda*; Fugger MSS., ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 80.

liberty. Part of Stukely's plan was, however, carried into effect. James Fitzgerald, an Irish refugee, whom he was to have taken up at Lisbon, landed in Kerry in 1579; the powerful Earl of Desmond rose, and some advantages were gained. But reverses followed: Desmond was overthrown and hunted to death; the rebellion was put down, and the leaders who were taken hanged and quartered without mercy.

Rome was pursuing at this time other plots against Elizabeth, of a slower and more insidious, but not less dangerous kind. As Catholic worship and education were proscribed in England, the Catholic priests who fled the country founded, in 1568, under Dr. Wm. Allen, afterwards a Cardinal, a college at Douay, which the Pope supported with a monthly pension. The establishment attracted many English Catholic youths; till Requesens, at the instance of Queen Elizabeth, who complained of it as a seminary of treason, ordered it to be removed. It was then transferred (1578) to Rheims, where it was patronized by the Guises as well as the Pope; but in 1593 it went back to Douay. Gregory XIII. endowed another English college at Rome, under the direction of the Jesuits, and others were established at St. Omer, Valladolid, and Seville. From these seminaries numerous priests went every year to England, wandering about the country in disguise, and ministering secretly to the Catholic population. The Jesuits themselves first entered England in 1580, and commenced their traitorous conspiracies. The Guises took an active part in all projects against the life and throne of Elizabeth. It was chiefly through their influence and machinations that the destruction of Morton, the Regent of Scotland, was accomplished. After the failure of the Irish plot, the Jesuits urged Guise to make an attempt on England itself (1583). This could not be accomplished without the help of Spain, and Guise urged Philip to aid him with 4,000 men; but Philip put to an end to the scheme on hearing that Guise had agreed with some of the English Catholics to assist in expelling the Spaniards after the invasion had succeeded.

But although Elizabeth had much reason to complain of the conduct of Philip, she dreaded to involve herself in an open war with him, and when the Prior of Crato arrived in London in June, 1581, to solicit her assistance, although she received him honourably and relieved him bountifully, yet she refused to take up arms in his behalf. In France he succeeded better. Although the French Court had not ventured to aid Dom Antonio during the

struggle in Portugal, it resolved to help him in holding some of the Portuguese colonies. Catharine de' Medici even put in a claim to the Crown of Portugal, as a descendant, through her mother, of Robert, Count of Bologne, son of Alfonso III.; but the claim could only have been urged as some slight pretext for hostilities, or more probably still, with the view of inducing the Catholic King to buy her off;¹ for by aiding Antonio she virtually recognized his pretensions as superior to her own. Although Africa and the Brazils submitted to Philip II., a great part of the Azores declared for the Prior of Crato. Those islands were then the chief place of rendezvous for vessels bound to either Indies; and, if occupied by a hostile force, would have rendered almost useless to Philip both his own colonies and the Portuguese. In 1581 some succours were despatched from France to the Azores; and in the following year Catharine fitted out a fleet of fifty-five sail, with 5,000 troops on board, which she intrusted to the command of her relative, Philip Strozzi. A descent was effected; but the Spanish fleet under Santa Cruz soon afterwards appeared; a bloody battle ensued, July 26th, 1582, in which Strozzi was defeated and slain; most of the French vessels were either taken or sunk, and the Spanish admiral put to death all the prisoners he made, declaring that as no regular war had been proclaimed between France and Spain, he could regard them only as pirates. The Prior of Crato succeeded in escaping to Terceira, which, with the help of Emanuel da Silva, and a few hundred French, he defended some time against the Spaniards. In 1583, however, Philip despatched an overwhelming force which reduced the Azores to subjection. Dom Antonio escaped to France, and died at Paris in 1595, after having made in 1589, with the help of the English admiral, Drake, as will be related in the sequel, another fruitless attempt to wrest Portugal from the Spanish Crown.

The conquest of Portugal and its magnificent possessions tended to revive the prestige of Spanish power, then somewhat waning through the revolt in the Netherlands. It was on this side that Spain was most vulnerable; and hither, for a few years after Philip's conquest, as we have related elsewhere, the force of France was directed, but with that underhand system of warfare which characterizes the latter portion of the sixteenth century; while Philip retaliated by drawing closer his alliance with the House of Guise. The fruits of this connection appeared in a terrible conspiracy. One Salcède, a Spaniard by origin, but remotely connected on the

¹ *Brienne MSS.*, ap. Motley, *Univ. Netherlands*, vol. i. p. 103 seq.

female side with the House of Lorraine, offered to the Duke of Anjou, now also Duke of Brabant, Count of Flanders, etc., the services of the regiment of volunteers which he had levied in Champagne. As Salcède's father had been one of Guise's victims of the St. Bartholomew, his advances were received without suspicion. The infamous character of the man, however—he had been condemned to death by the Parliament of Rouen for forgery and arson—and some other circumstances, excited the notice of the Prince of Orange, who caused Salcède to be apprehended at Bruges, July 21st, 1582. Being put to the torture, he revealed the plan of a vast conspiracy, organized by the Guises in the interest of Philip II., by which the Duke of Anjou and Prince of Orange were to be assassinated, and Henry III. was to be seized and placed in the hands of the Catholic King. At the request of Henry, Salcède was sent from Bruges to Vincennes, where he was examined by torture in the King's presence, and was afterwards handed over to the Parliament for prosecution. His confessions, which, however, he retracted more than once, implicated in the conspiracy some who professed the greatest attachment to the King, and even his favourite, the Duke of Joyeuse himself. Many of these accusations were, perhaps, calumnious, yet of the main outlines of the conspiracy there can be little doubt. Salcède was condemned to be torn to pieces by four horses.

After the failure of this plot, Philip II., dissatisfied with the inactivity of the League, and alarmed by the entry of the Duke of Montpensier and Marshal Biron into Flanders, endeavoured to excite disturbances in France by means of the Hugonots; and, early in 1583, he offered the King of Navarre a considerable subsidy to renew the war against Henry III. Thus even the bigoted Philip could make religion bend to policy. The King of Navarre played with the offer; thanked Philip for his good intentions, and communicated them to Henry III., in order to dispose that Sovereign to prolong the term for the surrender of the cautionary towns. Some time after, Philip II. renewed his offer on the occasion of an insult offered to Henry of Navarre's wife by the King her brother. Margaret, tired of the little Court of Nérac after the departure of most of the young lords for the Netherlands, had returned to the Court of France early in 1582, where she entered into a thousand cabals, quarrelled with the King, and rallied his minions. Stung by her insolence, Henry III. one day, in the presence of all the Court, overwhelmed his sister with reproaches and abuse; named to her one after another the

long list of her gallants; accused her of having had a child since her return to Paris, by Harlai de Chanvalon, grand-master of the artillery, and concluded by ordering her to return into Gascony.¹ On the road, she and her ladies were overtaken by some archers of the guard, who made them pull off their little half-masks² of black velvet, to see if there were no men among them, and detained two of her suite as prisoners, who were not suffered to proceed till they had been subjected to a strict interrogatory respecting the conduct of their mistress. The King of Navarre refused to receive back his wife after this insult: a step necessary to his dignity, though in reality he was totally indifferent about her behaviour. Such was the occasion on which Philip renewed his offers to Henry. On his refusing, the Spanish agents observed, "You know not what you are doing; we can soon find another market;" alluding to the Guises. But Henry again acquainted Henry III. with the designs of the Spanish King, as well as of a plot of the Duke of Savoy to enter Provence.

The proceedings of the Duke of Anjou in the Netherlands, his ill success, return to France, and death, will be related in another chapter. By his decease Henry of Navarre became the second person in the kingdom, as heir presumptive of the Crown, although the branch of Bourbon was separated from the royal stem by a lapse of three centuries. But his heresy stood in his way. Henry III., who was really inclined to support the King of Navarre in preference to the House of Guise, sent to him the Duke of Epemon to exhort him to change his religion. On that head Henry of Navarre was probably indifferent, though, as a modern historian observes,³ he compensated for his lukewarmness by believing in two dogmas unknown either at Rome or Geneva—toleration and humanity. He listened not, however, to the King's exhortations, though he offered his services and those of his party against the enemies of the Crown. The change in the King of Navarre's position had also excited the solicitude of his friends, and Du Plessis Mornay addressed to him an eloquent letter exhorting him to avoid the public scandal of his numerous amours.⁴

¹ Some of Margaret's letters to Chanvalon are published at the end of her *Memoirs* (ed. Guessard). His beauty procured him the name of "le beau Chanvalon." There can be little doubt that Margaret had by him a son, who became a Capuchin friar under the name of Père Ange. See D'Aubigné, *Hist. Un.* p. 1677;

Lestoile, *Journal de Henri III.* anno 1583.

² These little masks, then fashionable among the ladies, were called *loupes*.

³ Martin.

⁴ Henry was then in love with Corisande d'Andouins, one of a long list of mistresses.

The most important consequence of the death of the Duke of Anjou was the revival of the League, which faction had hitherto proved abortive. Philip II. now seized the opportunity to promote it. The accession of a Protestant King, to the throne of France would render inevitable a war between that country and Spain, and might threaten the whole European system, as well as the existence of the Spanish monarchy. Philip himself was growing into years; his son was an infant of seven; during a long minority what would become of Spain with a Hugonot King for neighbour? Bernardino de Mendoza, one of the most incendiary of all Philip's tools, and lately his ambassador in England, whence he had been dismissed for his plots against Elizabeth, was sent to Paris to stimulate Guise and the ultra-Catholic party. It was in this capital that the League was reorganized. Paris was at first divided into five *arrondissements*, or districts, under five leaders, who afterwards associated with themselves eleven more, in order that each quarter of the city might have its director. This was the origin of the SIXTEEN, who afterwards acquired so redoubtable a celebrity. Their policy was to gain over the heads of the different guilds and corporations, and of the spiritual brotherhoods, who were generally followed by the other members; and by degrees the great judicial and financial bodies were drawn into the League. From Paris its ramifications were extended to the principal cities of France. Its main objects were the disinherison of Henry of Navarre and the overthrow of the King's minions. The League would willingly have transferred the succession to the Duke of Guise, and such a contingency was doubtless in the thoughts of that Prince; but he dared not yet avow it. A stalking-horse was found in the Cardinal of Bourbon, uncle of the King of Navarre, a weak, bigoted, voluptuous old man, who, if the claims of his nephew were set aside on the score of heresy, was undoubtedly next heir to the Crown. Guise, who meant to reign under his name, tried to persuade him to renounce his ecclesiastical dignities, and marry the Duchess-dowager of Montpensier, Guise's sister. Catharine de' Medici herself was more than half gained over to the League by the dazzling prospect of the Crown's descent, after the death of Henry III., to her grandson, the son of her eldest daughter, the Duchess of Lorraine; though with an absurd inconsistency Catharine retained her hostility towards Philip, and was inclined for a war with Spain. The situation of Christendom seemed to promise the success of the League. In France itself the Protestants were

estimated to have decreased seventy per cent.¹ In Germany, under the bigoted Emperor Rodolph II., Protestantism was losing all the ground it had gained after the peace of Passau. In the Low Countries, Farnese was advancing from one conquest to another; and the great hero of Protestantism, the Prince of Orange, had fallen by the hand of an assassin a month after the death of Anjou.

Henry III., without money or resources, and despicable by his want of moral courage, seemed to present no obstacle to the progress of the League. So afraid was he of the King of Spain that he did not venture to accept Cambray, which the Duke of Anjou had bequeathed to him as a legacy; and Catharine took possession of it as a guarantee for her claims on Portugal. Henry had been striving to regain the affections of the fanatical Parisians, of the clergy and the Court of Rome, by extraordinary acts of devotion. After the masquerades and carnival of 1583 he had celebrated Lent with unusual strictness, and introduced at Paris the *Blancs-Battus* or Flagellants of Avignon, under the title of the Penitents of the Annunciation; but the Parisians saw in the affair only another masquerade. After the death of his brother, and the rumours respecting the League, he attempted to conciliate the people by many ordinances of reform. He affected at this time a great attention to business. Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador, writes, that the French King was continually occupied from two o'clock after midnight, his usual time of rising, till eight, shut up in his cabinet "scribbling," with two or three secretaries under him. He now added to his ordinary guard another of forty-five Gascon gentlemen, called *Taillagumbi*, who wore cuirasses under their coats. These men were constantly about his person, were maintained in the palace, and were not suffered to visit out of it.² Henry felt that he was in a completely false position, and knew not how to extricate himself, dreading alike the Hugonots and the League. The Duke of Guise was a most formidable adversary; there was a grandness in his nature that captivated the people. The Pope compared him to Judas Maccabæus.

In December, 1584, a meeting of the Catholic leaders was held at Guise's castle of Joinville; Philip II. sent plenipotentiaries, and a regular treaty, offensive and defensive, was concluded. Its professed objects were, the maintenance of the Roman Catholic

¹ Lorenzo Priuli, *Relat. di Francia*, 1582, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 153.

² Murdin, p. 426.

religion; the complete extirpation of all heresy in the Netherlands as well as in France, and the exclusion of heretical Princes from the throne. Philip's envoys made several advantageous stipulations. The Cardinal of Bourbon, who had accepted the post assigned to him by the Guises, agreed to ratify after his accession the treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, to renounce all alliance with the Turk, and to put an end to all illicit navigation towards the Indies; that is, to submit to the monopoly of Spain. The French Princes engaged to assist Philip to recover Cambray; and he, on the other hand, undertook to pay them 600,000 crowns during the first six months of the war, and afterwards 60,000 crowns monthly, as long as it lasted. Cardinal Bourbon further promised to cede Lower Navarre and Béarn; and Guise and his brother Mayenne engaged to deliver up Don Antonio to Philip.¹

Before the execution of the treaty, Père Mathieu, who, from his indefatigable activity obtained the name of the "courier of the League," was despatched to Rome to obtain for it the approbation of the Pope. Gregory XIII., who had sanctioned all the most violent acts of the ultra-Catholics in France, appears to have given a verbal approval of the League; but he would not authorize it by a formal bull, nor would he consent to the murder of the King,—which must, therefore, have been one of the projects submitted to him—though he did not object to the seizing of his person.

By the establishment of the League France became divided into three parties: that of the King, the weakest and most contemptible of all; that of Henry of Navarre; and that nominally of the Cardinal of Bourbon, but in reality of the Guises and the King of Spain. Henry III. wavered some time as to the course he should adopt. Towards the end of January, 1585, an embassy from the patriots in the United Provinces of the Netherlands, solicited his intervention, offering him twelve cautionary towns and 100,000 crowns a month; the Queen of England, who was now prepared to prevent, at any price, the triumph of Philip, urged Henry to accept these offers, which she partly guaranteed, and sent him the order of the Garter. Philip's general, Alexander Farnese, was at that time engaged in the siege of Antwerp; to prevent its being succoured, Philip pressed the League to commence operations; and Henry III., alarmed at their movements, dismissed the Dutch ambassadors, and declared that he meant to keep peace with the King of Spain. At Péronne, the League

¹ Dumont, t. v. p. 441.

published their manifesto, March 31st. It was in the name of the Cardinal of Bourbon; but with it was circulated a list of the chiefs of the League, including all the Catholic Princes of Europe. The name of the Duke of Lorraine appeared, coupled with that of Guise, as lieutenants of the League. It was the first time that the Duke of Lorraine had taken part in the civil wars of France, into which he was enticed by the promise of Toul and Verdun. The King's answer to the manifesto of the League resembled that of an arraigned criminal. He despatched his mother to Eprenay, to negotiate with the Guises; who, however, as a considerable part of the Kingdom had declared for the League, rose in their demands in proportion to their success. The negotiations were transferred from Eprenay to Nemours; and though the King's arms had met with some partial success, a treaty was concluded in July, which amounted to a virtual surrender of the royal authority as well as a complete prohibition of the Protestant faith. All former edicts in favour of the Hugonots were revoked; the *Chambres mi-parties* were abolished; the reformed ministers were to quit the realm within a month, and all other obstinate heretics within six months. The Dukes of Guise, Mayenne, Elbeuf, Aumale, Mercœur, were not only to retain their governments, but nine cautionary towns were also to be assigned to them and to the Cardinal of Bourbon for five years; viz., Soissons, Dinan, La Conquet, Châlons, Verdun, Toul, St. Dizier, Beaune, and Rue. This peace was proclaimed July 7th, by the EDICT OF NEMOURS.¹ On the 13th the King joined his mother at St. Maur, where he received the homage of the Cardinals of Bourbon and Guise, and of the Dukes of Lorraine and Guise. On the 18th he held a *lit de justice* in the Parliament of Paris to register the revocation of all former edicts of toleration, and the suppression of the (pretended) reformed religion.

Having thus brought down the history of the Protestant struggle in France to a period when the reformed faith seemed threatened with extinction, we will now turn our attention to the Netherlands, where, at this time, it was menaced with a similar fate.

¹ The Edict is in *Mém. de la Ligue*, t. i. p. 178 seq. (ed. Amst. 1758).

CHAPTER XXV.

THE history of the revolt in the Netherlands has been carried down in a former chapter to the pacification of Ghent, November 8th, 1576. It was a mistake on the part of Philip II. to leave the country eight months with only an *ad interim* government. Had he immediately filled up the vacancy occasioned by the death of Requesens, either by the appointment of his sister Margaret, or any other person, the States could not have seized upon the government, and the alliance established at Ghent would not have been effected, by which an almost independent commonwealth was established. But Philip seems to have been puzzled as to the choice of a successor; and his selection, at length, of his brother Don John of Austria, caused a further considerable delay. Don John the hero of Lepanto, was, at that time, Governor of the Milanese, where necessary arrangements compelled him to remain some time after his appointment. He had then to proceed to Spain for instructions, whence he travelled through France into the Low Countries.

The state of the Netherlands compelled Don John to enter them not with the pomp and dignity becoming the lawful representative of a great Sovereign, but stealthily, like a traitor or conspirator. In Luxembourg alone, the only province which had not joined the new federation, could he expect to be received; and he entered its capital four days before the publication of the treaty of Ghent, in the disguise of a Moorish servant, and in the train of Don Ottavio Gonzaga, brother of the Prince of Melfi. Without money or arms, he was obliged to negotiate with the federal assembly, now removed from Ghent to Brussels, in order to procure the recognition of his authority. At the instance of the Prince of Orange, the congress insisted on the withdrawal of the Spanish troops, the maintenance of the treaty of Ghent, an act of amnesty for past offences, the convocation of the States-General, and an oath from Don John that he would respect all the charters and customs of the country. The new Governor was violent, but the deputies were firm; and in January, 1577, was

formed the UNION OF BRUSSELS, the professed objects of which were, the immediate expulsion of the Spaniards, and the execution of the Pacification of Ghent; while at the same time the Roman Catholic religion and the King's authority were to be upheld. This Union, which was only a more popular repetition of the treaty of Ghent, soon obtained numberless signatures. By the stipulation in favour of Catholicism, it contained the seeds of its own dissolution; but it became the stepping-stone to the more important Union of Utrecht.

Meanwhile Rodolph II., the new Emperor, had offered his mediation, and appointed the Bishop of Liège to use his good offices between the parties; who, with the assistance of Duke William of Jülich brought, or seemed to bring, the new Governor to a more reasonable frame of mind. Don John, however, was perhaps in reality determined by instructions brought to him from Spain by his secretary Escovedo, recommending no doubt that duplicity which characterized the policy of the Spanish Court. When the negotiations were resumed at Marche-en-Famène, Don John yielded all the points in dispute, and embodied them in what was called the PERPETUAL EDICT, published March 12th, 1577. The Prince of Orange suspected from the first that these concessions were a mere deception, intended to be violated on the first opportunity; and his suspicions of the Governor's hypocrisy were afterwards confirmed by intercepted letters. Although, to the astonishment of those not in the secret, the Perpetual Edict was confirmed by Philip, the Prince of Orange refused to publish it in Holland and Zealand. To his secret motives we have referred; the chief objections, which he publicly alleged, were that no definite time had been fixed for the assembling of the States-General; that the ratification of the treaty of Ghent was not categorical; that the States were called upon to pay the foreign mercenaries who had oppressed them; and that his son, Count Buren, was still detained a prisoner. Don John endeavoured to gain over the Prince by private negotiations, in which magnificent offers were made to him; but William was incorruptible.

The Perpetual Edict did not produce any immediate separation between the northern and southern provinces. Although the Spanish troops were actually sent away in April, the Catholics as well as Protestants still harboured suspicions of the Spaniards; and when Don John entered Brussels, May 1st, 1577, the citizens refused to give him possession of the citadel. Finding himself

a Governor merely in name, and without any real authority, he resolved to seize by stealth the power which was withheld from him. On pretence of paying a visit to the consort of Henry of Navarre, who was on her way to the baths of Spa, Don John proceeded to Namur, where the citadel was commanded by two sons of Count Berlainmont, who were favourable to his views, and who gave him possession of that fortress. He soon after got possession of Charlemont and Marienburg, but failed in an attempt upon the citadel of Antwerp. These steps he excused on the ground that they were necessary to his security, pretending that a conspiracy had been formed to take his life. The Prince of Orange endeavoured to prevail on the States to resent these encroachments, and to attack Don John with all their force; but this seemed too bold a step to the aristocratic and Catholic party, led by the Duke of Aerschot. The exertions of William were thus confined to his own provinces of Holland and Zealand, where a college of eighteen persons was appointed to promote the popular cause. Permission was obtained from the Catholic States for deputies from Holland and Zealand to enter the Brussels assembly, where they often gave the tone; and they even succeeded in effecting an alliance between the States and the Elector Palatine, a Prince much dreaded by the Catholic party. When the negotiations were resumed with Don John, the States demanded that the citadels of Ghent and Antwerp should be razed; but the popular party in those cities levelled them to the ground without waiting for his answer.

On the 23rd of September, 1577, the Prince of Orange, at the invitation of the States-General, entered Brussels amid great rejoicings and the acclamations of the people, who hailed him as "Father William." During his absence prayers were daily offered up for his safety in the churches of Holland and Zealand. The Prince immediately stopped all negotiations with Don John, and prescribed to him conditions so stringent, that he regarded them as a declaration of war, and retired to Luxembourg. Aerschot and the Catholic nobility were averse to these proceedings, though they were unable to hinder them. When they acceded to the Pacification of Ghent, they had hoped to obtain the leading influence in the government; they now saw with jealousy the chief power in the hands of Orange and his party, yet at the same time they hated and suspected the Spaniards. On the other hand William became the favourite of the people. The Brabanters elected him their *Ruward*, a dignity which was generally reserved

for the heir to the sovereignty, and conferred upon him an almost dictatorial power. He was also offered the Stadholdership of Flanders, which, however, he declined. These marks of popular favour were bestowed upon Orange partly in consequence of a step taken by his opponents. The Catholic aristocrats, who disliked both Don John and the Prince of Orange, had called in as their Governor the Archduke Matthias, a youth of twenty years of age, brother of the Emperor Rodolph II. Matthias accepted the invitation, and came to Brussels without consulting his brother; but he had no talent, and was never anything more than a puppet in the hand of contending factions. To avoid useless contention, as well as not to give offence to the Germans, Orange accepted the nomination of Matthias, and received him with honour. On the 7th December, 1577, the States-General formally deposed Don John, and declared all who should assist him rebels and traitors; and on the 10th a fresh "Union of Brussels" was signed, by which Protestantism was placed on a more favourable footing than by the Pacification of Ghent. This, however, was the last time that the Netherlands were united, nor did their union prove of long duration. Matthias was inaugurated at Antwerp as Governor-General, January 18th, 1578, having first subscribed a constitution drawn up under the superintendence of the Prince of Orange. William was to be his Lieutenant-General; a step insisted on by Queen Elizabeth, who had now begun to afford the Netherlanders some substantial assistance. Her motives were somewhat selfish. She had discovered that Don John was plotting with the Pope and the Guises to depose her, to espouse Mary Queen of Scots, and to seize the Crown of England. Elizabeth's help to the Netherlanders had hitherto been confined to small grants of money; but, although Philip II. appears to have disapproved of the scheme of Don John, she now adopted more warlike counsels, and in 1577 made a treaty with the States, by which she agreed to send 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse into the Low Countries, to be paid for by the States, but commanded by a general of her own, who was to be received into the Netherland Council. She also agreed to lend them her credit for 100,000*l.*, for which she was to receive the bonds of some of the chief towns in the Netherlands, and her liability was to cease within a year.¹ This treaty was signed January 7th, 1578, and the English forces, under Sir John Norris, proceeded into the Netherlands.

It being now plain that the acceptance of Don John as Governor

¹ Camden's *Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 373 (ed. 1625).

could be accomplished only by force, Philip II. assembled an army of about 20,000 Spanish and Italian veterans, which he intrusted to the command of Alexander Farnese, son of Ottavio, Duke of Parma, and Margaret, the late Regent of the Netherlands. At the same time the Pope published a bull in favour of Don John, similar to those formerly issued during the crusades against the Saracens. The Netherlanders also assembled a considerable force under De Goignies, and towards the end of January, 1578, both armies were ready to take the field. As the soldiers of the States were mostly raw recruits, Orange advised an immediate attack upon Don John, then at Namur; but this counsel was overruled, and they waited to be assaulted near GEMBOLOURS, January 31st. A charge of cavalry led by Alexander Farnese decided the victory in favour of the Royalists. Vast numbers of the Netherlanders fell in the battle, and all the prisoners, to the number of about 600, were put to death. It was thought that Don John would now march upon Brussels, and the States, the Council, and the Prince of Orange fled to Antwerp; instead of which, however, the victorious general employed himself in taking some towns of less importance, as Louvain, Nivelles, Bovines, and others.

Meanwhile Orange was drawing into the League those Dutch towns which had not yet renounced their allegiance to Philip II., and especially Amsterdam; the accession of which important city, February 8th, 1578, more than counterbalanced the defeat at Gemblours. Aerschot's party, who had discovered that the Archduke Matthias was entirely useless, applied to the weak and profligate Duke of Anjou, to accept the protectorate of the Netherlands; while Queen Elizabeth, who dreaded the extension by that means of French influence, by way of counterpoise, recommended the States to seek the assistance of John Casimir, brother of the Elector Palatine; and she advanced money to pay the German troops whom he might conduct into the Low Countries. John Casimir, however, who had little military talent, and had only distinguished himself by some marauding expeditions, did not join the patriots till near the end of August; who, meanwhile, chiefly through the valour of the English under Norris, had defeated Don John at RYMENANTS (August 1st). The allies were so strongly posted, being protected on one side by the river Demer, on another by a wood, and on a third by entrenchments, that Don John was counselled by his best captains not to attack them; but he was anxious to give battle before the arrival of John Casimir. The attack was repulsed, and Don John's army would have

suffered greatly in its retreat, had not Alexander Farnese covered it in a masterly manner with his cavalry. This was the last exploit of the victor of Lepanto. He retired under the cannon of Namur; Philip II., who is supposed to have entertained a mean jealousy of his brilliant kinsman, sent him no assistance, and caused his secretary to be murdered in Spain for too zealously promoting his master's chimerical marriage with Mary Stuart. Bossu, the commander of the patriot army, threatening Nivelles, Don John broke up to attack him, but was seized on the way with an illness which put an end to his life (October 1st, 1578), at Bougy, a poor village near Namur. The short administration of Don John may appear on a cursory view to have produced no result; but he in reality initiated the system which preserved so large a portion of the Netherlands to the Spanish Crown. Although he began the war contrary to the wishes of Philip, yet it was evident that matters had gone too far to be accommodated by any reconciliation with the States: and he therefore determined on a gradual subjugation of the revolted provinces, partly by force and partly by negotiation. He revived the attachment of the Walloons to the House of Burgundy; he won over to his views Pardieu de la Motte, the commandant of Gravelines, and Matthew Moulart, Bishop of Arras, and employed them in his negotiations with singular success.

Don John was succeeded, both in the civil and military command, by his nephew Alexander Farnese, who was only a few months younger than his uncle, and had shared with him the glory of Lepanto. In personal appearance he formed a striking contrast to his relative. His head was round and covered with short, black, bristly hair; his forehead high but narrow; his nose aquiline; the lower part of his face covered with a bushy black beard; his features were handsome; but wore a somewhat sinister expression. His character was cool, artful, determined; and, though lacking the fascination of Don John, he had the power of attaching and inspiring confidence. Both as a politician and a military commander he was by far the ablest Governor that had yet been seen in the Netherlands.

Before the death of Don John, the Catholic party and Walloon provinces had virtually superseded the Archduke Matthias, by calling in the Duke of Anjou; nor had the Prince of Orange opposed their choice, though he dictated to the French Prince a convention which he signed at Mons, August 13th. Anjou's vanity was tickled with the magnificent title of "Defender of the liberty of the Netherlands against the tyranny of the Spaniards

and their adherents," but he was deprived of all real power. Anjou's coming had been dreaded and opposed by Elizabeth on political grounds, although she still coquetted with him as a suitor.¹ He entered the Netherlands in September, 1578, took Binche by assault, and Maubeuge by capitulation; but under pretence of a deference to the will of Elizabeth, refrained from further conquests and retired into France. The policy of the English Queen on this subject differed from that of her ministers, who would have gladly seen the Netherlands separated, in whatever manner, even by a French conquest, from the Crown of Spain; while it was the wish of Elizabeth that they should be restored to Philip, though with security for the preservation of their ancient liberties. She had indeed too high an idea of the divine right of Kings to regard the successful revolt of subjects with approbation.

Farnese pursued the same policy as his predecessor in endeavouring to conciliate the Catholic provinces; and the democratic violence of two demagogues at last enabled him to destroy the Pacification of Ghent. In the autumn of 1577 the nobles Imbize and Ryhove had incited an insurrection in Ghent, and had seized and imprisoned the Duke of Aerschot and ten gentlemen of his suite, because the Duke, who had been elected Stadholder of Flanders, had delayed the promised confirmation of the ancient privileges of the city. Of these two leaders Ryhove was the more vulgar democrat, bold, savage, and unscrupulous. Imbize, with equal cruelty, was treacherous and cowardly, but possessed more eloquence and talent. He had conceived the chimerical idea of establishing a Republic and converting Ghent into a second Rome. These demagogues had formed a democratic government consisting of an executive of eighteen citizens, while the legislative power was vested in the deans of the guilds and the council of war of the city train-bands. The example of Ghent was followed by those towns where a proletarian population abounded; as Dendermonde, Courtray, Hulst, Oudenarde, and at last also Bruges. These proceedings were viewed with great disapprobation by the Prince of Orange, as calculated materially to damage the patriot cause. He sent an envoy to remonstrate with the leaders, and in December proceeded himself to Ghent; but all that he could effect was the liberation of the Duke of Aerschot. The disorders in that city went on increasing, and in the course of 1578

¹ Letter of Sir Amias Paulet to Leicester, in Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, &c. t. iv. p. 421 sq.

attained to such a height that the Walloon aristocracy trembled for their religion and even for their lives. The democratic party raged against the Catholics, broke the images in the churches, and seized on the property of the monks and clergy. A sort of internecine war ensued. The Walloons, with a body of French, headed by Pardieu, lord of La Motte, robbed, murdered, and destroyed up to the very gates of Ghent; while on the other hand, Ryhove and La Noue, having got together a force of French Hugonots, desolated the Walloon territories. These disorders caused the dissolution of the Brussels Union and of the Pacification of Ghent. The Walloons, who complained that faith had not been kept with them, entered into negotiations with Farnese; and in January, 1579, they concluded a separate league among themselves at Arras. The Prince of Orange, on his side, united the Calvinist provinces together in an alliance called a perpetual union; which, from its being proclaimed at Utrecht, January 29th, 1579, obtained the name of the UNION OF UTRECHT. It was subscribed by deputies from Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, and the rural districts of Groningen, and in the course of the same year was acceded to by Friesland, Overijssel, Drenthe, and the town of Groningen. The towns of Ghent, Bruges, Antwerp, and Ypres were also members of the Union for a time. The Union of Utrecht must be regarded as the foundation of the Dutch Republic, although the various provinces and towns which subscribed it did not renounce their allegiance to Philip II.; on the contrary, the professed intention of the union was to maintain the Pacification of Ghent, which acknowledged that Sovereign. The United Provinces did not propose in their corporate capacity to meddle with domestic politics or religion, but merely to drive the foreigner from the land; and though they were to remain perpetually united, each province and town was to retain its peculiar laws, privileges, and customs.

Ste. Aldegonde having been despatched by the Netherland States to the Diet assembled at Worms to implore the assistance of the Empire against the tyranny of the Spaniards, an attempt was made at the instance of the Emperor, Rodolph II., whose brother Matthias was still the ostensible Governor of the Netherlands, to effect a reconciliation between the provinces and the Spanish King; and with that view a congress was held at Cologne in April, at which plenipotentiaries attended from the Pope, the Emperor, the Spanish King, and the Netherlands, as well as from France, England, and several of the German Princes. Cobham

and Walsingham were the English envoys; but the negotiations had no result. The Papal Nuncio would of course listen to no proposals of toleration, and Philip II. insisted that the Netherlands should remain in the same state as under Charles V. He promised, indeed, to remove the Spanish troops; but he would acknowledge the Protestant religion only in Holland and Zealand, and that only for a time; while on the other hand the States would relax none of the conditions on which the governorship had been conceded to Matthias. An appeal to arms became therefore again inevitable; hostilities, indeed, had not been interrupted during the congress, and Farnese, after threatening Antwerp, had laid siege to Maestricht. The Walloon provinces now entirely separated themselves from the rest, and concluded a treaty with Farnese in his camp before Maestricht, May 17th, 1579, by which the authority of the King was indeed restored, but under strict limitations. Philip promised to dismiss all foreign troops, and to confirm all present possessors in the offices which they had acquired during the disturbances. Of all the Walloon towns, Tournay, Cambray, and Bouchain alone adhered to the States. The leading Walloon nobles who negotiated this treaty made the Spaniards pay for their adhesion; the price of their loyalty being a military command, the government of a province, the order of the Golden Fleece, or even a payment in money.¹ But as the Walloon provinces were as fanatical as Philip himself, they made no stipulations about religion. Thus the Netherlands became divided into three distinct parties: 1, the Calvinist provinces of the north which had entered into the Union of Utrecht; 2, the Dutch-speaking middle provinces, containing an almost equal number of Catholics and Protestants; and 3, the wholly Catholic Walloon provinces of the south which had resumed their obedience to the Spanish government.

Maestricht, after an admirable defence of three months, during which numberless assaults were repulsed, was at length taken, Juno 29th, the inhabitants having been surprised in their sleep. During three days the Spaniards exercised the most abominable cruelties. Fortunately Farnese's treaty with the Walloons compelled him now to dismiss his Spanish troops, and he was consequently obliged to remain quiet for a period. The Prince of Orange availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded to strengthen his party by getting rid of the Archduke Matthias and the Ghent radicals. Matthias, as well as the Count Palatine John

See Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, &c. t. vi. p. 521 sqq.

Casimir, were members of the Ghent democracy. Davidson, the English ambassador to the States, had complained bitterly of the Ghent demagogues, and especially of John Casimir, who was subsidized by England. The Count Palatine went to England to justify himself, and obtained from Elizabeth the Garter and a pension; but his troops in the Netherlands, which had done nothing but plunder, were dismissed. The Prince of Orange proceeded to Ghent in August, 1579, to put the affairs of that city in order in the name of the States-General. Imbize now fled into the Palatinate; but having ventured to return in 1584, was seized and executed. William restored in Ghent a mild and moderate government, established a toleration of both religions, and enforced a restitution of the spoils that had been committed both on private property and that of the Church.

After the taking of Maestricht and withdrawal of the Spanish troops, the war languished, Philip being fortunately occupied with other affairs. The Confederates, however, were not in a position to take advantage of this state of things; and it plainly appeared how difficult it is for a confederacy of this kind to make head against a powerful and united monarchy. The several provinces which composed it were more attentive to their own advantage than to the general good; while those who held commands in them were not always inaccessible to the influence of corruption. In March, 1580, a great Walloon noble, George de Lalaing, Count of Renneberg, who, although a Catholic, had served the Union of Utrecht with his mercenaries under John Casimir, and now occupied the town and fortress of Groningen, sold himself to the Spaniards for a pension of 20,000 florins and other advantages. Hence Groningen and Friesland were for some time lost to the league, and the Prince of Orange himself was put into considerable danger. His peril was increased by a step which Granvelle had advised Philip to adopt. A change of ministry had at length restored that Cardinal, who had languished many years in Italy, to the counsels of his Sovereign. His predecessor, Don Antonio Perez, who had taken the Princess of Eboli, a mistress of Philip's, for his own, was discovered and disgraced: he and the Princess were arrested July 28th, 1579, and on the same day Granvelle entered Madrid. One of his first steps was to propose the proscription of the Prince of Orange, remarking in a letter which he addressed to the King, 13th November: "As Orange is pusillanimous he might die of fear; or, if the proscription is published in Italy and France, some

desperate fellow will be found to undertake the matter." This plan met the approval of Philip, who remarked on the margin of the letter, "I think this a good suggestion."¹ William was accordingly placed under the royal ban, and a price of 25,000 gold crowns was set upon his head. In the preamble to this instrument all the various crimes imputed to Orange were recited; he was compared to Cain and Judas, and declared an enemy of the human race; and besides the proffered reward, whoever should kill him was promised, not only a pardon for any crime, however heinous, that he might have committed, but also that, if not already noble, he should be ennobled for his valour. To such a depth of moral degradation had Philip and his counsellors sunk under the united influence of bigotry and fear! Not only was a base and cowardly murder sanctioned and encouraged by a public act, the very fountains of justice were poisoned, and the nobility insulted, by the impunity and the honours held out to the perpetrator.

This proscription was answered by William in his celebrated *Apologie*, or Vindication; a paper drawn up with great eloquence and force of reasoning, though it sometimes oversteps the bounds of moderation, and brings charges against Philip, which, though the popular rumours of the day, the judgment of history has not always confirmed.² The Prince rejoices in the opportunity of defending his character, not against an obscure libeller, but a great and powerful King. He recites the benefits which his family had conferred upon the House of Habsburg, who were obscure when his ancestors filled the Imperial throne. He observes that a Netherlander owed Philip no allegiance as King, but only as Duke, or Count, or Lord; and as Philip had violated the oath which he took to observe the privileges of the various provinces, both parties were released from their engagements. Philip, indeed, might plead the Pope's dispensation, and the Prince left it to divines to determine whether the arrogance of the Pope in presuming to release men from such obligations were not an invasion of the prerogative of heaven, and destructive of all faith among men. It was enough for him to remark the folly of such a proceeding; for, as the tie was mutual, the dispensation

¹ Groen van Prinsterer, t. vii. p. 166. Philip recommended as a model the ban published by his father against the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse. William's person and goods were to be abandoned to any one—"pour impunément outrager sa personne et occuper les biens

qu'encore luy appartientent."—p. 168.

² The *Apologie* is in Dumont, *Corps Dipl.* t. v. pt. i. p. 384. An abstract of it is given by Watson in his *Hist. of Philip II.* vol. iii. appendix. The paper has been attributed to the pen of Villers, William's chaplain, a Frenchman.

for Philip himself released also Philip's subjects, whom it was therefore absurd to reproach with disloyalty. He rebuts the charge of being the author of these disturbances, which were imputable solely to the cruelty and tyranny of the Spanish rule. He charges Philip with incest, adultery, and murder, and Granvelle with having administered poison to the Emperor Maximilian. To this paper Orange affixed his name and arms, with his motto, "Je maintiendray;" and he sent a copy of it to most of the European Sovereigns. It alarmed even the boldest of his friends, and Ste. Aldegonde, when he read it in France, observed that the Prince was a dead man.

It was now plain that even that limited recognition of Philip's authority, which had hitherto prevailed in the Netherlands, could not much longer continue to be observed, and must be superseded by open rebellion and the assertion of independence. But such a step could not be ventured on without foreign assistance, and Orange determined on calling in the Duke of Anjou. That Prince, as we have said, had been named Protector of the Netherlands in 1578; but the state of affairs in France had prevented him from taking possession of his new dignity. Orange now persuaded the States to renew the negotiations with him, and to offer him the Stadholdership; but as the Netherlanders reposed even less confidence in Anjou than in Matthias, it was arranged that he should accept the office under the same limitations as the Archduke. The conditions were carried by a deputation from the States to the Duke, whom they found at Plessis-lès-Tours, once the dread abode of Louis XI., where the treaty was concluded, September 29th, 1580. The chief stipulations were, that he was to maintain all the rights and privileges of the different provinces, of which he was to be Duke, Count, Margrave, or Lord, according to their different constitutions, and was to be succeeded by one of his children. He agreed to assemble the States-General at least once a year, to reside constantly in the Netherlands, and to bestow offices on none but natives. All these conditions Anjou signed the more readily, as he did not intend to observe them. Holland and Zealand, however, which had put themselves specially under the authority of the Prince of Orange, were altogether excluded from this arrangement; and, indeed, Anjou signed a secret reverse, entirely renouncing all pretensions to them. The Archduke Matthias laid down his office at Antwerp, and was mean enough to accept a retiring pension of 50,000 florins, which, however, does not seem to have been regularly paid; and in

October, 1581, he returned to Austria, where he became the tool of those who were discontented with the government of his brother, the Emperor Rodolph II. In the Netherlands he had been simply insignificant.

Circumstances prevented the Duke of Anjou from being installed in his new dignity until 1582. On the 26th of July, 1581, the States-General of the United Provinces assembled at the Hague, formally renounced their allegiance to Philip by a solemn Act of ABJURATION,¹ and deposed him from his sovereignty. In this act his crimes against the people were elaborately enumerated; among which appear prominently the introduction of the Spanish troops, the creation of the new bishoprics, the establishment of the Inquisition, the cruelties of Alva, the "Spanish Fury," and finally, the proscription of the Prince of Orange. The act is justified by an appeal to the LAW OF NATURE. Subjects, it is said, are not created by God to be the mere chattels of the Prince, to obey his commands, whether just or unjust, and to serve him like slaves; on the contrary, the Prince is appointed, like the shepherd of a flock, for the good of his subjects, to govern them according to law and reason. If he neglects to do this, if, instead of defending, he oppresses them, by depriving them of their ancient privileges and customs, he is no longer to be regarded as a Prince, but as a tyrant; and if his subjects cannot deter him from his oppressions by their prayers and their remonstrances, they are no longer bound, in law and reason, to recognize him for their Sovereign.

Thus was raised the first voice of political liberty proceeding from the spirit of the Reformation; thus was struck the first blow which shook the monarchical principle in its hitherto recognized foundation. Previous revolts had been mere instinctive risings against tyranny and oppression; but the enunciation, as a principle of natural law, of the right of resistance to tyrannous Sovereigns, proclaimed an age that had begun to feel and to reflect upon its civil as well as its religious privileges. The deliberate and solemn nature of the act produced all the more profound sensation in Europe; for the Declaration of Independence was not a democratic revolution, or an appeal to the people; the United Provinces did not style themselves a Republic, nor, in fact, make any change in their form of government;

¹ The act, which was drawn up by Ste. Aldegonde, is in Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 413 sqq. The life of Marnix de Ste. Alde-

gonde, who is entitled to be styled one of the founders of the Dutch republic, has been written by Quinet.

and the offer of their Sovereignty to Queen Elizabeth and to the Duke of Anjou, shows that they were still inclined to be governed by a Prince. Still less was their formal connection with the Empire dissolved by this measure. The whole proceeding was managed by the regular assembly of the States, as if in the ordinary course of business; and so far from sanctioning a democracy, such as that attempted by Imbize and Ryhove, the divine right of Kings was acknowledged by the Act,¹ and afterwards by the envoys of the States at the Diet of Augsburg; in 1582. In fact, it is remarkable that the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the people was first broached, not by the Protestants, but by the Jesuits and the high Catholic party. It formed part of their theory of the omnipotence of the Pope, who alone reigned by divine right, and that only in his spiritual capacity. Bellarmine was the first who attempted to establish this doctrine logically and systematically. He maintained that the people have, in extreme emergencies, a natural right to resume the government and alter its forms; and this view became the prevailing doctrine of all the Jesuit schools, and was by none more emphatically taught than by the Spanish Jesuits Suarez and Mariana.² It was of course levelled against heretical sovereigns such as Queen Elizabeth in England, and Henry IV. in France. Thus the ingenuity of casuists is able to pervert the most sacred principles and to apply for the enslavement of mankind those very maxims which in a proper sense assure their liberty. Two days before the Act of Abjuration was published, the Prince of Orange accepted the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, though limited at his own request to the period during which the war should last; a limitation, however, afterwards cancelled by the States without William's knowledge. He was to maintain in those provinces the public exercise of the reformed religion alone; but no inquiries were to be made into any man's belief, nor was any hindrance to be offered to him on the ground of his religion.

Fortunately Philip was at this time occupied with the affairs of Portugal, and Alexander Farnese was not in a position to push the war with much vigour. He had not only dismissed his Spanish and Italian veterans, but was also involved in a quarrel with the

¹ The preamble begins: "Comme il est notoire à un chacun qu'un prince du pais est établi de Dieu pour souverain et chef des sujets, pour les défendre et conserver de toutes injures," &c. The passage deposing Philip runs: "Nous

suisant la loi de Nature, pour la tuition et défense de nous et des autres habitants, &c. . . . déclarons le Roi d'Espagne déchu IRSO JURE de sa souveraineté."

² See Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 199.

Spanish King and with his own mother, Margaret, whom Philip II. had sent back to rule the Netherlands. Farnese, however, refusing to share his power with her, Margaret at length withdrew her pretensions, and though she lived under an assumed name upwards of three years in the Netherlands, she forbore to take any ostensible part in public affairs. The Duke of Anjou, whom Henry III. had pretended to disavow, entered the Low Countries about the middle of August (1581) with an army of some 15,000 men, and compelled Farnese to raise the siege of Cambray, one of the few Walloon towns which adhered to the Union of Utrecht. Anjou entered Cambray in triumph; but this was the extent of his exploits. Through his own improvidence, as well as for want of succour from the French Court, which was wasting its resources in dissipation and extravagance, Anjou found himself obliged to disband his army; and in November he went with a splendid retinue to England to press in person his suit to Queen Elizabeth. Being disappointed at Cambray, Farnese next turned his arms against Tournay, which after a brave defence of two months, conducted by Christine de Lalaing, Princess of Espinoy, in the absence of her husband, the commandant, was forced to surrender, November 30th.

Queen Elizabeth was at this period much embittered against the Spanish Court, on account of its intrigues with the discontented nobles and with Mary Stuart. When Farnese resumed hostilities, she sent some troops into the Netherlands under Colonel Norris, who proved of considerable service to the Dutch; yet she was not inclined to provoke an open war with Spain; and much to the regret of Leicester,¹ she for the second time declined the offer made to her by the States of Holland and Zealand, early in 1582, of the sovereignty of these two provinces. How far her negotiations with Anjou were the result of policy or coquetry, it may not be easy to determine. The Duke, who was at that time twenty-eight years of age, possessed considerable grace and vivacity, though in person below the middle size, puny and ill-shaped, his face pitted with pock-marks, his nose swollen and awry. Elizabeth had always reserved for herself a loophole of escape; and to the contract for the marriage drawn up in June, 1581, was appended a provision for the exchange of certain mutual explanations.² The parting scene in which she jilted the

¹ See his *Letter* to the Earl of Shrewsbury, March 8th, 1582, in Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. ii. p. 262.

² Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, t. v.

pt. i. p. 406 sq. The proviso reserved is in the Declaration of the French commissioners attached to the Treaty, p. 411.

French Prince, and his rage upon the occasion, are well known. He soon after quitted the shores of England and landed at Flushing, February 10th, 1582. Hence he was conducted by the Prince of Orange, by water, to Antwerp, took the customary oaths upon his *joyeuse entrée* into that city, and was formally proclaimed Duke of Brabant.

About a month after the installation of Anjou, an attempt was made at Antwerp to murder the Prince of Orange. The Court of Spain followed up the diabolical policy adopted in the ban by entering into a regular contract with one Anastro, a bankrupt merchant of Antwerp, for the murder of William. This contract, which was signed by Philip *with his own hand*, and sealed with his seal, guaranteed to Anastro the sum of 80,000 ducats for the perpetration of the deed, besides the cross of St. Iago ! Anastro intrusted the matter, as if it had been in the regular course of business, to his servant named Jauregui ; who, being incited by a fanatical friar, and tempted with the offer of near three thousand crowns, undertook the assassination. Jauregui chose for that purpose the birthday of the Duke of Anjou (March 18th). The Prince of Orange, who had been dining at his own house, was just rising from table, when Jauregui approached under pretence of presenting a petition, and discharged a pistol at him. The ball entered the Prince's neck, under the right ear, passed through the roof of the mouth, and came out under the left jaw, carrying away two teeth in its passage. The pistol had been held so near that the flash cicatrized the wound, which otherwise would probably have been mortal. The assassin was instantly cut down. Tablets found in his pocket betrayed that he was the slave of an imbecile superstition. He had vowed, if successful, to present to Christ a new coat of costly pattern ; to the Mother of God at Guadalupe, a new gown ; to our Lady of Montserrat, a crown, a robe, and a lamp ; together with other offerings at various shrines. The more calculating Anastro had left Antwerp before the attempt, and escaped into the Prince of Parma's lines. William was in such danger during three weeks, that his wife, Charlotte of Bourbon, died of anxiety. Not long afterwards was discovered the plot of Salcède, related in the preceding chapter.

The French were not popular in the Netherlands, and a report was immediately spread that the crime had been committed at the instigation of Anjou. The infuriated populace crowded to the palace of St. Michael, the residence of this French Duke at Antwerp ; and but for the presence of mind of William's son Maurice,

then a mere youth, a fearful massacre would have ensued. Maurice had guessed at once that the crime had its origin in Spain, and the papers found in the assassin's pocket proved his suspicions to be correct. These papers he now showed to the people, and thus appeased them for the moment; but a lurking suspicion still remained, and all mutual confidence was lost. Anjou became daily more dissatisfied with his position, in which he felt that he had no real power, being constantly watched and controlled by the Prince of Orange. He told his followers that only two alternatives were left for him; either to retire into France, which would cover him with disgrace, or to assert his authority in the Netherlands with a strong hand. Adopting the latter design, he distributed his French forces in certain Flemish towns, which he wished to occupy, with directions to the commanders, when the opportunity should arrive, to overpower the magistrates and seize those places. It was in fact a repetition of the policy of Don John when he seized Namur. The plan succeeded at Ostend, Dendermonde, Dixmude, Dunkirk, and a few other towns; but it was frustrated at Bruges and Nieuport, while at Antwerp, which Anjou himself undertook to master, it occasioned a fearful massacre.

Except his body-guard, Anjou had no troops inside Antwerp; but his French soldiers lay at no great distance, and on the 17th January, 1583, having assembled them near the city on pretence of a review, he rode out with his guard to one of the gates; the burgher watch was suddenly overpowered, and the troops began to enter with cries of *Ville gagnée! Vive la messe! Tue, tue!* and then began to disperse themselves for plunder. Their triumph was premature. The inhabitants called to mind that several distinguished French officers had some time before been carefully examining the goldsmith's shops under pretence of purchasing: the object of the attack was plain; the native troops and citizens flew to arms, and a terrible conflict ensued. The streets were quickly secured with chains and barricades; the French were shot at from the windows; even women and children attacked them with such weapons as chance afforded; and after a short but bloody struggle the 3,500 Frenchmen who had entered were driven out with the loss of more than half their number, while the chief nobles in the Duke's retinue were either killed or made prisoners. This treacherous attack which obtained the name of "the French Fury," was much less disastrous than the Spanish Fury. The French were not so well versed in the sacking of

towns as the Spaniards, who proceeded more methodically, by first butchering the inhabitants and then appropriating their property; while the French began to plunder before they had secured their opponents. Anjou was bitterly reviled by many of his own officers, who were too honourable to partake in the plot and to whom he had not ventured to reveal it. When he saw its ill success, he withdrew towards Dendermonde; whereupon the citizens of Mechlin, by cutting a dyke, let out the waters of the Dyle, and drowned about 1,000 of his followers. After this act Anjou of course ceased to be regarded by the Netherlanders as their protector, and he retired to Dunkirk. The Prince of Orange nevertheless endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with him; for which he had many reasons. If Anjou should be cast off, Henry III. might perhaps reconcile himself with Spain, and the road through France would thus be opened to the troops of Philip II. Queen Elizabeth also urged a reconciliation, and it was dangerous to offend a Sovereign whose aid was of so much importance to the United Provinces. William, too, discovered that while the Duke was writing to him in the tone of injured innocence, he was at the same time treating with Farnese; and he hastened to close with an opponent whose enmity might prove more dangerous even than his friendship. A provisional arrangement was signed with Anjou in March, 1583, but towards the end of June the Duke left Dunkirk never to return.

Meanwhile the Prince of Parma, having been reinforced by Philip with fresh troops released by the termination of the war in Portugal, as well as by the return of the Spanish and Italian veterans, to which the Walloons had been persuaded to consent, had resumed more active operations. From July to November, 1583, the towns of Dixmude, Nieuport, Dunkirk, Zutphen, the Sas, or port of Ghent, Hulst, Axel, Rupelmonde, and Alost fell into the hands of the Spaniards; while the States, for want of friends, were able to make but little resistance. Besides military talent, Farnese displayed a wise and politic moderation and clemency. He endeavoured, as much as possible, to spare the places which he attacked the evils which ordinarily accompany warfare. Rather than take them by storm he preferred to reduce them by blockade, or by diverting the course of streams and rivers, and he offered them the most favourable capitulations that his instructions from Philip would allow. But the inexorable bigotry of the Catholic King would not yield a jot in the matter of religion; and on this head all that the Protestants in the captured towns could obtain

was the choice either of renouncing their faith or quitting the country within two years. Farnese pursued his successes in the following year (1584). Between March and August, Ypres, Mechlin, Brussels and Dendermonde were forced to capitulate; while Charles of Croy, Prince of Chimay, son of the Duke of Aerschot, treacherously betrayed Bruges to the Spaniards, in order to obtain the command of a division. Ghent, Sluys, Antwerp and Ostend were now the only southern Netherlands towns that remained in the power of the States; and of these Ghent was no longer tenable after the taking of the Sas, by which it was cut off from the sea, and the fall of Dendermonde, which interrupted its communications with Antwerp and Brabant. Ghent was again in the hands of the demagogues, but after the execution of Imbize, it capitulated September 17th.

Before this event, both Anjou and the Prince of Orange had ceased to exist. William had succeeded in effecting a new treaty with Anjou, but before it was signed the Duke died at Château-Thierry, June 10th, 1584. Although the character of this Prince rendered him altogether insignificant and contemptible, yet, from his peculiar position, his death had a great effect upon the troubles both in the Netherlands and France. In the latter country, by opening the way for the succession of Henry of Navarre to the Crown, it served to stimulate the proceedings of the Guises and the League. In the Netherlands it caused a dissolution of the government in Flanders and Brabant; which provinces; as they did not belong to the Union of Utrecht, had no longer any head to whom they could look; and thus, at a critical moment, disunion was introduced into the counsels of the States. After the death of Anjou, the Prince of Orange, disgusted at the disunion which prevailed in Brabant and Flanders, returned into Holland after an absence of six years. Convinced in the present circumstances of the necessity of a strong government, he now accepted the dignity, which he had more than once refused, of Sovereign Count of Holland and Zealand; and he declared that he would in future rule those provinces with the same princely power as had been enjoyed by Charles V. and Philip II. But before the arrangements for his installation could be completed he fell by the hand of an assassin.

After the abortive attempt on the Prince's life by Jauregui, four more had been made with the same ill-success; making five within two years, and all with the privity of the Spanish government. The sixth was destined to be more successful. William's

murderer was one Balthazar Gérard, a native of Villefans, in Burgundy, and, like Jauregui, a religious fanatic. Gérard communicated his design to the Prince of Parma, by whom it was approved; for this cool-headed and cold-hearted tactician admitted assassination in his art of war. Farnese had, indeed, been long in search of a murderer, and had hired several, who, after pocketing his money, shirked the deed. Assuming the name of Francis Guion, and the aspect of a devout Calvinist, Gérard was sent to Delft with despatches to the Prince, and thus obtained entrance into his bedchamber. It was not, however, till two days afterwards that Gérard was ready to perpetrate the diabolical act. On the 10th of July, 1584, as Orange was proceeding up stairs after dinner, Gérard shot him with a pistol loaded with three balls, and William almost instantly expired. The murderer was arrested in attempting to escape, and, before and at his execution, was subjected to the most exquisite tortures, which he endured with an almost superhuman fortitude. A commuted reward was paid to his parents, who received three lordships in Franche-Comté, the property of the murdered Prince, and took their place among the landed aristocracy.¹ William the Silent was fifty-one years of age at the time of his death. He left twelve children, viz.: by his first wife, Anne of Egmont, a son, Philip Count Buren, a prisoner in Spain, and a daughter, Mary, afterwards married to Count Hohenlohe; by his second wife, Anne of Saxony, a son, Prince Maurice of Nassau, and two daughters; by his third wife, Charlotte of Bourbon, six daughters; and by his fourth wife, Louise, daughter of Admiral Coligni, and widow of Téligni, whom he had married in April, 1583, a son, Frederick Henry, afterwards the celebrated Stadholder.

William's place in history is among the greatest benefactors of mankind, the deliverers of their country. His untimely death, indeed, prevented him from fully accomplishing the great work of emancipation, but he had put it in such a train as ensured a successful result. Steadfastness, constancy of purpose, denial of self in the service of his country, for which he rendered himself almost a beggar, are the great traits in his character. As a commander he was outshone by other generals of the age; yet he possessed considerable military genius, and the relief of Leyden

¹ Philip, however, was not the only King of that age who rewarded assassination with public honours. Charles IX. had sent Maurevert the collar of the Order of St. Michael for assassinating a Pro-

testant leader named Moy. Charles IX.'s *Letter to the Duke of Alençon*, Oct. 10th, 1569, ap. Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. ix. p. 260. And we shall see the Emperor, Ferdinand II., doing the same.

is a striking instance both of vastness of design and boldness of execution. As a statesman he was unquestionably the first in Europe. With great sagacity and power to penetrate the designs of others, he had the art, so necessary to a politician, of concealing his own. He was possessed of a singular eloquence, and his speeches and state papers are models of their kind. In public he exhibited an exemplary piety, though probably his religious convictions did not lie very deep; but his enlightened and liberal toleration forms an agreeable contrast with the harsh and narrow bigotry then everywhere displayed, not only in the Roman Catholic, but also in the Protestant communions. A modern historian has well characterized him as "the head of the party of humanity,"¹ at that time a new party in the annals of Europe, but which has since gone on increasing. His personal habits were of the simplest kind. Fulke Groville, Lord Brook, who had seen him at Delft some months before his death, describes him as wearing a gown such as in England a mean-born student of the Inns of Court would be ashamed to be seen in; his waistcoat was of knit woollen, like that worn by English watermen. His company consisted of the burgesses of Delft, and there was no external sign to distinguish him from that multitude.² The local States testified their respect for William's memory by naming his son Maurice, although then only eighteen years of age, Stadholder of Holland, Zealand and Utrecht, and High Admiral. Maurice was a quiet, steady young man, devoted to the study of mathematics, in the hope of one day making that science useful in the art of war; but as he had not of course yet displayed that military talent by which he was afterwards distinguished, Count Hohenlohe was appointed his lieutenant-general, to direct him in his enterprises as deputy of the States.

After the fall of Ghent, Farnese applied himself earnestly to the siege of Antwerp, one of the most memorable recorded in history. The citizens were animated in their defence by the valour and talent of Ste. Aldegonde. It would be impossible to detail with minuteness in this general history the various contrivances resorted to on either side for attack and defence;³ and we must therefore content ourselves with briefly adverting to that stupendous monument of Farnese's military genius, the

¹ Michelet, *Ligue*, 131.

² Brook's *Life of Sidney*, ch. ii.

³ The best account of the siege is in Metczen. It is also described by Strada

and Le Petit. The English reader will find an ample account of it in Mr. Motley's *United Netherlands*, vol. i. ch. v.

bridge which he carried across the Scheld, below Antwerp, in order to cut off the communication of the city with the sea and with Zealand. * From the depth and swiftness of the river, the difficulty of finding the requisite materials, and of transporting them to the selected place in the face of an enemy who was superior on the water, the project was loudly denounced by Farnese's officers, as visionary and impracticable; yet, in spite of all these discouragements and difficulties, as the place seemed unapproachable in the usual way, he steadily persevered, and at last succeeded in an undertaking in which failure would have covered him with perpetual ridicule. The spot fixed upon for the bridge was between Oordam and Kalloo, where the stream is both shallower and narrower than at other parts. The bridge consisted of piles driven into the river-bed as far as the water's depth would allow; which was 200 feet from the Flanders shore and 900 from that of Brabant. The interval between the piles, which was 12 feet broad, was covered with planking; but at the extremities, towards the middle of the river, the breadth was extended to 40 feet, thus forming two piers or platforms, mounted with cannon. There was still, however, a gap in the middle of between 1,000 and 1,100 feet, through which the ships of the enemy, favoured by wind and tide, or by night, could manage to pass without any considerable loss, and which it was therefore necessary to fill up. This was accomplished by mooring across it the hulls of thirty-two vessels, at intervals of about 20 feet apart, and connecting them together with planks. Each vessel was planted with cannon, and manned by about thirty soldiers; while the bridge was protected by a line of vessels moored on each side, above and below, at a distance of about 200 feet.

During the construction of the bridge, which lasted half a year, the citizens of Antwerp viewed with dismay the progress of a work which was to deprive them of the supplies necessary for their subsistence and defence. At length they adopted, a plan suggested by Giambelli, a Mantuan engineer, and resolved to destroy the bridge by means of fire-ships, which seem to have been first used on this occasion. Several such vessels were one night sent down the river with a favourable tide and wind, of which two were charged with 6,000 or 7,000 lbs. of gunpowder each, packed in solid masonry, with various destructive missiles. One of these vessels went ashore before reaching its destination; the other struck upon the bridge, and blew up with terrible effect. Curiosity to behold so novel a spectacle had attracted vast numbers of the

Spaniards, who lined the shores as well as the bridge. Of these 800 were killed by the explosion, and by the implements of destruction discharged with the powder; a still greater number were terribly maimed and wounded, and the bridge itself was broken through. Farnese himself was thrown to the earth, and lay for a time insensible. The Zealand fleet, however, was not at hand to bring relief, nor did the besieged follow up their plan with vigour. They allowed Farnese time to repair the damage, and the Spaniards, being now on the alert, either diverted the course of the fire-ships that were subsequently sent against them or suffered them to pass the bridge through openings made for the purpose. In spite of the bridge, however, the beleaguered citizens might still have secured a transit down the river by breaking through the dykes between Antwerp and Lillo, and sailing over the plains thus laid under water, for which purpose it was necessary to obtain possession of the counter-dyke of Kowenstyn; but after a partial success, too quickly abandoned by Hohenlohe and Ste. Aldegonde, they were defeated in a desperate and bloody battle fought upon the dyke. Antwerp was now obliged to capitulate; and as Farnese was anxious to put an end to so long a siege, it obtained more favourable terms than could have been anticipated (August 17th, 1585). The prosperity of this great commercial city received, however, a severe blow from its capture by the Spaniards. A great number of the citizens, as well as of the inhabitants of Brabant and Flanders, removed to Amsterdam and Middelburg, and so much augmented the population, as well as the trade, of those cities, that it became necessary to enlarge their walls. Ste. Aldegonde was vehemently suspected of having sold himself to the Spaniards, and though he lived down this calumny, his public career was now brought to an end.

The Netherlands seemed at this time in imminent danger of being again brought under the dominion of Philip II., a fate, however, from which they were rescued partly by the succours afforded to them by Queen Elizabeth and partly by the impolicy of the Spanish King in diverting his resources in order to attack England and to help the League in France. After the murder of the Prince of Orange, Queen Elizabeth resolved no longer to afford the United Provinces a merely clandestine assistance, but to support them by a public alliance. She once more declined, indeed, the sovereignty; but she agreed to send 6,000 troops into the Netherlands, as securities for the repayment of whose

expenses Flushing and Brielle, the chief fortresses severally in Walcheren and Voorne, were to be placed in her hands; and she published her motives for this step in a declaration dated at Richmond, October 10th, 1585. They were chiefly grounded on the schemes of Philip II., who, incited by the Pope, was contemplating an invasion of her Kingdom, to the Crown of which he laid claim by virtue of his descent from John of Gaunt. The Queen's reasons for declining the sovereignty of the United Provinces seem to have been the expenditure it would require and the perpetual war which it would probably entail. She was anxious that her refusal should not be ascribed to fear, and at the conclusion of her address to the Dutch envoys, among whom was John of Olden Barneveld, she said: "Finally, gentlemen, I beg you to assure the States that I do not decline the sovereignty of your country from any dread of the King of Spain. For I take God to witness that I fear him not; and I hope, with the blessing of God, to make such demonstrations against him, that men shall say the Queen of England does not fear the Spaniards."¹ But Elizabeth in a great measure marred the benefits which the Netherlanders would otherwise have derived from her assistance by making her favourite, the Earl of Leicester, commander of the expedition; a man entirely unfitted for it by his want of military talent, his selfish and intriguing disposition, and his haughty and overbearing temper. Sir Philip Sidney was appointed Governor of Flushing, and on the 10th of December the Earl of Leicester, accompanied by his son-in-law, the Earl of Essex, and a brilliant staff, landed at that port to assume the command. After Leicester's arrival, the States conferred upon him the dignity of Governor and Captain-General of the United Provinces, which he accepted without consulting the Queen, and he was solemnly inaugurated at the Hague, January 24th, 1586. As Elizabeth had refused the sovereignty, she was highly offended by this step; less, perhaps, from the affair itself than from the contempt of her authority manifested by Leicester. She threatened to recall him; she signified her will that the dignity conferred upon him should be revoked, and that he should exercise no more power than he had originally been invested with as commander-in-chief in the Netherlands, with a seat in the Council. She sent a special envoy to communicate her displeasure to the States publicly and in the presence of Leicester himself: an impolitic step, by which she not only placed her lieutenant in a painful

¹ *Hague Archives*, ap. Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. i. p. 331.

and humiliating position, and damaged his authority with the Hollanders, but even cast a suspicion upon her own sincerity.

Philip II. naturally regarded Elizabeth's manifesto as a declaration of war, and ordered the seizure of all English vessels, as well as English subjects, in his dominions. The campaign of 1586 was tolerably active. Farnese, now Duke of Parma through the death of his father, successfully laid siege to and captured Grave and Venlo on the Meuse. Norris would have succeeded in relieving the former place had not the commandant prematurely surrendered. In the western provinces Prince Maurice and Sir Philip Sidney surprised Axel, but failed at Gravelines; after which, Sidney joined Leicester at Arnheim. After the capture of Venlo, Parma took Neuss, on the Rhine, and invested Rheinberg; when, in order to occasion a diversion, Leicester, who was not strong enough to cope with the Duke in the open field, seized Duisburg and laid siege to Zutphen. It was during this siege that the gallant and chivalrous Sidney received his death wound, while charging at the head of only 200 horse a body of 1,100 of the enemy's cavalry, who were convoying provisions to the town (September 23rd, 1586). The humanity which he displayed on this occasion towards a wounded soldier, more conspicuous even than his courage, is well known to the readers of English history. He died of his wound at Arnheim, October 16th. Parma hastened to Zutphen with all his forces, and Leicester was compelled to raise the siege; but he afterwards contrived to get possession of three forts on the opposite side of the Yssel.

Although Leicester was provided only with very inadequate forces, and those, through the niggardliness of Elizabeth, miserably paid, his campaign may be said to have preserved the northern Netherlands from subjection.¹ But his government was intolerable to the States. He treated the provinces like a conquered country, arbitrarily appointed governors of provinces and towns; laid restrictions upon trade, and tampered with the public money. He made two most injudicious appointments in giving the government of Deventer to Sir William Stanley, an English Catholic, and making Roland York, a man of tainted character, commandant of the principal fort near Zutphen. Nevertheless, when Leicester arrived at the Hague towards the close of the year, the States, unwilling to offend Elizabeth, received him with great honour, though they made a firm but

¹ The Dutch deputies acknowledged to Elizabeth in February, 1587, that Leicester

had arrested Parma's victories. *Hague Arch. ap. Motley, ibid.* vol. ii. p. 197.

modest remonstrance against his proceedings. Leicester then pretending that affairs required his presence in England, the States insisted on his executing a deed by which he transferred during his absence his authority as Governor to the Council of State; but, with an unworthy artifice, he secretly executed on the same day another deed, by which he not only reserved his power, but even intrenched upon that of the Council. Scarcely had Leicester departed for England, when Deventer and the fort near Zutphen were betrayed to the enemy by Stanley and York (February, 1587). Stanley sent for priests to convert his garrison, consisting of 1,300 English and Irish, in order that they might form a seminary regiment to serve against the Queen. The States, alarmed by these treacheries, decreed that, during Leicester's absence, the supreme authority should be transferred to Prince Maurice; and though in their public declarations they treated the English with forbearance, they addressed letters of warm remonstrance both to Elizabeth and Leicester. The Earl, however, who affected a puritanical behaviour, had a strong party in Holland, especially among the Calvinist ministers; and by this party the charges made against him were impugned. Puzzled by these conflicting representations, Elizabeth despatched Lord Buckhurst into Holland to inquire into their truth; but when that nobleman honestly told the Queen that Leicester was in the wrong, and especially accused him of inciting the people against the States, in order to render his own authority absolute, Buckhurst was immediately arrested, as if he, and not Leicester, had been the guilty party.

These disputes crippled the power of the States in all the provinces except Holland and Zealand, where alone Maurice could make his commands obeyed, and were a serious drawback to the aid afforded by England. Ostend and Sluys were now the only Flemish towns of much importance which had not been reduced by the Spaniards, and after a feint on Veluwe the Duke of Parma laid siege to Sluys early in June, 1587. Here he pursued the same plan as at Antwerp, by bridging over the large canal which communicated with the sea. Leicester, who had returned into the Netherlands with a reinforcement, being joined by Maurice, after some feeble and ineffectual attempts to relieve Sluys, retired into Zealand, and the town, which was bravely defended by the commandant, Arnold de Groenevelt, and by Sir Roger Williams, Sir Francis Vere, and Captain Nicholas Baskerville, after sustaining 17,000 rounds of shot and losing half its garrison, was forced

to capitulate (August 4th). During this siege, Geldern was betrayed to the enemy by Colonel Paton, a Scotchman. Leicester, after an unsuccessful and inglorious attempt to reduce Hoogstraaten, went to meet the States assembled at Dort. That body had received secret intelligence of his designs either to usurp an unlimited power or to abandon the provinces altogether. He was suspected of an intention to occupy the chief cities in Holland and Zealand, and to seize and carry off to England Prince Maurice and Olden Barneveld.¹ Leicester, finding himself the object of suspicion, became accuser in turn, and attributed his misfortunes partly to the States, who had neglected to furnish him with the necessary supplies, and partly to Maurice and Hohenlohe, who had refused to co-operate with him; but perceiving at length that he was unequal to the task he had undertaken, he returned to England in December. Queen Elizabeth transferred to Lord Willoughby the command of the English troops, subject, however, to the control of the States. The latter appointed Prince Maurice commander-in-chief, who, though inferior to his father as a statesman, had already given proofs of great military talent.

The schemes of the Pope and the Catholic King to invade England and dethrone its Queen were at this time growing to maturity. A new Pontiff now occupied the Chair of Peter. Gregory XIII., whose long and insidious enmity against Elizabeth had proved abortive, died April 10th, 1585: a Pope more generally and more favourably known to posterity by the reformation of the solar year and the introduction of the Gregorian calendar² than by his miserable intrigues. He was succeeded by one of the most extraordinary men that ever wore the tiara. Felix Peretti, the descendant of an Illyrian fugitive, and the son of a vinedresser, was born near Fermo, in the March of Ancona, December 15th, 1521. His early childhood was employed in tending sheep and swine. At the age of twelve his education was undertaken by the Franciscans, into whose order he in due time entered; and such was his devotion to study that, for want of a candle, he was accustomed to read in the church by the light that burnt before the tabernacle. He subsequently studied at the Universities of Bologna and Ferrara, where he exhibited much skill in dialectics, and took his degrees with great honour and applause. Proceeding at length to Rome, Friar Felix attracted

¹ Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. ii. p. 330.

² This reform was much assisted by

Luigi Liglio, a Calabrian, who pointed out the easiest method. Leti, *Vita di Sisto V.* t. i. p. 294.

much notice by his sermons, and won the favour of the Grand Inquisitor, Ghislieri, afterwards Pope Pius V. That Pontiff, who found in Peretti a congenial nature, made him successively General of the Franciscans, Bishop of Sta. Agata, and in 1570 a Cardinal and Archbishop of Fermo, when Peretti returned, clothed in the Roman purple, and with the title of Cardinal Montalto, to the scene of his childhood's humble labours. At the death of Gregory XIII., Cardinal Montalto, then a hale and hearty man of sixty-four, pretending utter feebleness and hopeless ill health, secured by a pious fraud his election to the Papal throne; and immediately convicted himself by throwing aside his crutch, holding himself erect, so as to look a foot taller, and intoning with vigorous lungs the *Te Deum*.¹ Sixtus V., for that was the title assumed by Montalto, displayed in his pontificate all the energy and enthusiasm of his patron Ghislieri. Educated like him in a convent, Sixtus V. could but ill distinguish between the practicable and impracticable. His head was filled with the most fantastic visions; plans that could hardly have been feasible during the Rome of the Middle Ages. He dreamt of annihilating the Turkish empire; of conquering Egypt; of opening a passage between the Red Sea and Mediterranean; of penetrating into Syria, bringing the Holy Sepulchre to Italy, and erecting it at Montalto in his native province, already the seat of our Lady of Loreto; which place was raised by Sixtus to a considerable town. His administration was strict and vigorous, nay, even cruel, yet in many respects beneficial. He hanged even venial criminals without remorse, and was zealous in exterminating the banditti that infested the Roman States. He instituted eight new congregations of Cardinals, and fixed the number of the College at seventy. He paid great attention to matters of finance, and accumulated a treasure whilst most other European States were in debt. Although he had no classical taste, and cared not for the remains of antiquity at Rome, he enlarged and adorned the city with new buildings, and again conducted the water to the Roman hills by means of the Aqua Felice, an aqueduct which feeds seven and twenty fountains.

Sixtus V. felt a sort of respect for Queen Elizabeth, in whom he recognized some congenial qualities; and he is reported to have said that he and the English Queen should have married and begotten another Alexander. He actually sent her an invitation to return to the bosom of the Church, at which Elizabeth of course

¹ *Ibid.* p. 413 sq.

only laughed; and Sixtus then said he must devise some means to deprive her of her Kingdom. There was, however, a generosity in his nature which spurned the insidious methods of Gregory. He does not appear to have sanctioned any attempts to murder Elizabeth, though he renewed against her the bull of excommunication; but he openly proclaimed his intention of forwarding any military attack upon her dominions, declared that he would help Philip in such an enterprise, and early in 1587 loudly complained of the dilatoriness of the Spaniards, to whom he represented the advantages of the conquest of England with a view to the recovery of the Netherlands. The zeal of Sixtus was further inflamed by the beheading of the Queen of Scots (February 8th, 1587), the first transient idea of which seems to have been suggested by the massacre of St. Bartholomew.¹ Such is the tendency of one crime and one act of violence to beget another! We shall not here detail the catastrophe, so well known to English readers, of that long tragedy whose argument was the hate and jealousy of the rival Queens; one looked up to by Protestant Europe as its patroness and protector, the other regarded by Rome and the Catholic party as the type of their claims and the innocent victim of the efforts to assert them. When the news of Mary's death arrived in Rome, Sixtus furiously declaimed in the Consistory against the English Jezebel, and by way of retaliation created Dr. William Allen a Cardinal. A formal treaty was soon afterwards concluded between Sixtus V. and Philip II., by which the Pope promised the King of Spain a subsidy of a million *scudi*, to be paid as soon as Philip should be in actual possession of some English port. England, after its conquest, was to become a fief of the Church.² Philip, however, with masterly dissimulation, appears to have kept the Pope, as well as everybody else, in the dark, respecting the actual time of the invasion.³

The French King was solicited by Sixtus to join in the enterprise against Elizabeth, but Henry requested time for deliberation. The destruction of Elizabeth was not for his interest. He had, indeed, after the condemnation of Queen Mary, sent De Bellièvre on a special mission publicly to deprecate her execution, yet with secret instructions to solicit Elizabeth for her death, as the common enemy of both through her connection with the Guises.⁴ That

¹ Letter of Sandys, Bishop of London, to Lord Burghley, Sept. 5th, 1572, in Ellis's *Letters*, 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 22 sqq.

² Grutt's *Dispaccio*, 27 Giugno, 1587, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 172.

³ Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. ii. p. 311 sqq.

⁴ Bayle, *Critique Gén. de l'Hist. du Calvinisme*, p. 31. The fact is, however, denied by other historians.

family did all they could to forward the Pope's project, and had even recently undertaken on their own account a conspiracy against Elizabeth. The French ambassador in London, who belonged to the Guisian faction, had entered into a plot to blow up Elizabeth in her apartment: and his servant, Du Trapps, had solicited William Stafford, brother of the English ambassador at Paris, to join in the deed, promising to procure for him from the Pope a pension of 10,000 crowns; though it does not appear that he was authorized to make such a promise.¹ The detection of this conspiracy in January, 1587, after the Scottish Queen had already been condemned to death for her participation in Babington's plot, seems to have been one of the causes which hastened on her execution. Guise and the League offered the roadstead of Boulogne to Philip for the convenience of his armament; but Henry III. found means to frustrate their intention.²

The execution of the Queen of Scots was an inducement to the King of Spain to strike the blow which he had long been meditating, not only on account of the indignation which the event excited in the breasts of all devoted Papists, but also because Mary's death strengthened the claims which he affected to the English Crown; and he now pretended, as heir of the House of Lancaster, to be the first *Catholic* Prince of the blood-royal of England.³ He had been several years preparing for the enterprise. He had been gradually increasing his forces in the Netherlands; and Leicester stated in November, 1587, that the Duke of Parma had under his command near 40,000 men.⁴ Philip's anxiety had been much increased by the footing which the English had gained in the Netherlands; and both his zeal and his hopes were stimulated by the cries for aid and relief addressed to him by some of the Catholics of England. Parma had obtained a plan of the English coasts, and Philip was pressing for the immediate accomplishment of the invasion. So sanguine were his hopes that he was even discussing the future government of his anticipated conquest; and a scheme was in agitation to marry the Queen of Scots after her deliverance to one of his nephews, and perhaps to the Prince of Parma.⁵ Philip's resolution was further strengthened by the losses and insults which he suffered from the buccaneering expeditions of Sir Francis Drake and other English navigators. In the latter part of 1585, Drake, accompanied by

¹ Murdin, p. 579 sqq.

² Michelet, *La Ligue*, p. 149 sqq.

³ *Letter to a Scotch Nobleman*, in *Strype, Annals*, vol. iii. p. 553.

⁴ *Hardwicke Papers*, vol. i. p. 354.

⁵ His *Letter to Parma*, Dec. 29th, 1585. *Arch. of Simancas*, ap. Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. i. p. 376 sq.

Martin Frobisher, had plundered St. Iago, one of the Cape de Verd islands, the island of St. Domingo, and Cartagena on the Spanish Main. Sailing thence to Virginia, where a colony had lately been founded by Sir Walter Raleigh, Drake's fleet returned home with a large treasure, bringing also the Virginian colonists, who had begun to despair of their settlement.

Philip's plot against Protestantism and liberty was extensive and complicated. Its main outline was, to conquer England as a means of subduing the Dutch; to prevent France from opposing his designs, and even to gain the aid of the League in furthering them, by keeping alive the civil war in that country and subsidizing Guise; and at the same time to lull the English into a fatal security by entering into negotiations for a pretended peace. Philip's instructions to Parma for the accomplishment of the last object are worthy of Machiavelli and of himself. Seated at his silent desk in the Escorial, this plodding conspirator against human freedom wrote, in the interest of course of religion and good government, to his commander in the Netherlands, that he meant not the negotiations for a peace to have any result; that they were merely a deception and a snare, and that the preparations for invading England were to be pushed on with the greatest vigour.¹ Philip found in Parma an able instrument of his treachery, and egregious dupes in Elizabeth and some of her ministers, no match for Spanish Jesuitism and the Machiavellian Italian. Negotiations for the pretended peace were opened at Bourbourg near Gravelines, under the mediation of the King of Denmark, and were one of the reasons which induced Elizabeth not to lend that efficient help to the Netherlanders during the year 1587 which she might otherwise have done. Elizabeth's blindness in the following year, when the negotiations were continued at Ostend, was still greater, and, but for fortunate accidents, might have proved the destruction of her realm. After many weeks of fruitless talk, a ceremonious interview of the commissioners took place on the sands near Ostend, in May, which of course had no result; except that the Duke of Parma availed himself of the opportunity to visit Ostend in the disguise of a lackey, and view the fortifications. He succeeded for two months longer in throwing dust into the eyes of the English Queen, and it was not till towards the middle of July, on the very eve of the

¹ Philip's *Letter to Parma*, May 13th, 1587. *Arch. de Simancas*, ap. Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. ii. p. 310.

appearance of the Armada in the Channel, that she at last awoke from her dream of security.¹

The preparations which had long been making in all the Spanish and Portuguese ports had been retarded by the attack of Drake on the Spanish coasts in 1587. It was an idea of the Spaniards that it would be easier to conquer England than Holland; but the exploits of Drake must have somewhat shaken them in this opinion. With a fleet of forty ships Drake burnt and destroyed, under the guns of Cadiz and Lisbon, about one hundred vessels laden with provisions and ammunition. He also captured off the Azores a rich Portuguese carrack. The papers found on board this vessel, by the details which they afforded of the value of the trade to the East Indies, and of the manner in which it was conducted, are said to have caused the foundation of the London East India Company. Drake acquainted Elizabeth with the vast preparations making in the Spanish harbours. The sailing of the *Invincible Armada* from Lisbon in May, 1588, its dispersion by a storm, its arrival in the English Channel (July 19th), the attacks upon it by Lord Howard of Effingham and Drake, the alarm and confusion into which it was thrown by means of fire-ships, when at anchor before Calais, its subsequent dispersion, its voyage round Great Britain by the Orkneys, the disastrous storms which it encountered, and finally the return of less than half its number to Spain, are facts so well known to the English reader that they need not to be here repeated. The Spaniards had relied so confidently on the conquest of England that the Armada was crowded with monks of every order destined to re-establish Papistry in that country. Philip is said to have heard the news of this astounding disaster with an equanimity, which by some has been attributed to greatness of mind, but which, if unaffected, was more truly the result of apathy or pride. It must be recollected that the first accounts of the discomfiture of the Armada caused him, by his own confession, great anxiety, and that more than a month elapsed before the return of its shattered remnant to Spain in October at length convinced him of the entire frustration of his hopes. During this eventful crisis the Dutch fleet contributed very materially to the safety of England by blockading the Duke of Parma in the Flemish harbours. This commander had with great labour constructed a fleet of 340 vessels of various sizes, the materials

¹ *Ibid.* ch. xviii.

for which he had to bring from a vast distance ; and he had cantoned near the coast an army of 30,000 foot and 5,000 horse ready for embarkation. The Duke of Guise was also¹ prepared to assist the invasion with 12,000 men whom he had collected in Normandy.

In the following year (1589), in order to divert the Spanish King from another attack on England, the war was carried into his own dominions. An English armament under the command of Sir F. Drake and Sir J. Norris, accompanied by Dom Antonio, sailed for Portugal, in the hope that the population would declare in favour of the Prior of Crato on his landing. With her usual economy Queen Elizabeth conducted this affair on the principle of a joint-stock speculation. She herself ventured six ships and £60,000 ; the two commanders and their friends £50,000 ; and the remainder of the expedition was made up by London, the Cinque Ports and other maritime towns. But the enterprise was ill-conducted. The fleet had not been provided with sufficient provisions and ammunition ; time was lost by an attack upon Coruña, when the lower town was captured ; and though the expedition afterwards effected a landing near Lisbon, mastered the suburbs of that city, and captured sixty Hanse vessels freighted with supplies for a second Armada, it was soon discovered that the people were not inclined to take up Dom Antonio's cause. After great sufferings¹ the expedition returned in June with their booty, leaving behind them an indelible impression of English valour.

Meanwhile, after the defeat of the Armada, the Duke of Parma had resumed his operations in the Netherlands. In August, 1588, he laid siege to Bergen-op-Zoom ; whence he was obliged to withdraw by the great losses he had suffered through a stratagem of two English soldiers, and to put his army into winter-quarters. At the same time he despatched Count Mansfeld with the German portion of his forces to attack Wachterdonck, a town in Upper Gelderland. The siege of this little place, which was bravely defended by the celebrated Colonel Schenck, possesses no interest, except from the fact that bombs were first used in it. They were the invention of a citizen of Venlo. The army of the Duke of Parma had suffered much in these two sieges ; its pay was likewise in arrear, for the expenses of the Armada had emptied Philip's treasury ; but the spirits of the Duke were somewhat revived by the acquisition of Ger-

¹ See Birch's *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 58 sq.

truidenberg in North Brabant, which was betrayed to him by the seditious and discontented garrison. The campaign of 1589 presents little of importance. Farnese, who had fallen into bad health, repaired to Spa for the benefit of the waters, and his army was not in a condition to undertake any considerable enterprise. At the earnest desire of the Elector of Cologne, the Spaniards made an attempt upon Rheinberg, the conduct of which Parma intrusted to the Marquis of Varanbon. But that general was completely defeated in a bloody engagement by Colonel Vere, an English officer of high reputation, who entered Rheinberg and strongly fortified it.

In March, 1590, Prince Maurice obtained possession of Broda by a singular stratagem. One Adrian Vandenberg, a barge owner, who was accustomed to supply the garrison of that place with turf for fuel, undertook to introduce the troops of Maurice in the following manner. He erected a sort of deck, or flooring, at the height of several feet from the bottom of his vessel, thus forming a cabin capable of containing seventy persons, and covered it over carefully with turf. A body of picked men under an officer named Heraugière were then placed in this cabin, and after many delays, dangers and hair-breadth escapes, the barge entered the town as if laden with its usual freight. It happened that the garrison was at that time much in want of fuel, and a party of them began to unload the vessel with great alacrity, when Vandenberg invited them to drink, and amused them till it grew dark. In the night time the men concealed in the vessel rushed out, overpowered the guard, and admitted Prince Maurice's troops.¹

It was in this year that Philip II., much to the regret and disgust of the Duke of Parma, abandoning for the present the war in the Netherlands, directed that general to march with his army to the relief of Paris, besieged by Henry IV. Parma's operations in France are related in another chapter. He intrusted the command of the troops which he left for the defence of the Netherlands to Count Peter Ernest of Mansfeld, whom he directed to occupy Nymegen. Maurice finding the siege of that place impracticable, took possession of the tract called "the Bettuwe," or Bettaw, supposed to be the ancient Batavia, which lies opposite to the town, on the north bank of the Waal. Across this tract Maurice dug a canal from the Rhine to the Waal, which not only secured the navigation of this river by rendering it unnecessary for vessels to pass the town of Nymegen, but was

¹ Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. iii. ch. xxi.

also of advantage to the surrounding country by lessening the inundations. Out of gratitude for these benefits, the States of Gelderland and Overyssele elected Maurice their Governor. Maurice, in the absence of Parma, subsequently overran Brabant and Flanders, and by occupying some of the smaller frontier towns paved the way for future conquest. In 1591 the Duke of Parma was again obliged to resort to Spa for the benefit of his health, and Maurice pursued the advantages which he had gained in the previous year. In May and June he besieged and captured the towns of Zutphen and Deventer, and again united the county of Zutphen to the Seven Provinces. Colonel Vere, anxious to wipe out the disgrace of Stanley's treachery, highly distinguished himself at the siege of Deventer. Maurice afterwards occupied the district near Antwerp called the Waes, and took Hulst and Nymegen; and after these exploits he returned to the Hague, where he was received with every token of joy and gratitude as the deliverer of the Republic of the Seven Provinces. In this campaign Maurice had displayed some of the highest qualities of a general. By the celerity of his movements he had surprised Farnese, and compelled him to retire from the Waal. The quiet student of the art of war was become one of the most consummate captains of the age.

In 1592, the Duke of Parma having been again ordered into France to relieve Rouen, Maurice captured Steenwyk and Coevorden. He had now not only rescued from the Spaniards the seven northern provinces, with the exception of Groningen, which, however, being so far separated from the other Spanish provinces, must necessarily fall in time, but he had also established himself on the left banks of the Meuse and the Scheld; where he occupied, in the name of the States-General, the Brabant towns of Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom, and the Flemish towns of Ostend, Axel, and Hulst. The career of Alexander Farnese was now drawing to a close. After his return from France this year the state of his health became so alarming that he solicited Philip for his dismissal, but died at Arras without obtaining it, December 3rd, 1592, at the age of forty-six. It was, perhaps, only a lucky escape. Philip appears to have been meditating at this time the disgrace, if not the death, of Farnese.¹ Yet it was to his military genius and his conciliating policy that Spain owed her retention of the Southern Netherlands. After his death Philip appointed the Austrian Archduke Ernest, son

¹ Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. iii. ch. xxviii.

of the Emperor Maximilian II., to be Governor of the Netherlands; and in the interval before his arrival Count Peter Ernest of Mansfeld was intrusted with the administration.

It may, perhaps, appear surprising that while the affairs of the Spanish Netherlands have occupied so much space in these pages, so little has been said about Spain itself. But, in fact, there is little to relate. In that unhappy country all enterprise had been crushed by bigotry and tyranny, and its domestic affairs afford therefore but few materials for history. An event, however, which occurred at this time should be narrated. The story is connected with those dark intrigues with which Philip was familiar, and must be resumed a little higher. He had been enamoured, as already mentioned, of Anna Mendoza, Princess of Eboli, the wife of his minister, Ruy Gomez; and Philip's secretary, Antonio Perez, was employed to conduct the intrigue; but Perez was himself captivated by the lady, and was thought to be successful. It was at this time that Escovedo, the friend and confidant of Don John of Austria, arrived from the Netherlands to solicit Philip for the return of the Spanish and Italian forces. His designs were opposed by Perez, and Escovedo, in revenge, communicated to the King the reports of his secretary's familiarity with the Princess of Eboli. Philip conceived an implacable resentment against Perez; but he was also enraged against Escovedo, as the tool of Don John's inordinate ambition, and he determined to involve both in a common destruction. Perez received the King's written order to effect the assassination of Escovedo; and soon after, by Philip's permission, a prosecution was instituted against Perez as the murderer. This, however, the King consented to stop, on the order for the assassination being returned to him; and Perez was even allowed to continue in office, though no longer admitted to the presence of the King. Philip's resentment, however, remained unassuaged, and after a lapse of six years the secretary was accused of malversation, fined heavily and imprisoned. Perez, seeing his destruction resolved on, contrived to escape into Aragon, his native country; and to avoid the pursuit of the King's officers he appealed to the Justicia,¹ who ordered him to be confined in the state prison; but the Viceroy of Aragon caused it to be broken open and cast Perez into the dungeons of the Inquisition. The Aragonese, enraged at this breach of their constitution, rose and liberated

¹ The great constitutional powers of the Justicia have been described in the preceding volume, p. 63.

Perez, who, after another narrow escape, succeeded in reaching France, where he gave the King some useful information respecting Philip's designs. Philip seized this opportunity to deprive the Aragonese of their ancient privileges. Alfonso Vargas was ordered to lead to Saragossa a body of troops that had been destined for the invasion of France; the Aragonese, at the instance of Don Juan de la Nuza, the Justicia, flew to arms, but were soon overpowered; Vargas entered Saragossa, November 12th, 1591, sent the Duke de Villa Hermosa and the Count of Aranda, two of the principal leaders of the movement, to Madrid, and, agreeably to the instructions of Philip II., put the Justicia to death without trial or sentence. The palace of the Inquisition at Saragossa was now fortified, and filled with a garrison of Castilian troops; the royal scaffolds and the fires of the Inquisition rivalled one another in atrocity; the Cortes were assembled, and compelled to abrogate their *fueros* or national customs and privileges. The Justicia was made removable at the King's pleasure; his tribunal was subjected to that of the King; the power of the Cortes was abridged, and they were forbidden to assemble without a royal mandate; in short, the ancient Aragonese constitution was entirely destroyed.¹

¹ See Mignet, *Antonio Perez et Philippe II.* ch. v.-vii.; Watson, *Philip II.* vol. iii. p. 216 sqq.

CHAPTER XXVI.

WE now resume the history of France, which in a former chapter has been brought down to the treaty of Nemours in 1583. That alliance between Henry III. and the League struck the King of Navarre and his adherents with consternation. But the approach of danger served only to elicit the great qualities of Henry of Navarre. He succeeded in convincing Marshal Damville, now by the death of his elder brother become Duke of Montmorenci, of the necessity of opposing the League; and that nobleman, who was called the "King of Languedoc," from his great power in that province, of which he was Governor, again united himself with the Hugonots. Condé was likewise prepared to act with vigour, though but too many of the Hugonot leaders, like those of the League, had an eye only to their own interests in the dismemberment of France and the prospect of establishing themselves as independent Princes. The King of Navarre also sought assistance from England and Germany. He received this year from Queen Elizabeth large sums of money, besides repeated offers of an asylum in England, in case he should find himself overmatched; and the German Calvinist Princes promised to assist him with an army. In a Declaration of the 10th of June, 1585, Henry denied the charge of heresy, denounced the use of the names *Papist* and *Hugonot*, which he hoped would be exchanged for those of *Spaniard* and *Frenchman*; and concluded with an offer to put an end to the civil war by a single combat with the Duke of Guise, or of two to two, or of any larger number that might be agreed on. On the 10th of August another Declaration was published in the names of the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé and Montmorenci, in which the Guises were denounced as the authors of all the misfortunes of France, and a war of extermination was declared against the League.¹ On the other hand, preparations were made by the King and the League. The plan of the campaign was regulated by Guise, who himself assumed the

¹ See these Declarations in the *Mémoires et Corresp.* of Du Plessis Mornai, t. iii. p. 89 sqq. and 159 sqq. (ed. 1824). Cf. Thuanus, lib. ix.

command of an army which was to operate in Lorraine, and protect the eastern frontier of the Kingdom against the Germans; his brother, the Duke of Mayenne, was to proceed into the south against the King of Navarre; while Henry III. was to preside over an army of reserve stationed in the centre of the Kingdom on the banks of the Loire. Thus began the eighth religious war, which, from the names of the three leaders, viz., the Kings of France and Navarre and Henry Duke of Guise, has sometimes been called the WAR OF THE THREE HENRIES. Pope Sixtus V. was not like his predecessor, Gregory XIII., a warm supporter of the League. The more extended views of Sixtus embraced the whole European system. He was jealous of the schemes of Philip II.,¹ and foresaw that if that King succeeded in his designs upon France, Rome itself would only become more subject to his power. He could not, indeed, help fulminating against the King of Navarre and Prince of Condé a bull of excommunication, already prepared by Gregory XIII., which deprived them of the succession to the French Crown; but he refused to help the League either with men or money; nor did the promised contributions of Philip II., who was then engaged in preparing the Armada, arrive very regularly.

We cannot enter minutely into the wars of the League, which are of little importance to the general history of Europe. Henry of Navarre, by his activity and energy, at first outstripped his opponents, and occupied either by himself or his captains the provinces of Guienne, Dauphiné, Saintonge, and Poitou. Condé, with an injudicious ardour, passed the Loire to seize Angers; where his army, though not defeated, melted away before the superior forces of the enemy. Late in the season the Duke of Mayenne entered Guienne at the head of 15,000 men; while the King of Navarre had not more than 4,000 to oppose to him, the rest being scattered in different garrisons. Nevertheless, Henry made an obstinate defence. The season was unpropitious; Mayenne's army was thinned by an epidemic, and he himself laid up with sickness, so that little was effected. The campaign of 1586 offers nothing of importance. Henry III., who dreaded the success of the League even more than that of the Hugonots, did all he could to protract the war and render it indecisive. Instead of attending to the affairs of his Kingdom or to the progress of the campaign, he frittered away his means at Lyon, spending large sums in spite of the public distress, and wasting his time in the most childish

¹ *Letters of Duke of Nevers, in his Mémoires, pt. i. p. 666 sqq.*

amusements, in playing with lap-dogs, apes, and parrots. With the view of arresting the progress of the League, he entered into negotiations with the Hugonots; and in December, 1586, his mother, Catharine, had an interview with the King of Navarre at the Castle of St. Bris, near Cognac. Here Catharine displayed all her Italian arts, and encircling herself with a bevy of pretty women, sought to entrap Henry by his too notorious foible; but this time she was unsuccessful, and he dismissed her after an interview in which he loaded her with the bitterest reproaches.

In spite of their promises, the German Calvinists at first showed but little zeal to assist their brother Protestants in France, till Beza came and excited them by his sermons. By July, 1587, a large German army had assembled on the French frontier, which John Casimir intrusted to the command of Count Dohna, a brave soldier but indifferent general. So dilatory was this force in its movements, that it was three months in marching to Châtillon-sur-Seine. The Germans subsequently advanced as far as La Charité on the Loire; but finding the passage opposed by the King's army, they abandoned the idea of forming a junction with the Hugonots, for which it would have been necessary to traverse the mountainous districts of the interior; and they directed their march towards the plains of Beauce. During these operations the King of Navarre gained a splendid victory over the Duke of Joyeuse and one of the Royal armies at COUTRAS, a small place in Guienne, near the river Ille, which falls into the Lower Dordogne (October 20th). The victory was achieved solely by Henry's superior military skill, as his forces were much less numerous than those of his opponents. Joyeuse himself had been seized by two Hugonot soldiers, when a third shot him through the head. The Calvinist ministers were astonished at the calmness and moderation of Henry amid the exuberant joy of all around; more acute observers attributed it to that indifference, almost amounting to apathy, which formed part of his character. Instead of pursuing his victory, he hastened into Béarn, to lay the colours which he had taken at the feet of his mistress, Corisande. Soon afterwards Guise, assisted by the treachery of the commandant, surprised the Germans in Auneau, and killed a great many of them. They then began a retreat, which was harassed by Guise as well as by the infuriated peasantry, who, in revenge for the disorders committed by the German soldiery, murdered all they could lay hands on. Guise pursued them over the frontier, and laid waste the neutral German county of Mömpelgard. The affair of Auneau

increased the renown and influence of Guise, while the King was denounced as having placed himself at the head of his army only to negotiate with heretics.

In January, 1588, Guise assembled the heads of the League at Nanci to deliberate on their future course. It was resolved to seize, with the help of Spain, the territories of the Duke of Bouillon, one of the leaders of the army of invasion, who, after the retreat, had died at Geneva of vexation and fatigue; and to compel his sister, Charlotte de la Marek, the only heir to his dominions, to marry one of the sons of the Duke of Lorraine. The most violent resolutions were adopted. The King was to be required to join the League more publicly; to remove from his councils and dismiss from their offices all persons who should be named as obnoxious to that faction; to publish the Council of Trent; to establish the Holy Inquisition; to place in the hands of certain leaders towns to be named which they might fortify and garrison. All heretics were to be taxed in the fourth or third part of their incomes, while Catholics were to pay only a tenth part. All Hugonot prisoners were to be put to death, unless they immediately recanted, paid down the value of their estates, and agreed to serve three years without pay. Henry III. dared not openly to refuse the demands of the League, and resorted to his usual temporizing policy. The chiefs of the League repaired from Nanci to Soissons to await the King's answer, as well as to be nearer to Paris, which they were forbidden to enter. Meanwhile the Council of Sixteen, as well as Guise's sister, the Dowager Duchess of Montpensier, were organizing the most dangerous conspiracies against Henry. The Duchess laid a plan to seize the King in the Faubourg St. Antoine, on his return from Vincennes, and to carry him off to Soissons; but Henry heard of it, and came surrounded with a squadron of cavalry. The Duchess was even more violent than her brother against the King, and wore at her girdle a pair of gold scissors, with which she threatened to bestow upon him his third crown, the tonsure. Her enmity is said to have been occasioned by the King having rejected her advances.

In spite of the prohibition of the King, Guise, at the invitation of the Sixteen, resolved to come to Paris, which he entered by the Porte St. Martin, May 9th. He was on horseback, with his face muffled up in his cloak; but a young gentleman of his suite playfully removed it, as well as Guise's hat, and the Parisians, when they recognized their beloved leader, crowded round

him, with shouts of *Vive Guise!* Handsome, of majestic presence, all contemporary authorities agree that there was in his manner an inexpressible charm, which won for him the hearts of the populace. Guise alighted at the hotel of the Queen-Mother, who had joined in the invitation to him; and in the afternoon they proceeded together to visit the King, who was at that moment debating the question of Guise's assassination, and received him with marks of the greatest anger. At the next interview Guise took care to come well attended, and the most furious recriminations ensued. It was evident that the matter must end in a trial of strength. The King was shut up and fortified in the Louvre, Guise in his hotel; the former defended by the military, the latter by the mob. Paris seemed converted into two hostile camps. On the 12th of May the King caused 4,000 Swiss and the regiment of French guards, who were cantoned in the neighbourhood to enter Paris. The introduction of the troops enraged the populace, who were still further infuriated by the indiscreet threats of Crillon, *mestre-de-camp*, or colonel, of the French guards; barricades were thrown up in all the streets; each house was converted into a fortress, and even the women provided themselves with weapons. Hence the day obtained the name of the DAY OF THE BARRICADES. The insurrection gained strength through the indecision of the King, who was afraid to order the troops to act; and this want of vigour demoralized the troops themselves, who, when the people at length assumed the offensive, for the most part surrendered without a blow.

If in the early part of the day Henry III. had been too slow and cowardly in acting, Guise, on his part, missed the decisive success which lay within his grasp, had he determined on seizing the King's person. He seemed to forget the maxim cited by the Duke of Parma when he heard of the affair, that he who draws his sword upon his Prince should throw away the scabbard. His demands, however, were those of a conqueror, and when Catharine went to treat with him, he required to be appointed Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom; that the King of Navarre, and the Bourbons who adhered to him, should be declared incapable of succeeding to the Crown; and that the King should dismiss his favourites, and even his Gascon body-guard of forty-five. While Guise was engaged in this interview with Catharine, Henry III. left the Louvre on foot, and proceeding to the Nesle gate, crossed the Seine in a skiff. The soldiers of the League

fired after him, but he succeeded in escaping, accompanied by about thirty persons. On the heights of Chaillot he turned to bestow his malediction on Paris, upbraiding it for its disloyalty and ingratitude; for he was the first King of France for centuries who had made that city his habitual residence. He swore that he would not return except through a breach in the walls; but he was destined never to revisit it. He directed his course to Chartres, where he was honourably received by the bishop;¹ and he was soon after followed by the Swiss troops and by his regiment of guards. Guise, now master of Paris, converted it into a sort of fanatical Republic, of which he was the Dictator. He caused new magistrates to be elected, and new captains more devoted to himself to be appointed to the civic bands; he compelled the Parliament to obedience; seized the Bastille and arsenal, and occupied the towns around Paris, in order to prevent it from being surprised. All offices were bestowed upon his creatures, who ruled supreme in the capital till 1594.

Deputations of the legal and municipal bodies, of the clergy, &c., proceeded to Chartres to address the King. Some of these processions were of the most grotesque and even profane character, especially that of the brotherhood of penitents. At the head of it was the Count du Bouchage, brother of the late Duke of Joyeuse, who had entered the Capuchin order, with the title of Brother Ange. Disguised as Christ proceeding to Calvary, he seemed to faint beneath the weight of a huge wooden cross; his temples were encircled with a crown of thorns, his face was stained with rouge resembling drops of blood, and he was followed by two Capuchins who applied with vigour the well-deserved lash. Two young Capuchins sustained the parts of the Virgin and the Magdalen. Henry was entreated, for the sake of Christ's passion, to reconcile himself with his good city of Paris; but, in spite of his taste for such spectacles, the application had no effect.

Amid the universal defection, Lyon and Tours offered the King an asylum, but he preferred to go to Rouen, although most of the inhabitants were partisans of the League. Here he amused himself with plays, water parties, and other entertainments, while his mother negotiated with the rebels. The terms demanded by the League were embodied in an edict, published July 21st, 1588, called the EDICT OF UNION. In some secret articles Henry III. pledged himself to a war of extermination against the heretics, and engaged his subjects as well as himself to swear that they

¹ Nicholas de Thou, one of the uncles of the historian.

would never obey any heretic Prince. He promised to accept the decrees of Trent; he granted a complete amnesty for all that had passed; prolonged for six years the term appointed for the restitution of the cautionary towns held by the chiefs of the League, and assigned to them three additional places, Orleans, Bourges, and Montreuil-sur-Mer. Guise was to be generalissimo, but he was too cautious to insert any article to that effect in the treaty.¹ The King was also obliged to consent to an assembly of the States-General at Blois, by means of which Guise designed to legalize his usurpations and to hold Henry in tutelage. The King, however, refused to return to Paris, although the invitation of the Parliament and other public bodies was seconded by his mother. The terror of Philip's threatened invasion of England had contributed not a little to induce Henry to sign the Edict of Union.

The King opened the meeting of the States-General at Blois in October, with an eloquent speech, composed for him, it is said, by Du Perron, in which he denounced the unmeasured ambition of some of his subjects. These passages, however, Guise and his party forced him to suppress in the printed copy. The haughtiness of Guise's manners added venom to the wounds which he inflicted on the King's pride. Alarming reports of the ambitious plans of Guise—that he meant to obtain from the States the Constable's sword, to carry the King to Paris, and keep him there in subjection—determined Henry to deliver himself by murdering him. It was no easy enterprise. As Grand-Master, Guise held the keys of the Castle of Blois; he was always accompanied by a numerous suite, and the guard within the castle could not be increased without his knowledge. The King spoke of the matter to Crillon, the colonel of his French guard, who declined to connect himself with it, alleging that he was a soldier and no hangman. But Henry found an instrument in Loignac, first gentleman of his chamber. When Loignac proposed the enterprise to the *Taillagambi*, or King's Gascon body-guard, of which he was captain, they joyfully undertook it, regarding Guise as their enemy from his endeavours to procure their dismissal. The King gave out that he intended to pass Christmas in retirement at Notre Dame de Cléry, and to expedite business before his departure a council was summoned to assemble very early in the morning of the 23rd of December. Guise had received some warnings, but

¹ The demands of the "Princes unis" and the Edict are in the *Mém. de la Ligue*, t. ii. p. 365 sqq.

his contempt for the King's cowardice lulled him into a false security, and both he and the Cardinal his brother attended. When the council was assembled, Guise received a message that the King wished to see him in his bed-chamber. In order to reach this apartment, it was necessary to pass through an ante-chamber where Loignac and nine of the most determined of the *Taillagambis* were posted, while the rest had been stationed in the lobbies and staircases to render escape impossible. Guise had passed through the ante-chamber, and was in the act of lifting the tapestry to enter the King's apartment, when he was poignarded by Montséri, one of the guard; three or four others then seized him, and prevented him from drawing his sword. With a desperate effort, Guise, who was a powerful man, succeeded in throwing them off, and advanced with closed fists towards Loignac, at the other end of the room. The noise of the scuffle alarmed the Council, and Pierre d'Espinac, Archbishop of Lyon, hastened to the door of the apartment, which he could not open, but he heard Guise exclaim, "Oh, gentlemen! What treachery!" and after some blows, a heavy fall and the cry, "Oh, God! mercy!" Loignac had struck Guise with the scabbard of his sword, and the Duke, after receiving several other wounds, fell covered with his blood. The King, who had hid himself in an inner cabinet, as soon as he was sure that Guise was despatched, came out with drawn sword, exclaiming, "There are no longer two of us! I am King at last!" and, while he uttered these words, he gave the still panting body a kick. Sixteen years before Guise himself had so kicked the body of the expiring Admiral! Thus by a retributive justice the authors of the St. Bartholomew were falling by each other's hands.

The Dowager-Duchess of Nemours, mother of the Duke of Guise, the Cardinal his brother, his nearest kinsfolk and principal adherents, including the Cardinal of Bourbon, were seized and imprisoned. The fate of the Cardinal of Guise occasioned some debate. It was no light matter for a superstitious King to put to death a Prince of the Church; the assassins of the Duke declined the sacrilegious office; some soldiers of the guard, were, however, found to undertake it, and on the morrow the Cardinal met with the same fate as his brother. The Duchess of Nemours demanded the bodies of her sons, but Henry caused them to be consumed with quicklime. In an apartment directly under that in which Henry of Guise was murdered, Catharine de' Medici lay stretched on her death-bed. The noise had alarmed her, and

when she learnt the cause of it from the lips of the King himself she betrayed an anxiety which probably hastened her end. She expired January 5th, 1589, having nearly attained the age of seventy. At once credulous and sceptical, Catharine belonged to a numerous class who in that age placed more confidence in the powers of witchcraft than in the precepts of morality and religion. She was a firm believer in astrology, and thought herself endowed with second sight.¹ She had, nevertheless, that native taste for art, and especially architecture, which distinguishes the Italians, but her influence in France can be regarded only as an unmitigated evil.

By the murder of his arch-enemy, Henry III. fancied that he had accomplished all his objects. Instead of preparing to meet the storm which his act was sure to raise, he soon fell into his accustomed listlessness; and he even released some of the more refractory members of the States whom he had imprisoned, especially Brissac and Bois-Dauphin, the generals of the barricades. The States themselves he dismissed in the middle of January. Meanwhile the Parisians, after recovering from the first shock occasioned by the news of Guise's murder, displayed the most violent hostility. On Christmas Day they assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, elected the Duke of Aumale Governor of Paris, and levied an army to relieve Orleans; to which the King had laid siege on the Duke of Guise refusing to surrender it. They were encouraged by Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, who left the Court without taking leave, and repaired to Paris as the centre of papistry and jesuitism. Thither also came Mayenne, Guise's brother, whom the King had in vain attempted to conciliate; a heavy man, both in mind and body, but the best of the Guises. Slow, yet haughty, and excitable when his pride was touched, he had poignarded with his own hand a son of the Chancellor Birago for having presumed to obtain from his daughter a promise of marriage.² The pulpits of Paris resounded against the King and the whole race of Valois. The King's name was struck out of the public prayers, and those of the Christian Princes in arms for the Lord and for the public safety were substituted for it. Absurd and fanatical processions were formed, in one of which all the children of Paris repaired to the abbey of Ste. Geneviève with torches, which, on reaching the porch, they turned down and extinguished, exclaiming, "So perish the House of Valois!" These

¹ There is a curious description of her talisman in Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. ix. p. 386 note.

² Michelet, *La Ligue*, p. 314.

processions, which sometimes occasioned the grossest immorality, the clergy themselves were at length obliged to forbid. The doctors of the Sorbonne pronounced the people released from their allegiance to Henry III., and authorized them to take up arms against him. Achille de Harlai and Augustin de Thou, Presidents of the Parliament of Paris, having harangued that body against the demagogues, the Council of Sixteen caused the whole of the members to be arrested during one of their sittings, and to be conducted, clad in their robes, to the Bastille, amid the hootings of the populace. The ultra-Catholic members, however, who had accompanied their colleagues out of an *esprit de corps*, were afterwards dismissed; and this rump, as it may be called, assembling under the conduct of President Brisson, decreed whatever the Sixteen dictated. The latter body named a new board, called the Council-General of the Union, consisting of forty members, by whom the Duke of Mayenne was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. On the other hand, Henry III. assembled round him at Tours such members of the different chambers of the Parliament of Paris as remained faithful to him, and declared null and void all the acts of the pseudo-Parliament and other courts of judicature at Paris. The formation of the Council of the Union and the appointment of Mayenne as Lieutenant-General, gave a great impulse to the League. The people were seized with republican ideas, not only in the cities but also in the rural districts; and they imagined that by joining the Union they should be able to live after the manner of the Swiss, and be exempt from all taxes except the imposts payable to their immediate lords.

Meanwhile Henry of Navarre, now sole leader of the Hugonots—for his cousin, the Prince of Condé, had died, not without suspicion of poison, in the spring of 1588—had been named protector of the Evangelical Church by a general synod of the Protestants held at La Rochelle towards the close of that year. After the death of Guise, the King of Navarre surprised Niort, and occupied successively St. Maixent, Maillezais, Thouars, Loudun, Argenton, and Châtelleraut. From the last-named town he issued, on the 4th of March, an excellent manifesto, calling on the three Estates of the Realm to deliberate and save the Kingdom by counsels of moderation. The weak and wretched Henry III., who now possessed only a few towns upon the Loire, though important in a military point of view from their position, namely, Beaugenci, Blois, Amboise, Tours, and Saumur, was lost in anxiety and hesitation about the consequences of his crime, and

was thinking at the same time of negotiating with the League and with the King of Navarre. But the Duke of Mayenne, with whom he treated through the Legate Morosini, having repulsed his advances, he effected, through the mediation of his natural sister, the Dowager-Duchess of Montmorenci, a twelvemonth's truce with the King of Navarre¹ (April 3rd). Still, however, Henry III. did not abandon all hope of an alliance with Mayenne, and kept the truce secret a fortnight; till the advance of Mayenne upon Tours, and the news from Rome that the Pope refused to absolve the King from the murder of the Cardinal of Guise, drove him into the arms of the Hugonots. Sixtus V. could have overlooked the assassination of the Duke of Guise as an act of political necessity; but he was compelled, though no partisan of the Guises, to visit with his indignation the murder of a Prince of the Church. He reproached Morosini with negotiating for the King instead of immediately excommunicating him, and cited Henry III. to appear personally at Rome and answer for his crime. On the 30th April, 1589, the two Henries cemented their new alliance by an interview at Plessis-lès-Tours; and Henry III. agreed to place Saumur in the hands of his brother-in-law to serve as a *tête-de-pont* on the Loire. Before their forces could be united, Mayenne assaulted Tours, and got possession of the suburb of St. Symphorien; which, however, he was compelled to abandon on the approach of the King of Navarre.

Although the League had gained some advantages at Senlis and other places, the two Kings resolved to march with their united forces upon Paris, and lay siege to that capital. At St. Cloud, where they arrived towards the end of July, they were joined by numerous volunteers, as well as by some Swiss and German troops, so that their army numbered between 30,000 and 40,000 men. Paris was struck with alarm: the fanaticism of the populace rose to the highest pitch; the priests and Jesuits openly declared that only the murder of one or both Kings could save religion. Henry III. having been excommunicated by the Pope, the zealous Catholics regarded him as an outcast and child of perdition; the Papal *Monitorium*, published in France towards the end of June, contained a prophecy that he would perish like Saul. In this state of the public mind, Jacques Clément, a Dominican friar, twenty-two years of age, half simpleton, half fanatic, fired by the sermons which he heard, and by

¹ The compact is in the *Mém.* of Du Plessis Mornai (t. i. p. 896 sqq. 4to ed.), who, with Rosni, afterwards the celebrated Duke of Sully, was one of the negotiators.

the not undeserved reproaches which were everywhere uttered against the King, as well as encouraged by the exhortations of his prior, of the Duke of Aumale, and especially (so it is said) of the Duchess of Montpensier, resolved to gain Paradise by the assassination of Henry III. He sought the Royal camp, and on pretence of bringing letters from President de Harlai, and the Count of Brienne, obtained a private audience of the King. Henry stretching out his hand to receive the letters, Clément stabbed him in the abdomen with a knife which he had hidden under his frock. The King pulled out the weapon, exclaiming, "The wicked monk has killed me!" and inflicted with it a wound on the assassin's head, who was immediately despatched by the surrounding guards.

The King's wound was not at first thought mortal; but unfavourable symptoms soon appeared, and he died early the following morning (August 2nd, 1589), at the age of nearly thirty-eight. With him was extinguished the House of Valois, which had occupied the throne of France more than two centuries and a half.¹ As he lay at the point of death, Henry III. transferred the command of his forces to the King of Navarre; and exhorted the Catholic nobles who surrounded his bed to submit to that Prince as their lawful Sovereign; trusting that he would not long delay his return to the orthodox faith. The Catholic royalists demanded an immediate pledge to that effect; but HENRY IV.—for the King of Navarre now assumed that title as King of France—offended at this blunt demand, replied that none but a man who had no belief at all could so suddenly change; adding, however, that he had always expressed his readiness to be instructed, and that he should be willing to conform to the decisions of a General Council.² It was already plain that he awaited only a decent time and a convenient pretext for

¹ Philip VI., the first King of the House of VALOIS, ascended the throne in 1328, on the death of Charles IV., or the Fair, the last male of the direct Capetian line, to whom he was cousin-german. Both Charles IV. and Philip VI. were descended from the second son of St. Louis (Louis IX.), while the BOURBONS were descended from his sixth son. Charles IV. had left several nieces; but the exclusion of females from the throne of France, by what is called the Salic law—though in fact that law says nothing about *royal* succession—had been settled by the French nobles after the death of Louis X. in 1316; which, as

male heirs had never been wanting, was the first time there had been occasion to consider the question.

² One of the principal authorities for this period is the *Mémoires* of Sully (*Economies Royales*), a book better in substance than composition. It was written by Sully's secretaries, who sometimes flatteringly attribute to him things in which he had no concern. See also the *Mémoires* of Agrippa d'Aubigné and of Du Plessis Mornai, which are not in the general collection. Palma Cayet, in his *Chronologie Novenaire*, flatters Henry IV. too much, whose preceptor he had been.

changing his religion. Marshal Biron, the best soldier and most able politician among the Catholic royalists, having obtained from Henry the promise of the County of Périgord, was very instrumental in inducing his party to come to terms with him. On the 4th of August the Bourbon King signed a declaration, by which he promised to maintain the Roman Catholic and apostolic religion; to submit to the instruction of a General or National Council to be called within six months; to allow the exercise of no other religion but the Roman Catholic, except in those towns and places where another was already established; to bestow, with the preceding exception, all offices that might become vacant only on Catholics; to maintain the present officers of the Crown in their dignities and charges, and to use every endeavour to punish the murder of the late King. At the bottom of this declaration the Royalist leaders signed an engagement recognizing Henry of Navarre as King of France.¹ There were, however, many defections from Henry's standard among the Royalist nobles, several of whom hastened into the provinces to try what they could secure in the general anarchy which they expected to ensue; while there were also some desertions among the Hugonots, partly from disappointment at obtaining nothing, and partly from disgust at the King's promise to let himself be "instructed."

Among the League there was a great variety of opinions as to who should succeed the murdered Sovereign; though a large majority was in favour of the Cardinal of Bourbon, still a prisoner at Tours, who had been already recognized by the States-General as heir to the throne. The Duke of Mayenne was too prudent to attempt to seize the prize, though exhorted to do so by his sister, the Duchess of Montpensier. At Rome and Madrid the recognition of a heretic Sovereign was of course out of the question. Mendoza, the Spanish envoy, joined Mayenne in declaring for the Cardinal of Bourbon; and the resolution was approved by the Council of the Union, as well as by Philip II. It was not, however, till November that the Cardinal was proclaimed by the Parliament of Paris, under the title of Charles X. In that capital the news of Henry III.'s death had been received with the wildest demonstrations of joy. The praises of Jacques Clément were sounded in the pulpits and sung in the streets; he was invoked as a saint and martyr, and images of him were erected not only in private houses but even in churches.

¹ The convention is in Isambert, *Recueil*, &c. t. xv. p. 3 sqq.

The immediate prospect of seeing an heretical King on the throne of France somewhat modified the views of Pope Sixtus V. with regard to the League. He sanctioned the regicide in full Consistory; profanely comparing Jacques Clément with Judith and Eleazer; and as Morosini had shown himself too lukewarm and compliant, towards the end of the year another Legate, Gaetano, was sent into France, and intrusted with a sum of money to be laid out for the benefit of the League. Gaetano was instructed to insist on the introduction of the Inquisition and the abolishment of the privileges of the Gallican Church;¹ but he threw himself more into the cause of the democratic portion of the League, and of the King of Spain, than the Pontiff wished or his instructions authorized. Sixtus had not shaken off his suspicions of Philip. He was inclined to the cause of the Catholic Bourbons; nay, he did not exclude the possibility of the conversion of Henry IV. himself, whom he thought it would be very difficult to conquer.²

In spite of the denunciations of Rome, a considerable number of French Catholics, who did not approve the Jesuit doctrines of the rights of Kings, had, as we have seen, remained faithful to Henry III. and now transferred their allegiance to Henry IV. This party placed civil rights before ecclesiastical pretensions, preferred toleration and humanity to bigotry and persecution, and the national unity of France to the dominion of foreigners. The majority, however, was against the claims of Henry IV. Everything depended on the personal character of the new King. The Catholics of his party suspected him because he was not yet converted, while the Hugonots distrusted him from his holding out a prospect of his conversion. Thus threatened with a fall between two parties, Henry, in spite of his faults and vices, saved himself, where, perhaps, a more perfect character would have failed. His countrymen saw in him the reflection of their own virtues as well as of their own defects; they admired him because he was thoroughly French, and were irresistibly carried away by the charm of his gaiety, good-humour, and brilliant courage. Never was there a more perfect model of the Gascon soldier. Small, but strongly and compactly built, with prominent features, vivacious eyes, a beard already mixed with grey, of affable though not very dignified address, his coat worn by the cuirass and hardly covered by a little red mantle, his white plume always

¹ Autobiography of Cardinal Gaetano, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 180.

² *Discorso dato al' Cardinale Gaetano*, De Bouillé, *Hist. des Guises*, t. iii. p. 421.

seen in the post of honour and danger, he presented in his whole appearance and deportment the most striking contrast to the elegant but effeminate Henry whom he succeeded. Of preceding Kings he perhaps bore most resemblance to Francis I.; but was infinitely his superior both in heart and intellect.

By the defections already mentioned the Royal army had been reduced by half; it was impossible to continue the siege of Paris, and Henry, dividing his forces into three corps, sent one under Marshal d'Aumont, to occupy Champagne, another under the Duke of Longueville into Picardy to make head against a threatened invasion of the Spaniards in the Low Countries, whilst he himself at the head of the third, and largest, of about 10,000 men, marched into Normandy, and encamped within a league of Rouen to await the expected English succours. The Duke of Mayenne, after an interview with the Duke of Parma in the Netherlands, from whom he obtained a few reinforcements, proceeded into Normandy to attack Henry. He was, however, so slow in his movements that he did not arrive till the middle of September, and meanwhile the King, who was assisted by Marshal Biron, had taken up a naturally strong position at Arques, near Dieppe, which he rendered almost impregnable by intrenchments. Dieppe itself, most important as affording him a harbour in the English Channel, had been placed in his hands by the commandant. Mayenne, whose forces were two or three times more numerous than Henry's, ventured to assail the entrenched camp at Arques, but was repulsed with great loss after a bloody battle which lasted all day (September 21st). Mayenne, however, remained before Dieppe till the beginning of October, when learning that D'Aumont and Longueville were advancing, and that Henry had been joined by upwards of 5,000 English and Scots, the general of the League thought it prudent to retreat into Picardy, to await reinforcements from the Netherlands. At the same time Queen Elizabeth sent a sum of 22,000*l.* in gold to Henry IV., who protested that he had never before beheld so much money.¹

Strengthened by these reinforcements, as well as by others which he received from the French nobility, Henry resolved to march upon Paris, and appeared before that capital November 1st. The southern suburbs were taken by assault, and upwards

¹ Camden, *Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 23 (ed. 1629). Henry IV. is said to have been so poor that he was not able to put on mourning for his predecessor, except by

cutting down the violet suit of Henry III., who happened himself to be in mourning at the time of his death! Michelet, *La Ligue*, p. 352.

of 1,000 Parisians either slain or captured. Henry, however, could not penetrate into the city, and on the appearance of Mayenne he was compelled to retreat to Tours. Here he received from the Signoria of Venice, through their ambassador Mocenigo, letters congratulating him on his accession. In the year 1582 a revolution had taken place in the government of Venice, and the younger members of the Senate had succeeded in breaking up the monopoly of power held by a few aged patricians, who had always been devoted to Spain and the Church. The Venetians in general regarded the independence of France as essential to the balance of European power. Their recognition of Henry was suggested by the famous Fra Paolo Sarpi, the historian of the Council of Trent, the soul of the anti-Papal and anti-Spanish party at Venice; and it was the more gratifying to Henry as the first public recognition of his title by any foreign Power. The Turkish Sultan Amurath III. also offered him assistance, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Mantua gave him secret assurances of friendship. Henry carried on the war during the winter, gaining many towns and even whole districts and provinces. Stupefied by his success, the councils of the League were agitated by grave debates. Mayenne, who wanted to reign under the name of the captive Cardinal-King, wished, indeed, for the support of Spain, though in money, not in men. But Philip II. had no idea of being the mere banker of the League; he thought the time had come when he should gather the fruits of all his sacrifices; he had formed an extravagant plan of procuring the abolition of the Salic law in favour of his eldest daughter by Elizabeth of France, the infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia; and meanwhile, during the captivity of the shadow-King Charles X., he wanted to be declared Protector of France. Engrossed by this chimerical scheme he sacrificed the substance for the shadow, and against the advice of his best counsellors, and to the great chagrin of the Duke of Parma, diverted towards France those resources which might have secured the subjugation of the Netherlands. The views of Philip were chiefly supported by the lower French clergy, the monks and preaching friars, many of whom he retained in his pay. These gained for him the greater part of the Sixteen, and consequently the mob; thus forming a strange alliance between a democratic faction and a Prince who was the very incarnation of despotism! Mayenne, however, was supported by the principal nobility of the League in resisting Philip's design of a protectorate; and he weakened

that Sovereign's influence in France by procuring the suppression of the Council of the Union.

In the spring of 1590 Mayenne, who had recruited his army during the winter and gained some small successes, determined to attack Henry, who had taken up a position near Dreux. The armies met on the plain of IVRY (March 14th). Before the engagement, Henry, bareheaded and with upturned eyes, after the fashion of the Hugonots, offered up a short prayer in front of his army; then putting on his helmet, which was adorned with a magnificent white plume, he said: "Comrades, God is for us! Behold his enemies and ours! At them! I am your King. Should you miss your colours, rally round my white plume; you will find it in the path of glory and honour!" Henry, who had arranged his plan of battle with all the coolness and tact of a consummate general, demeaned himself when the fray was once engaged as if success depended on his single arm. He charged into the thickest of the fight, and for a quarter of an hour nobody knew what was become of him. Emboldened by his words and example, his troops fought with irresistible fury. Nearly half Mayenne's cavalry was cut to pieces, his infantry killed, taken, or dispersed, five guns and upwards of one hundred standards captured. The general of the League escaped almost alone to Mantes; in the neighbourhood of which place, in the castle of his confidential friend and follower Rosni, afterwards the celebrated Duke of Sully, Henry passed the night. Mayenne hastened to Paris, which he found in a state of the greatest alarm. The army of the League was annihilated, and many of its chiefs counselled immediate negotiations. But the Sorbonne, and still more the Legate Gaetano, animated the Parisians to resist to the death. It was peculiarly a war of the clergy, and they showed themselves on this occasion literally the Church militant. A regiment was formed of 1,300 priests and monks, chiefly of the four mendicant orders, who defiled before the Legate, bearing crucifixes for standards, and singing hymns accompanied with salvos of musquetry. Unfortunately one of these martial friars forgot that his arquebus was loaded with ball, and shot the Legate's almoner! Gaetano then considered it time to retire.

Henry IV. lost the fruits of his victory by delay. Many causes have been assigned for this fatal procrastination; the real one was, probably, a new amour. Henry had conceived a passion for the lady of La Roche-Guyon, a place in the neighbourhood of

Mantes, and for a time Corisande was forgotten. It was not till the 7th of May that he appeared before Paris. La Noue made a desperate assault on the Faubourgs St. Martin and St. Denis, but was repulsed. Just at this time (May 9th) the Cardinal of Bourbon died at the Castle of Fontenay-le-Comte, at the age of sixty-seven. The League, however, substituted no other King, and money bearing the superscription of Charles X. continued to be struck by that faction so late as 1595.

Henry, who wished to take Paris by capitulation rather than by assault, converted the siege into a blockade, and, as he was in possession of most of the neighbouring towns, as well as of the course of the Seine and Marne, he completely deprived the city of its supplies. The famine became almost unbearable; worse even than at the siege of Paris by the Germans in our own days. It is said that mothers fed upon their own children; that the bones of exhumed corpses were ground to powder and used for bread.¹ Even the wealthier classes were reduced to support life with the most disgusting aliments: yet the priests and monks urged the fanatical populace to the most desperate resistance; and Henry, disappointed in his hope of a speedy surrender, delivered, on the night of July 24th, simultaneous assaults on the ten suburbs, which were all captured. The Parisians being now shut up within their walls, the famine became still more intolerable, and shouts arose of "Bread or Peace!" The humanity of Henry, however, caused him to let many persons pass the lines; his captains also sold passports, at which he was obliged to connive, as he could give them no pay. Paris seemed to lie within his grasp, yet he could not make up his mind to order an assault. He dreaded the odium that he should incur by storming his capital, as well as the probable demoralization of his army after its capture; nor could he persuade himself that the Duke of Parma would quit the Netherlands to come to its relief. Philip II., however, was infatuated with his present designs on France. Farnese was ordered to relieve Paris, and on August 1st, the inhabitants received a message to that effect, but with the addition that the Spanish army could not arrive for a fortnight—another fortnight of starvation! The term of their relief, however, was destined to be postponed twice that period. The Duke of Parma advanced with the greatest caution and deliberation. He brought with him a large park of artillery and a vast store of ammunition and provisions in heavy waggons; and these served as a protection to his camp, which he regularly pitched

¹ *Mémoires of L'Estoile, an eye-witness.*

and fortified every night. It was the 23rd August before he joined Mayenne, who was at Meaux with some 10,000 men; and their united army of about 23,000 men was rather superior to that of the King, who was consequently compelled to abandon the blockade of Paris; and on the night of the 29th August he withdrew his troops from the suburbs. Henry endeavoured to provoke an engagement with the Duke of Parma, who had taken up a strong position near Lagny, and having thus command of the Seine, despatched provisions to Paris. But though the two armies remained five days in presence, Farnese was too wary to abandon his advantage; and Henry, completely out-generalled, after a final unsuccessful attempt on the southern quarter of Paris in the night of September 9th, was compelled to withdraw. Early in November, after a visit to Paris, the Duke of Parma returned into the Netherlands, followed by Henry with 3,000 horse, who harassed the Spanish army till it had crossed the frontier. It was during this expedition that Henry became acquainted with his mistress, the celebrated Gabrielle d'Estrées, then, about nineteen years of age, the renown of whose beauty induced him to pay her a visit at her father's Château of Cœuvres.

Pope Sixtus V. died just before the blockade of Paris was raised (August 27th). Such are the extraordinary revolutions of human opinion, that Henry IV., whom he had solemnly excommunicated, was perhaps almost the only person who lamented his death. In spite of the Spanish Court, Sixtus had given a favourable reception to M. de Luxembourg, whom the Catholic royalists had despatched to Rome; and the Pontiff was so touched by Luxembourg's description of Henry's good qualities that he expressed regret at having excommunicated him. The Pontiff's vacillation occasioned the ultra-Catholic party the greatest uneasiness and alarm. A Spanish Jesuit exclaimed in a sermon: "Not only does the Republic of Venice favour heretics, but—hush! hush!"—and here he placed his finger on his lips—"even the Pope himself protects them!" In March, 1590, the Spanish envoy went to the Pope's apartments, and kneeling down before him, begged permission to execute the commands of his master. He then formally protested against the Pontiff's conduct, and threatened unless he declared the King of Navarre incapable of succeeding to the French Crown, that his Catholic Majesty would throw off his allegiance to the Holy See. These threats seem to have shaken Sixtus, who dismissed M. de Luxembourg under pretence of a pilgrimage to Loreto. In July negotiations

were begun for a new treaty between the Pope and Spain; yet at this very time there was a Hugonot agent at Rome; and in this state of irresolution, at variance with Philip II., hated by the League, and suspected by the Jesuits and the Inquisition, Sixtus V. expired. The Romans overthrew the statues they had voted to him, and decreed that none should be again erected to any living Pope.

Urban VII. (Cardinal Castagna), who succeeded to the tiara, lived only twelve days after his election. The Conclave then chose Cardinal Sfondrati (December 5th, 1590), who assumed the title of Gregory XIV. He was a devout monk, a born subject of Philip II., and devoted to the Spanish cause; and he therefore immediately declared himself in favour of the League, and wrote to the Council of Sixteen, promising them help in men and money.¹ He renewed the excommunication of Henry IV.; a step which perplexed many of Henry's Catholic followers, and led to the formation of what was called the "Third Party;" which remained faithful to him only in the trust that he would return to the Romish Church, while the rest of the Catholic royalists pressed for his immediate recantation. This party eventually took up the cause of the Cardinal of Vendôme, who, after the death of his uncle, the pretender Charles X., had assumed the title of 'Cardinal of Bourbon. Gregory remitted to the Parisians 15,000 *scudi* monthly, and intrusted to his nephew, Ercole Sfondrati, Duke of Montemarciano, the command of an army which was to assemble at Milan for the invasion of France. That Kingdom seemed fast sinking into anarchy. The Governors of provinces acted like sovereign Princes; ambitious men everywhere sprung up who wished to render themselves independent of the King. Of these the most important was the Duke of Mercœur, Governor of Brittany, who sought to possess himself of that duchy in right of his wife, Mary of Luxembourg, daughter of the Duke of Penthièvre; and Philip II. supported him with some troops. Meanwhile, the main object of Henry IV. was to obtain possession of the capital; and with that view he designed to keep up the war around Paris until it should be reduced. In January, 1591, he made an attempt to surprise the Faubourg St. Honoré by sending in before dawn some picked soldiers disguised as millers and ass-drivers, but the plan was frustrated. This affair, which was called the *journée des farines*, afforded the Spanish ambassador and the Council of Sixteen a pretext for insisting on the reception of a Spanish garrison into

¹ Cayet, *Chron. Noven.* t. iii. p. 217 (Petitot, t. xl.).

Paris; Mayenne reluctantly consented, and, on the 12th of February, 4,000 Spaniards and Neapolitans entered the French capital.

In answer to Gregory XIV.'s bulls of excommunication, which were published in France by the Legate Landriano towards the end of May, 1591, Henry appealed to the Royalist Parliament of Paris, now divided into two branches, one of which sat at Chalon and the other at Tours. These bodies ordered the bulls to be burnt by the hangman, declared all ecclesiastics who recognized them guilty of treason, cited the Legate to appear before them, and, on his failing to do so, issued an order for his apprehension. Henry, before an assembly of the clergy at Rheims, had made a fresh promise to receive instruction; while Gregory's attacks on the Gallican Church had secured the King some additional adherents among the clergy and jurists. Meanwhile the Viscount of Turenne had been despatched into Germany, where he succeeded in raising an army of about 10,000 foot and 5,000 horse. In September, on the news of the approach of this force, Henry, who in the earlier part of the year had taken Chartres and Noyon, and had also received reinforcements of between 4,000 and 5,000 English under the Earl of Essex, proceeded with his cavalry to meet the Germans, while he distributed his infantry in the fortresses of Picardy. On the other hand, Mayenne had been joined at Verdun by the Papal army under Montemarciano, consisting of 3,000 Italians, 6,000 Swiss, and 2,000 Spaniards from Sicily. The treasure accumulated by Sixtus V. had enabled Gregory to set on foot this army. But the counsels of the League were divided. The young Duke Charles of Guise, who had been kept a prisoner since the murder of his father, succeeded in escaping from the Castle of Tours by letting himself down with a rope from the window of a tower; and a party had gathered round him with which his uncle Mayenne was at open enmity. Mayenne had also quarrelled with the Sixteen, which body had thrown themselves completely into the arms of Rome and the King of Spain. They had obtained, as we have seen, a Spanish garrison in Paris; they demanded the re-establishment of the Council of the Union; they took up the claims of the young Duke of Guise, whom they wished to see married to the Spanish Infanta; nay, the majority of them, as appeared from an intercepted letter, would have accepted Philip himself for their Sovereign, and this sentiment was shared by the University of Paris. It appears from a document

discovered among the archives of Simancas,¹ that this party was ready to allow the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition; Philip was no longer to be King of Spain, but the "Great King"—in short, to accomplish at last his scheme of universal monarchy. A committee consisting of the more violent members of the Sixteen condemned and hanged the President Brisson, who belonged to that moderate, or trimming, party called the "Politicians." But this and other acts of violence produced a reaction. Mayenne gained the upper hand, hanged four of the Sixteen, forbade the remainder, under pain of death, to hold clandestine meetings, and thus suppressed for a time that turbulent Council.

Queen Elizabeth had made it a condition of granting her succours that they should be first employed against the League in the north-western provinces of France, and Henry accordingly laid siege to Rouen, one of the strongholds of that faction. Its relief could not be attempted without the help of the Duke of Parma, which Mayenne contrived to obtain without committing himself to any engagement respecting the designs of Philip. Farnese, suffering from ill-health and vexed to be called away from the affairs of the Netherlands, was commanded to sacrifice everything to the interests of the League. It was not, however, till January, 1592, that he appeared in France; and meanwhile Rouen, hard pressed by Henry, who had received considerable reinforcements from England, besides 3,000 Dutch troops, was suffering all the extremities of famine. On the approach of the Spanish army, Henry, who had pushed forward with 1,000 horse to make a reconnoissance, was wounded in a skirmish. On approaching Rouen, the Duke of Parma proposed an immediate attack on the besieging army; but Mayenne, who did not wish him to gain a decisive victory, diverted him from this scheme, and the Catholic army, for want of provisions, was obliged to retire to the north of the Somme. When it again returned, however, about the middle of April, Henry, whose forces were much diminished, was compelled to retreat, and the Duke of Parma entered Rouen in triumph (April 20th). There was then a remarkable struggle for the possession of Caudebec, a sort of arsenal of the Hugonots, before which place Farnese was wounded in the arm with a bullet. Caudebec was taken; but while the Duke of Parma was laid up with his wound, as well as Mayenne from a less honourable cause, Henry IV. succeeded in shutting up the Catholic army in the peninsula in which Caudebec lies,

surrounded on three sides by the Seine, which here resembles an arm of the sea. Farnese, however, displayed his usual fertility of resource. He caused a number of boats, rafts, and pontoons to be constructed at Rouen, which were floated down with the tide; and on the 12th of May, with the aid of a slight fog, he transported all his army, with their artillery and baggage, to the opposite shore, without losing a man. Then, marching up the left bank of the Seine, he crossed that river again at St. Cloud, and returned into the Netherlands. Nothing can convey a stronger impression of the cautious tactics of this great captain than his having thus on two occasions marched so many hundred miles, and relieved two capital cities, without having fought a single pitched battle. Henry was almost reduced to despair. After all his efforts he found himself in no better position than after his victory at Ivry, two years before. Yet, on the whole, the war in the provinces had been in his favour. In the south-east, especially, where Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, had attempted an invasion, Lesdiguières defeated him, and, with the help of the Duke of Epemon, chased him over the Alps almost to the gates of Turin.

The retreat of the Duke of Parma, and his subsequent illness and death, were more advantageous to Henry IV. than any victory could have been. On the other hand, the ill reception Henry's agents met with at Rome, owing to the contradictory promises which he had made to both sides, gave an impulse to the "Third Party," which supported the pretensions of the Cardinal of Bourbon. A new Pontiff now occupied the Chair of Peter. Gregory XIV. died in October, 1591, and his successor, Innocent IX., Cardinal Fachinetti, an old man of seventy-three, lived only two months. The inconvenience of this frequent mortality determined the Conclave to elect a younger man; and their choice fell upon Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini, who had been named, though in the second place, by the Court of Spain, which would have preferred the election of Cardinal San Severino. Aldobrandini, who was chosen January 20th, 1592, assumed the name of Clement VIII. He was still in the vigour of life, having been born at Fano, in 1536. He was the youngest of five sons of Salvestro Aldobrandini, of a considerable family at Florence, which had opposed the Medici, and had been driven into exile on the return of that House in 1531.¹ Patronized by Cardinal Alexander Farnese, Ippolito obtained an auditorship in the Roman Rota, and was created a

¹ Gino Capponi, *Storia di Firenze*, iii. p. 309.

Cardinal by Sixtus V., who employed him as Nuncio in Poland. Clement VIII. was of active and business-like habits. The interests of the Church, the administration of the Roman States, the general politics of Europe, all claimed a share of his attention; while, at the same time, he strictly attended to his spiritual duties, celebrated Mass in person every morning, confessed every evening to the Oratorian Baronius, and dined at noon, during the first year at least of his pontificate, with twelve poor men—a proof of the frugality of his table. He strictly observed all the fasts of the Church, and sought no other relaxation than the discussion of abstruse theological questions; by which conduct he obtained an extraordinary reputation for piety. Clement VIII. had found the Court of Rome committed to a Spanish policy; but he was not himself very warmly devoted to the interests of Spain; and Henry's envoy, Cardinal Gondi, when he arrived at Florence, received a message that he could not be acknowledged at Rome, though hopes were held out of a private reception. In November, 1592, the Legate of Clement VIII. renewed against Henry IV. the censures of the Church; but since Mayenne's proceedings against the Sixteen, the reaction against the League and in favour of the "Third Party," or "Politicians," had continued to increase, the exhortations of the fanatical clergy began to be neglected, and the prejudices against Henry IV. declined more and more every day.

There were at this time seven or eight pretenders to the French Crown: Philip II., both for himself and for his daughter, the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia; the Duke of Mayenne; the young Duke Charles of Guise; and the Marquis Pont-à-Mousson, who, if the pretensions of the House of Lorraine were to be admitted, had undoubtedly a better claim than any of the family, both as belonging to the elder branch, and as the son of the second daughter of Henry II. and Catharine de' Medici. Other claimants were the Duke of Savoy, the Duke of Nemours, and the Catholic Bourbons. Philip determined to bring the question to an issue in the States-General, which Mayenne had summoned to meet at Paris in January, 1593, whither Philip sent the Duke of Feria as his ambassador. After an interview with Feria, Mayenne, finding that he could not obtain the French throne for himself at the price of ceding Provence and Picardy to Spain, promised to support the claim of the Infanta, on condition of being maintained in the lieutenant-generalship, and of obtaining Burgundy as an hereditary government, besides that of Picardy for life, and enor-

mous pecuniary advantages. Meanwhile Henry IV. had resolved to frustrate the plots of his adversaries by an abjuration. He refused to acknowledge the States assembled by Mayenne, declared all their acts null, and the members guilty of high treason; but announced at the same time that he was ready to receive "instruction;" while the Catholic princes, prelates, and lords of his party, though they rejected the summons of Guise to attend the assembly, proposed a conference at some neutral place in the neighbourhood of Paris. Such a proceeding was, of course, warmly opposed by the Spanish party, and by Segua, the Papal Legate, who was in the pay of Spain; but in spite of their opposition, the States-General of the League delegated twelve commissioners to treat with those of Henry IV. at Suresne, a village not far from Paris. The debates were conducted by Renaud de Beaune, Archbishop of Bourges, on the part of the King, and Pierre d'Espinac, Archbishop of Lyon, a man of bad character but great talent, on that of the League. On the 15th of May, Henry, who was at Mantes with his council, made a communication to this meeting, requiring that a certain number of bishops and theologians should be sent to him within two months, for his instruction, and announcing his intention to assemble at Mantes the notables of the Kingdom and the deputies of sovereign courts to take counsel as well for the interests of religion as of the state. As the prelates and doctors invited to instruct him were Roman Catholics, without the admixture of a single Hugonot, it was evident that he had resolved to embrace the Romish faith, and that his "instruction" was a mere matter of form. Gabrielle d'Estrées, who was enthusiastic for "the Mass," is said to have contributed not a little to bring Henry to this decision; and thus as "gospel truth first dawned from Boleyn's eyes" in England, so also in France almighty love helped to settle the national religion in an opposite direction.

To frustrate these negotiations, the Duke of Feria offered to the League the services of 14,000 Spanish troops for a year, and 1,200,000 crowns for the pay of French troops, and half these succours for the following year, provided the Infanta were declared Queen of France; and he afterwards increased this offer to 20,000 men for two years. Mayenne laid these propositions before the States; and Inigo Mendoza, a Spanish doctor whom Feria had brought with him, addressed them in a long Latin oration, in which he endeavoured to prove that females were not excluded from succession to the French throne. The deputies listened to

his harangue with frigid silence; and, to the offers of the ambassador, they replied only by a question: "Did his Catholic Majesty intend to marry the Infanta to a French Prince?" Had Philip II. at once determined in favour of the young Duke of Guise, he would in all probability have carried the States with him; the League would perhaps have proved victorious, and at all events the struggle would have been much prolonged. But Philip had been misinformed respecting the state of public opinion in France. He thought that he could marry his daughter to whomsoever he pleased, and he named as her consort the Archduke Ernest of Austria, her cousin. This proposition was fatal to the Spanish interests. The States would not listen to it; the majority voted for a truce with the royalists; but they confided to Mayenne the preparation of an answer to the Spanish proposals. The policy of Mayenne was of the most selfish description. He saw with regret the reactionary movement against the League, with whose downfall his own power would end; at the same time he did not desire its complete triumph by means of Spain, which, even though it might establish his own nephew on the throne of France, would be equally fatal to his personal claims. He therefore contrived an answer, which, while it was unacceptable to Philip, should also tend to prolong the war, by involving a gross breach of the rights of Henry IV. His reply, approved by the States, was: That the election of a foreign Prince was contrary to the laws and usages of France; but that if his Catholic Majesty would consent to the election of a French Prince, to whom his daughter should afterwards be married, an end might be put to the troubles of France. Feria, waiving the nomination of the Archduke Ernest, met this unpalatable proposal with the following ultimatum (June 21st): That the Infanta, and a French Prince, to be named within two months by Philip II. as her husband, should be declared *proprietors* of the French Crown. Even to this proposition the States would probably have agreed, if the Spaniards would have consented that the King and Queen should be named at the instant of their marriage; but Feria insisted on the immediate appointment of the Infanta, and that the name of her husband should be left in blank. Spain could scarcely have exacted harder conditions from a conquered country. They caused universal dissatisfaction. Feria was hissed in the streets; the States-General withdrew their former concessions; the Parliament of Paris declared all treaties for the establishment of a foreign Prince or Princess upon the throne null and contrary to Salic law; nor did the States impugn their

decision. The general discontent was increased by Henry IV. having laid siege to Dreux, the principal entrepôt of provisions coming to Paris from the south. Feria at length consented that the Infanta should marry the Duke of Guise; but Mayenne, though compelled to profess a high sense of the honour done his house, used every endeavour to avoid its acceptance.

On the 12th July the King appeared at St. Denis to be instructed. Lincestre, who had been one of the most fanatical preachers of the League in Paris, appeared among the clergy: a decisive symptom of the alteration in public opinion. Sega, the Legate, was furious, and Mayenne and other chiefs of the League, who did not wish to break with Spain, swore an oath between his hands that they would make no peace with "the King of Navarre," whatever Catholic acts he might do. Henry went through the ceremony of his conversion with levity and indifference, sometimes posing the bishops with texts from Scripture, sometimes rallying them on points which would not bear a very strict scrutiny.¹ He was wont to remark that, perhaps, the difference between the two religions was so great only through the animosity of those who preached them, and that he would one day endeavour to accommodate everything.² He had already been twice a Catholic and twice a Protestant, and he can, therefore, hardly be said to have made any sacrifice of conscience or principle on this occasion; but he felt the separation from the Hugonot party and his ancient comrades, who had supported him with their blood and substance, and, according to their own expression, "had carried him on their shoulders from the banks of the Loire." James II. has been ridiculed as a bigot in having lost three Kingdoms for a Mass, and Henry IV. has been reviled as an apostate for having gained one by the same means.³ The bigotry of James, however, led him to assert his creed by levying civil war against the majority of his subjects, while those of Henry derived from his apostasy the blessings of peace and union. On the 25th of July, 1593; he made a solemn abjuration of Protestantism, in the Abbey of St. Denis, before the Archbishop of Bourges, who absolved him, and gave him the benediction; and Henry afterwards attended High Mass in the presence of his Court.

Philip and the League endeavoured to prevent the acceptance

¹ Thus, on the article of purgatory he remarked: "J'y croirai, parceque l'Eglise y croit, et que je suis fils de l'Eglise, et aussi pour vous faire plaisir; car c'est le meilleur de vos revenus."—See Michelet, *La Ligue*, p. 412.

² *Vie de Mornay*, written by his wife, prefixed to his *Mémoires*, t. i. p. 261.

³ Henry would have bought Paris at the same price. "Paris," he said, "vaut bien une messe!"—Martin, t. x. p. 357.

of Henry's abjuration by the Pope. The Legate had previously denounced Henry as a relapsed heretic, declared null and void all that the French prelates might do, and stigmatized Henry's conversion as a pretence to gain the Crown. The King sent to Rome a solemn embassy, at the head of which was the Duke of Nevers, in order to procure the Pontiff's confirmation of the absolution granted by the Archbishop of Bourges; but Clement, who was afraid of the King of Spain, and who was also desirous to have the complete control not only of the King's absolution but also if possible of the establishment of his temporal power, refused at first to receive Henry's ambassador, except as Louis Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, and in January the Duke quitted Rome in disgust. A truce of three months had been agreed upon, during which many nobles and several important towns made their submission to the King. Many towns, however, still held out for the League, and among them Paris as well as Rheims, by ancient usage the metropolitan city appropriated to the coronation of the Kings of France. Henry IV. deemed that ceremony indispensable to sanctify his cause in the eyes of the people, and he therefore caused it to be performed at Chartres by the bishop of that place, Nicolas de Thou, February 27th, 1594. But he could hardly look upon himself as King of France so long as Paris remained in the hands of a faction which disputed his right, and he therefore strained every nerve to get possession of that capital. The Spanish garrison in it had been reinforced; Mayenne had revived the demagoguery of the Sixteen, and by means of Spanish gold, a measure of corn and a small weekly payment were given to some 4,000 of the lowest populace.

Henry knew that the more respectable citizens hated the Spaniards, and would be glad to see them driven out; but, as he wished to get possession of the city without bloodshed, he determined to attempt it by corrupting the commandant. This was Charles de Cossé, Count of Brissac, a man who had imbibed republican ideas from the study of the ancient writers, and who had formed the chimerical project of establishing in Paris a sort of Roman Republic; but being soon convinced of its impossibility, had rushed to the contrary extreme, and exchanged his high-flown notions for the most grovelling views of self-interest. Henry promised Brissac, as the price of his admission into Paris, the sum of 200,000 crowns and an annual pension of 20,000, together with the governments of Corbeil and Mantes, and a marshal's baton. To the Parisians was offered an amnesty from

which only criminals were to be excepted ; the confirmation of all their privileges ; and the prohibition of the Protestant worship within a radius of ten leagues. L'Huillier, the *Prévôt des Marchands*, who had met Brissac's first proposal of surrender with a biting sarcasm,¹ was gained with the office of President of the *Chambre des Comptes*, and other civic officials with other bribes. The Parisians stipulated for the safe retreat of the Papal Legate, and the Spanish ambassador and garrison. When these arrangements were completed, the colonels and officers of the city bands were assembled at L'Huillier's house and instructed what they were to do. Before daybreak on the morning of the 22nd March, 1594, Brissac opened the gates of Paris to Henry's troops, who took possession of the city without resistance, except at one of the Spanish guard-houses, where a few soldiers were killed. When all appeared quiet, Henry himself entered, and was astonished at being greeted with joyous cheers by the people from whom he had experienced so stubborn a resistance. He gave manifold proofs of forbearance and good temper, fulfilled all the conditions of his agreement, and allowed the Spaniards to withdraw unmolested ; who, 400 strong, quitted Paris on the same day that he entered it, followed by the Duke of Feria and the other accredited Spanish ministers. Even the Sorbonne and the more moderate clergy at length made a tardy submission (April 22nd) ; though the Jesuits and fanatical monks continued to thunder against the King, because he was not yet reconciled with the Pope. The submission of the Sorbonne may be regarded as the *coup de grâce* of the League.

Mayenne quitted Paris for Soissons March 6th, whence he proceeded to Laon. Towards the end of May the King in person laid siege to Laon, at whose approach Mayenne set off for Brussels to hasten the succours promised to him by the Archduke Ernest, Governor of the Netherlands. The Spanish ambassador tried to persuade the Archduke to arrest Mayenne, whom he distrusted ; but Tassis advised Ernest against a step which would at once have flung the remnant of the League into the arms of the King of France. Mayenne learnt the designs of the Spaniards from an intercepted letter which Henry forwarded to him, and he never forgave them. Nevertheless, being assisted by some troops under Count Mansfeld, he attempted, but without success, to raise the siege of Laon. That town surrendered

¹ On Brissac's observing : " Il faut rendre, mais non pas le lui vendre."—L'Huillier replied : " Oûi, il faut le lui rendre à César ce qui appartient à César," Michelet, *Ligue*, p. 424.

to the royalists, August 22nd, and its example was soon followed by Château-Thierry, Amiens, and Noyon. The success of the King induced the Duke of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise to make their peace with him. The submission of Guise placed Champagne at the King's disposal, of which province the Duke was governor. In lieu of it Henry invested him with the government of Provence, an appointment which conferred almost sovereign rights; and bestowed other marks of favour both on him and his brothers.

Notwithstanding his humanity and good temper, the King neglected not a wholesome severity, and banished from Paris upwards of a hundred of the more fanatical democrats. The *Satyre Ménippée*, a political squib, in which the League and its chiefs were ridiculed with a humour approaching that of Rabelais, had not a little contributed to turn the tide of public opinion in his favour. Henry regarded the Jesuits as his most dangerous enemies; and after he had established himself at Paris, Jacques d'Amboise, whom he had newly appointed rector of the University, prosecuted them before the Parliament as abettors of treason. Afraid, however, of offending the Pope, with whom he was not yet reconciled, the King would probably have abstained from pushing matters to the last extremity against them, but for the fanatical act of one of their pupils. On the 27th of November, 1594, while Henry was in the hotel of his mistress Gabrielle d'Estrées, a young man named Jean Châtel attempted to stab him in the breast, but the King, fortunately stooping at the time, received the blow on his mouth. The assassin, who confessed that he had attended the college of the Jesuits, was put to death with the most dreadful tortures. So great was the public indignation at this attempt that the people could hardly be withheld from storming the Jesuit College. All the members of that Society were arrested, and their papers examined. One of them, named Jean Guignard, with whom was found a treatise approving the murder of Henry III., and maintaining that his successor might deserve a like fate, was condemned to the gallows; and the remainder of the Society were banished the realm, January 8th, 1595, as corruptors of youth and disturbers of the public peace.¹ In a few years, however, they were recalled; nor, in fact, was the edict of banishment anything more than a dead letter in the greater part of the French Kingdom. The irritation caused by this event seems to have precipitated Henry IV. into a step

¹ See the *Annuaire Littéraire Soc. Jesu*, 1596, apud Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 258.

which he had been some time meditating: a declaration of war against his old and most bitter enemy Philip II., in which, among other things, he charged that Sovereign with suborning assassins to take his life. The King of Spain, whom the want of money had prevented from giving the League much help during the two preceding years, was stung into fury by this challenge; and he immediately ordered Don Fernando de Velasco, Constable of Castile, to join Mayenne in Franche-Comté with 10,000 men. Velasco, however, was no great captain, and little of importance was done. The only action worth mentioning is an affair of cavalry at Fontaine-Française (June 6th, 1595), in which Henry displayed his usual bravery, or rather rashness, but came off victorious. He then overran nearly all Franche-Comté without meeting with any impediment from Velasco, but retired at the instance of the Swiss, who entreated him to respect the neutrality of that province. Meanwhile Henry had made advances to Mayenne, who was disgusted with Velasco and the Spaniards, and on the 25th September Mayenne, in the name of the League, signed with the King a truce of three months, with a view to regulate the conditions of future submission.

An event had already occurred which placed Henry in a much more favourable position with his Roman Catholic subjects: he had succeeded in effecting his reconciliation with the Pope. Not only had Henry become much more humble and submissive in his supplications,¹ but Clement VIII. also, on his side, had been convinced by his counsellors that it was necessary to his interests as an Italian Prince to restore the equilibrium between France and Spain. He dreaded also the separation of the Gallican Church from Rome; and some one admonished him to beware lest Clement VIII. should lose France as Clement VII. had lost England. Du Perron and D'Ossat, both of whom were afterwards made Cardinals, were admitted by the Pope as the King's ambassadors, and after some negotiation a reconciliation was effected. Henry agreed to restore the Roman Catholic religion in Béarn; to accept the decrees of Trent so far as compatible with the laws of France; strictly to observe the Concordat, and to educate the heir presumptive (the young Prince of Condé) in the Romish faith. Clement spoke with the Cardinals separately, and declared that two-thirds of them were in favour of the French

¹ D'Ossat's letters and the *Ambassades du Cardinal Perron* describe Henry's negotiations at Rome. M. Michelet characterizes Henry's letters to the Pope as

"uniques en bassesse." Brave as he was in the field, he avowed to Sully, "qu'il était *peureux* devant le couteau."—*La Ligue*, p. 434.

King's absolution. On the 17th of September, 1595, Du Perron and D'Ossat appeared before the Pope, who, surrounded by his Cardinals and Court, sat on a high throne erected under the portico of St. Peter's. The petition of the King was then read : his ambassadors promised that he should do all that was required of him, and renounce everything contrary to the holy Catholic religion ; then, kneeling down before the Pope, they received some light strokes of the rod, whilst the choir sang the *Miserere*. This scene concluded, the Pontiff read some prayers, and putting on the triple crown, pronounced the King's absolution, having first revoked that granted by the Archbishop of Bourges. The ceremony was concluded by the singing of the *Te Deum* in the basilica.

The war on the northern frontiers had not been going on so favourably for the King ; but we reserve its details for the next chapter, and shall here pursue to their termination the civil wars of France. In January, 1596, Henry signed with Mayenne, at the Castle of Polembray, the treaty which put an end to the League. The reverses which the arms of Henry had sustained in the north, and more especially the influence of the fair Gabrielle, whom Mayenne had gained by promising to forward the interests of her children, procured for the chief of the League more favourable terms than he was entitled to expect. Soissons, Châlons, and Scurre were assigned to him for six years as places of security ; an amnesty was granted to all other partisans of the League who should within six weeks take advantage of the present edict ; the adherents of Mayenne were to retain their offices and honours, the King took upon himself that Prince's debts, and recognized as valid all his public acts and financial accounts. The murderers of Henry III. were alone excepted from the general amnesty, but the King acknowledged that on that head no charge rested upon the princes and princesses of the League.¹

The chief nobles who still held out against Henry IV. were the Duke of Epemon in Provence and the Duke of Mercœur in Brittany. Epemon concluded a treaty with Philip II., who lent him some assistance ; but the tyranny of that noble had rendered him highly unpopular in Provence. On the entrance of the Duke of Guise, Henry's Governor, the people crowded to his standard ; as he approached Marseille the inhabitants rose, drove out the Spanish garrison, and opened their gates to Guise and his troops.

¹ The treaty is in Palma Cayet, t. vi. p. 233 (Petitot, t. xliii.).

This was the most important victory gained by the King since the reduction of Paris, and he owed it to a former enemy. Epemon made his peace with Henry, and received Périgord and the Limousin in addition to his former governments of Angoulême and Saintonge. The Duke of Mercœur rose in Brittany in 1597, after the taking of Amiens by the Spaniards, and Charles Emmanuel of Savoy projected an invasion of Dauphiné. Both were supported by Philip II., in order to distract the forces of Henry IV. and prevent him from retaking Amiens; but Lesdignières anticipated Charles Emmanuel by carrying the war into Savoy and taking Maurienne; whilst Mercœur, who had been deprived by storms of the succour expected from a Spanish fleet, saw his troops beaten at Dinan by those of the King. The frontier towns of Brittany submitted on Henry's approach, and Mercœur, finding resistance hopeless, had recourse to Gabrielle, the refuge of the defeated and destitute. Enticed by the proposal of a marriage between the only daughter of Mercœur, the heiress of his vast possessions, and her little son Cæsar, her offspring by the King, Gabrielle procured favourable terms for the Duke, which were ratified in a treaty signed by Henry and the Duchess of Mercœur at Angers, March 20th, 1598.

It was after the reduction of Brittany that Henry signed at Nantes the celebrated edict which closed the religious struggle in France. The treaties which the King had been obliged to make with the various chiefs of the League had been very adverse to the Hugonots. The reformed worship had been prohibited in many towns, nay, in whole districts, and especially in Provence, where its celebration had been forbidden on pain of death by the Parliament of Aix in all places within its jurisdiction. At the same time the Hugonots were excluded from all offices of trust and power, and the *chambres mi-parties*, or courts composed of Catholics and Protestants, were everywhere suppressed, except at Paris and in Languedoc. These oppressions had led the Hugonots to restore their ancient federative organization; they complained loudly of the King's ingratitude, making no allowance for the difficulties of his position; and they held frequent general assemblies, in which the more ardent of them counselled resorting to violent measures in order to obtain their rights. In the course of 1597 Henry deputed four commissioners, among whom was De Thou, the celebrated historian, then President of the Parliament of Paris, to treat with them; but it was perhaps the success of the King's arms against the Spaniards which

principally induced the Hugonots to listen to terms. In December 1597, Henry gave a written promise to leave them, for a term of eight years, in possession of all the places which they occupied, to pay the Protestant garrisons maintained in them; and to bestow employment indifferently on all his subjects without regard to their religious tenets. In April, 1598, he published the EDICT OF NANTES, which secured to the Hugonots liberty of conscience and the free exercise of their religion in all places where it had been established during the two preceding years, as well as those named in the edict of 1577; also in one city in every town in every bailiwick or district of a seneschal, without infringing the treaties made with the Catholics. On the other hand, Catholic worship was to be restored in all places where it had been interrupted. Protestants were to be admitted to colleges, schools, and hospitals; were to be at liberty to found schools and colleges of their own, as well as to publish their religious books in all places where their worship was allowed; and they were to be admissible to all offices and employments without submitting to any oath or ceremony contrary to their conscience. Disinheritance on the score of religion was not to be valid, and parents might by will provide for the education of their children. Many regulations were made respecting legal suits in which Protestants were parties. On the other hand they were required to pay tithes, to respect the holidays of the Church and the prohibited degrees of affinity in marriage; to renounce all negotiations and alliances with foreigners; to dissolve their provincial councils; and to raise no subsidies except for the maintenance of their ministers and worship and with the consent of the King.¹

Such were the chief provisions of this celebrated edict, which broke the exclusive power of the Roman Catholic Church, and founded a new era in France—that of toleration.

¹ The edict is in Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 545 sqq.

END OF VOL. II.

